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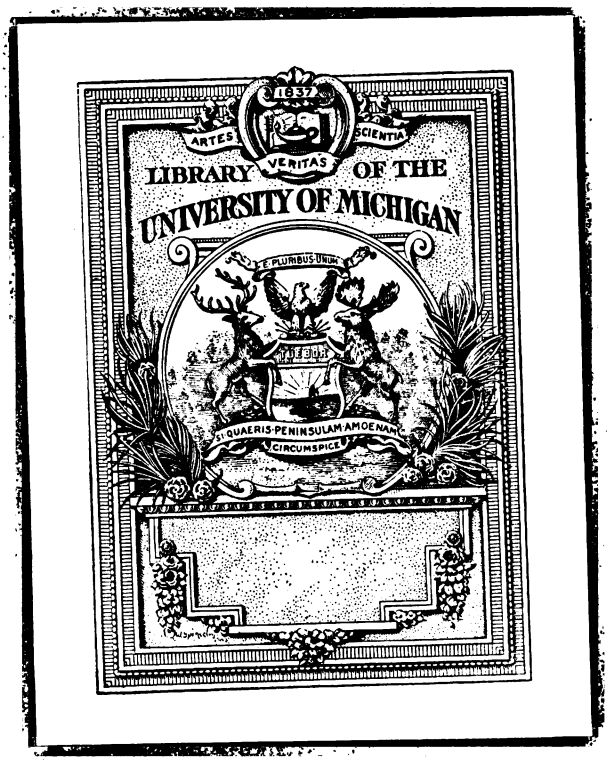

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THE

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XI. *April* 1878.

Art. I.—LEGAL EVIDENCE OF SCRIPTURE ON THE PETRINE CLAIMS.

1. *Petri Privilegium: Three Pastoral Letters to the Clergy of the Diocese of Westminster.* By Henry Edward Manning, D.D. (London, 1871.)
2. *The See of S. Peter.* By T. W. Allies. (London, 1850.)
3. *The Evidence for the Papacy, as derived from the Holy Scriptures and from Primitive Antiquity.* By the Hon. Colin Lindsay. (London, 1870.)
4. *The Privilege of Peter and the Claims of the Roman Church confronted with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Testimony of the Popes themselves.* By Robert C. Jenkins, M.A. (London, 1875.)

The death of Pius IX., the Pontiff under whose auspices was completed the building of Papal autocracy in spiritual matters, planned, in part at least, by Pope Nicolas I. more than a thousand years ago, carried on by the genius of Gregory VII., by the lofty ambition of Innocent III., by the more worldly policy of Boniface VIII., and diligently laboured at ever since the first beginning of the counter-reformation by the persistent toil of the Jesuit body from Bellarmine to Franzelin, prompts a survey of the heritage he has bequeathed to his successor, to whom he failed to hand down the temporal crown he wore himself. One thing is clear, that the Papal claims can be practically advanced no further, as their logical goal has been attained, and those controversial debates which

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formerly ranged over almost the whole domain of theology must be henceforward concentrated on one topic alone, since whatever is found existing uncensured in the Latin Obedience must be regarded as having the sanction of infallibility at its back, and as being therefore unassailable by loyal Catholics within the fold, and by all external opponents who are not prepared to join issue on the preliminary question. And, notably, the controversy between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, though it has not really changed since it originally began, has been limited, since the Vatican Council of 1870, to one definite issue, so far as Roman Catholic controversialists are concerned. That issue is the formal claim, first openly put forward by Boniface VIII. in his Bull *Unam Sanctam*, that the Roman Church is not merely 'the mother and mistress of all Churches,' the largest, most august, and most authoritative portion of the Christian body, occupying, so to speak, the position of the eldest son who succeeds to the titles and to the entailed estates of his father—albeit the younger have minor independent legacies bequeathed to them—but that she is the *whole* Church, the sole legitimate offspring and heir, so that wherever in the course of Holy Scripture or of the Fathers 'the Church' is spoken of as clothed with any graces or privileges, the meaning is absolutely limited to the Church in communion with and under the authority of the Pope of Rome, and excludes all other Christian societies as mere sects and schisms from the unity of the One Body of Christ. All other pleas which are raised by Roman controversialists against other portions of Christendom are purely incidental and subordinate, whether urged against their orthodoxy, their possession of a valid ministry, or their practical working. No unimpeachability on all these heads makes the least difference in the conduct of the Roman Church towards them. In every case her policy is the same—to enter on their domains, to deny their claims and rights, and to substitute a rival organisation and worship for that which she finds established amongst them. This conduct she justifies on the alleged ground of superior right, conferred by special Divine privilege, and proved by the clear witness of revelation, as well in Holy Scripture as in the historical tradition of Christendom.

It will simplify the inquiry to set down the latest authoritative utterances on the subject, as embodied in the decrees of the Vatican Council itself:—

1. 'Supernatural Revelation, according to the faith of the Universal Church, as declared by the Holy Council of Trent, is contained

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in written books and in the unwritten traditions, which, having been received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or having been, as it were, handed down from the Apostles themselves at the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have arrived even unto us.'—(*Conc. Trid. Sess.* iv., *Decr. de Can. Script.*)

2. 'And these entire books of the Old and New Testament, with all their parts, as they are set forth in the decrees of the said Council, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition, are to be received as holy and canonical. These the Church holds to be holy and canonical, not because, having been compiled by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself. . . . That is to be held as the true sense of Holy Scripture which Holy Mother Church hath held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture, and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture contrary to this sense, nor, likewise, contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'—(*Conc. Vatic. Sess.* iii. cap. 2.)

The last clause is somewhat obscurely worded, and it is well to cite in explanation the slightly different wording of the third clause of the Tridentine Profession of Faith, commonly called the Creed of Pius IV., which runs thus :—

'I also admit Holy Scripture according to that sense which Holy Mother Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures ; *neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.*'

This creed has to be formally professed by all bishops and clergy in the Roman Church, and by all lay converts who are sufficiently educated to understand it.

What we have established so far is, that any claim or privilege, in order to be accounted Divine in the Church of Rome, and warranted by Revelation, must be based (*a*) on Holy Scripture, (*b*) on the historical tradition of the Church, (*c*) on the *unanimous* consent of the Fathers. This excludes all visions and quasi-revelations, as also expressions of ecclesiastical opinion later than the time of S. Bernard, who is accounted the last of the Fathers, and who died in 1153, as evidence of *Divine* right, which must be proved by these three concurrent testimonies.

The claims set forward in the Vatican decrees on the Constitution of the Church are as follow :—

1. 'If any one shall say that blessed Peter the Apostle was not

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appointed by Christ the Lord the Prince of all the Apostles, and the visible Head of the whole Church Militant; or that he received a primacy of honour only, and not directly or immediately one of true and proper jurisdiction from the same our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.'

2. 'If any should say that it is not by the institution of Christ the Lord Himself, or by Divine right, that blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the primacy over the Church Universal, or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of blessed Peter in this primacy, let him be anathema.'

3. 'None may reopen the judgment of the Apostolic See, than whose authority there is none greater; nor can any lawfully review its judgment; therefore they err from the right course who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the judgments of the Roman Pontiffs to a General Council, or to an authority higher than that of the Roman Pontiff. If then, any shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, but not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the Universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world; or assert that he possesses only the chief part, and not the entire fulness of the supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, both over each and all the Churches, and over each and all the pastors and faithful, let him be anathema.'

4. 'The Sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when discharging the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Church Universal, by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if any one—which God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.'

In proportion as these claims are vast and startling, the proofs alleged need to be abundant, clear, and conclusive, and every step in the process must be rigorously established by convincing evidence of its Divine origin and institution, as distinguished from mere ecclesiastical powers of human arrangement and concession. For the claim is that it is nothing less than divinely revealed, and that not by any such visions and miracles as are alleged on behalf of particular devotional practices in modern times, but by the threefold testimony of Scripture, Church history, and the writings of the Fathers.

Further, as the entire claim of Papal Infallibility rests

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avowedly on asserted heirship to S. Peter, and right of succession to all his privileges, while no allegation is made that those privileges have been specifically re-granted to any Pope since his time, much less increased, developed, and amplified in any manner, it follows that the Pope can claim no more than is plainly discoverable as conferred upon and exercised by S. Peter himself. But the whole of the evidence now extant upon this head is confined to the books of the New Testament. The few meagre and uncertain notices of S. Peter's life which have come to us from uninspired writers do not touch this question of his primacy, jurisdiction, and transmission of his powers at all. Consequently, the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles contain not only his whole charter of privilege, but our whole means of ascertaining what he actually enjoyed and exercised in virtue of that charter.

For the Roman claims, then, to have any firm basis, this evidence must establish clearly and expressly, and not by mere possible implication, the following points :—

1. That S. Peter was given by Christ a primacy, not of honour and rank only, but of direct and sovereign jurisdiction over all the other Apostles.

2. That this primacy was not limited to S. Peter's person only, for his lifetime, but was conferred on him with power to bequeath it to his successors. The subsequent question, as to whether he did actually so bequeath it to the Bishops of Rome, belongs to a later date in Church history than that comprised in the New Testament period, and must be deferred for the present. It is our business now to examine the charter, conveyance, and exercise of that which in the language of modern Roman theologians is called the 'Privilege of Peter.' The reason why the proof of it needs to be express and clear, is because *privilege*, being a private exception to the usual public course of law, either in the form of exemption from some burden generally imposed, or of enjoyment of some benefit generally refused, is essentially an invidious thing, and requires fuller proof than any other right before it can be allowed as valid. Consequently the Roman Canon Law (by which a Roman claim cannot refuse to be tested) has laid down the following broad rules (amongst others) to govern all cases of the sort :—

1. The authoritative document containing the privilege must be produced.—(*Decret. Greg. IX.* lib. v. tit. xxxiii.)

2. Its wording must be certain and manifest, not obscure or doubtful.—(*Decret. Greg. IX.*, lib. v. tit. xl. 25.)

3. It must be construed n the most strict and literal

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sense.—(*Reg. Juris.* vi. and xxviii.; *Fagnan. de Past. et Prælat.* 7; *Zyphæus de Privil. Consult.* 1.)

4. If personal, it follows the person [not the office]; and it dies with the person named in it.—(*Boniface VIII. De Regulis Juris. reg.* vii.)

5. It may not be extended to any other person, because of identity or similarity of reason, unless such extension be expressly named in it.—(*Decret. Greg. IX.* lib. v. tit. xxxiii. 9.)

6. It may not be so interpreted as to deny, interfere with, or encroach upon the rights and privileges of another.—(*Decret. Greg. IX.* lib. v. tit. xxxiii. 4.)

7. It is forfeited by any excess or abuse in its exercise. (*Decret.* ii. xi. 3, lx.)

Let us now examine the evidence of Holy Scripture, not mainly from a theological point of view, but rather from a legal one, as the principal document tendered in proof of claim. Our Lord's charter to S. Peter is held to be contained in three clauses of the Gospels:—

1. 'And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'—S. Matthew xvi. 17–19.

2. 'And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.'—S. Luke xxii. 31, 32.

3. 'So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved, because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou Me? And he said unto Him, Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed My sheep.'—S. John xxi. 15–17.

This is the sum of the charter. If we look somewhat more minutely into it, we shall find that certain portions of it are not peculiar to S. Peter, but are common to others. First, we are told that in the interval between S. Peter's

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going away to pay the tribute-money for Christ and himself (S. Matthew xvii. 27) and his return to the other Apostles, when he put his question to Christ on the forgiveness of injuries, Our Lord conferred the same power of the Keys on the remaining Apostles, apart from S. Peter, saying—

'Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'—S. Matthew xviii. 18;

and again bestowed it on all the Apostles collectively, after His Resurrection—

'Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.'—S. John xx. 21–23.

Accordingly, the clause as to the Keys in S. Matthew xvi. 19 is no part of the especial *privilege* of Peter, and constitutes no difference between him and the remaining Apostles.

The second passage, that from S. Luke, so far from exalting S. Peter, actually puts him below the level of his colleagues, as the context shows. All of them are to be tried and sifted by Satan like wheat. Peter is the only one whose actual fall and denial of his Lord is foretold—cowardly flight being the worst fault of the other Apostles—and thus he is the only one who stands in need of 'conversion.' And he is bidden, when this necessary repentance and change have taken place in himself, to support, by his newly-revived zeal, his yet unfallen brethren, lest they should sin as he had just done. To fortify them by confession of his own weakness is in no respect akin to exercising authority over them.

The third passage (apart from the difficulty that in the only one place of Holy Writ where the Apostles are spoken of as 'sheep' S. Peter is included amongst them, and not separately named as their shepherd:—'Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves'—S. Matthew x. 16) in like manner confers no exceptional privilege, because we have it twice attributed to the ordinary ministers of the Church—the Elders, far below the Apostles in power and dignity, while one of these two attributions is made by S. Peter himself. The clauses are, first, S. Paul's address to the Elders of the Church at Miletus:—

'Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the

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church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.'—Acts xx. 28;

and next, S. Peter's similar exhortation:—

'The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed: Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.'—1 S. Peter v. 1–3.

And, in truth, part of the immediate context of S. John xxi. 17, which has been generally overlooked in this connexion, furnishes incidental but adequate disproof of the Ultramontane gloss:—

'Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on His breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth Thee? Peter seeing him, saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou Me.'—S. John xxi. 20–22.

It is obvious that if S. Peter had received jurisdiction over S. John only a few minutes before, his question was perfectly legitimate and reasonable, and merited a reply, as being his concern, because affecting one for whom he had been just made responsible. But the answer he actually receives can denote nothing short of S. John's entire independence, and the restriction of S. Peter's own commission to attending to his own specific and limited share of Apostolic work, with no right of control over S. John.

There remains therefore, so far, as the whole charter of special Petrine privilege, only the one verse:—

'And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'—S. Matthew xvi. 18.

But, before we enter on the question of its interpretation, to be considered later, it appears that even it does not stand alone in such sort as to constitute a gift of sovereign authority. For this same attribute of being foundations of the Church is in two other places ascribed to the Apostles generally, once by S. Paul:—

'Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone; in Whom all the building fitly

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framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.'—Eph. i. 19–21;

and again by S. John :—

'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.'—Rev. xxi. 14;

where, moreover, it is not unworthy of notice, that the *first* stone, a jasper, is much inferior in beauty and value to some of the remainder, as the sapphire, emerald, and chrysolite, which severally form the second, fourth, and seventh foundations.—Rev. xxi. 19–20.

Nevertheless, as the whole New Testament ought, for the purposes of this inquiry, be construed as a single document, there may be other expressions and indications in it from which the extent of the Petrine charter may be reasonably inferred, and if a collation of them give any more specific authority to S. Peter than is visible thus far, it must be read into and incorporated with that charter. Conversely, if the additional evidence point to a strict and narrow construction, or even to further limitation, of it, that too must needs be taken as conditioning its terms.

The first piece of evidence, then, is that *immediately after* the bestowal by Christ of whatever gift or privilege is conferred by S. Matthew xvi. 18–19, and most probably in the course of the very same conversation, as appears from a comparison of S. Mark viii. 27–34, by far the sternest rebuke ever uttered to an Apostle by Christ falls on S. Peter:—

'From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto His disciples, how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day. Then Peter took Him, and began to rebuke Him, saying, Be it far from Thee, Lord : this shall not be unto Thee. But He turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind Me, Satan : thou art an offence unto Me : for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.'—S. Matthew xvi. 21–23.

This proves at the least that S. Peter did not acquire in virtue of that previous charter the gift of infallibility, nor even that of not directly contravening the will of God. And so evident is this deduction, that a modern infallibilist has endeavoured to escape from it by alleging that the Peter of the second clause was a different person from the Simon Bar-jona or Peter of the first one.

Next, if the passage in question be, as it is from a Roman Catholic point of view, one of the most significant and im-

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portant items of Divine revelation, we are entitled to expect to find it emphasised by the other Evangelists.

If it lay outside their plan, and they made no reference whatever to this conversation at Cæsarea Philippi, no conclusion either way could be drawn from their silence, any more than from S. John's omission of the Last Supper or the Ascension.

But S. Mark and S. Luke both do embody S. Peter's confession of Christ in their narratives, yet leave out entirely all reference to the words 'Thou art Peter,' &c.,—S. Mark. viii. 27–34, S. Luke ix. 18–23. Hence it is clear that in their minds the important part of the conversation was the declaration of our Lord's person and office, not the definition and scope of S. Peter's privilege. Nor is this all. The received tradition of the Roman Church is that S. Mark was the disciple of S. Peter, and wrote his Gospel by S. Peter's directions and under his supervision. But S. Mark, while *omitting* the words 'Thou art Peter,' &c., *inserts* the words 'Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.'—S. Mark viii. 33.

The inevitable inference from this most weighty fact is that S. Peter himself did not consider the words of Christ in S. Matthew xvi. 17–20 necessary to be communicated by S. Mark to those for whom his Gospel was written, and therefore it is clear that he did not attach the meaning to them which Roman controversialists now allege as the true one, since, had he done so, he was bound for the highest reasons to make his peculiar commission known, precisely as an ambassador is required to produce his credentials, and the governor of a colony to exhibit his patent from the Crown, at his entry upon his office. Nor can such a breach of duty as silence under such circumstances be excused by attributing it to S. Peter's humility, because the truest humility is implicit obedience to God's commands, whether tending to exalt or abase him to whom the command is given.

Further, S. Peter uses language in his own Epistles which implies, if not ignorance on his part as to any special privilege attaching to his own person, at any rate abstinence from pressing it, and that to the extent of employing phrases which seem to exclude it, so far as it is held to be based either on S. Matthew xvi. 18, or on S. John xxi. 15–17. For in the first place, he seems to recognise no foundation of the Church save Christ Himself:—

'If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious. To Whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen

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of God, and precious, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. Wherefore also it is contained in the scripture, Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded.'—1 S. Peter ii. 3–6.

And in the next place he names only one Chief Shepherd and Bishop—

'Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by Whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.'—1 Peter ii. 24, 25.

With this may be contrasted the language of Pius IX., who, in a public address, applied to himself the text S. John xiv. 6.—'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life,' words which cannot by any accommodation be applied save to Him Who spoke them, as two of them denote incommunicable attributes; whereas S. Peter might have found justification for claiming the titles of 'Foundation of the Church' and 'Chief Shepherd,' as his own, had he thought they belonged to him.

The next question to consider is, what additional light the language of our Lord in the Gospels sheds on the extent and nature of the privilege of Peter. First, then, soon after the utterance in S. Matthew xvi. 18, and just before the bestowal of the power of the keys on all the Apostles in S. Peter's absence, the question of precedence in Christ's kingdom is raised, and is answered by our Lord in terms inconsistent with the opinion that the disciples understood Him to have already settled that point, or that He had in fact done so, whether they understood Him or not:—

'At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto Him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.'—S. Matt. xviii. 1–4.

A little later Christ puts all the Apostles on the same level:—

'Then answered Peter and said unto Him, Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed Thee; what shall we have therefore? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed Me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'—S. Matt. xix. 27, 28.

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This text has a further bearing on the question, as establishing that Christ's grants are conditional and forfeitable, not indefeasible, since one of the twelve to whom these words were spoken was Judas Iscariot.

Thirdly, comes the application of the mother of SS. James and John on behalf of her children :—

'Then came to Him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons, worshipping Him, and desiring a certain thing of Him. And He said unto her, What wilt thou? She saith unto Him, Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on Thy right hand, and the other on the left, in Thy kingdom. But Jesus answered and said, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? They say unto him, We are able. And He saith unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of My cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with: but to sit on My right hand, and on My left, is not Mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of My Father. And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the two brethren. But Jesus called them unto Him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.'—S. Matt. xx. 20–28.

Here it is to be noticed that the request of Salome was not for a mere honorary distinction, but for substantial office and authority, since in Eastern kingdoms, even to this day, the two principal ministers of State ranking next in authority to the monarch are styled 'Vizir of the right hand' and 'Vizir of the left hand.' Obviously, Christ's answer, on the Roman hypothesis, must have been that He had already given away the right-hand post to S. Peter, and did not intend to create a left-hand one. What He does say is to declare explicitly that no one of them should exercise authority over the others, consequently that He had *not* given S. Peter any jurisdiction over the Apostolic college.

Nevertheless, so persistent amongst the Twelve was the carnal way of viewing Christ's kingdom as modelled on the pattern of earthly monarchies, that this very same question crops up again at the Last Supper—a time when a peculiar solemnity and sacredness attaches to every word of Christ, and when, if ever, we might expect Him to nominate the chief who should rule His Church after His departure. What

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we do find, however, is a precise reiteration of His former explanation, a renewal of His former promise of equal dignity:—

'And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest. And He said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth. Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me; that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'—S. Luke xxii. 24–30.

After supper, He says, still marking their perfect equality, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.'—S. John xv. 5.

The last utterance of Christ which directly bears upon the question of privilege is the final commission to the Apostles before the Ascension:—

'Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw Him, they worshipped Him; but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.'—S. Matt. xxviii. 16–20.

Here, as before, no distinction is made between them, and no hint is given that they should look to S. Peter as their chief.

There is, however, yet another important saying of our Lord's which touches the subject from another side, and not less significantly.

It is to be remembered, that as the Gospel is the harmonious development and spiritual fulfilment of the typical Mosaic Law, we are entitled to look for some parallel in the Gospel for every salient type or incident under the Law, with, however, this weighty and invariable difference, that the antitype is never *identical* with the type, but belongs to a less carnal and more spiritual order, so that there is never an exact reproduction of the earlier ordinance; as the Holy Eucharist, when compared with the animal sacrifices, exemplifies, and still more the substitution of Christ for the Levitical High Priests (Heb. vi. 20; vii. 15–28; viii. 1–6). Now the two

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greatest Old Testament types of Christ are Moses, as law-giver and prophet, and David, as king and prophet. Each of these takes measures to appoint his successor before his own death, and to secure his acceptance by the nation. The delegation by Moses to Joshua is recorded in Numbers xxvii. 15–23, and in Deut. xxxi. 23; the action of David is recorded in 1 Kings i. 32–35; and in each case the action is most formal and explicit.

Now these two examples have three points in common: (*a*) they take place just before the deaths of the chief actors; (*b*) they are express and unambiguous in their designation of the successor's name; (*c*) they are attended by public ceremonial solemnities. And we are justified, by the analogy of faith, in looking for some cognate action on Christ's part, only this analogy would be violated, not observed, by a precise agreement in the human element of the proceeding.

Accordingly, we do find it, and exactly in the higher plane to be expected. On the night before His death, Christ formally designates His Vicar on earth, and that in the most precise and definite terms, to the necessary exclusion of any other:—

'And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. . . . . But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, Whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. . . . . But when the Comforter is come, Whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me. . . . . Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you. . . . . Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth: for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak: and He will show you things to come. He shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, that He shall take of Mine, and show it unto you.'—S. John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 13, 14, 15.

The formal installation of this Vicar of Christ is also recorded:—

'And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house

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where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.'—Acts ii. 1–4.

The parallel thus holds good in all the three particulars common to the appointment of Joshua and Solomon, besides fulfilling the further condition essential to its Gospel character, of belonging to a higher order of things, inasmuch as a Divine Being—not a mere man, however commissioned—is sent to occupy the place of the departed lawgiver and king. The nomination of any Apostle would have left the act of Christ on exactly the same level as those of Moses and David, —or rather, on a much lower one, since the interval between Him and S. Peter is much vaster than that between Moses and Joshua, or David and Solomon—and thus it would have provided no real anti-type for the type and shadow under the old Covenant.

This being so, to demand, much more to constitute, what the Vatican Council styles a 'Visible Head of the Church Militant' is, in effect, to refuse the Head so nominated and appointed by Christ, and to commit the sin of the Jews when they twice rejected the Lord because of His invisibility, desiring some object of worship and some leader more cognisable by the senses, saying first to Aaron :—

'Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.'—Exodus xxxii. 1;

and later, when demanding a king, in order to be like the nations round them, as recorded in 1 Sam. viii. 4-7.

This closes the evidence derivable from *words* of our Lord in the Gospels as to any peculiar charter of privilege bestowed on S. Peter. But *acts*, in such a matter, would be equally valid as testimony, and must also be taken into account. Our next step, therefore, is to ascertain what direct personal distinctions are, by the immediate *action* of Christ Himself, conferred on S. Peter, and recorded in the Gospels. They are as follows :—

1. S. Peter's name stands *first* in the three lists of the Apostles given in the synoptic Gospels, S. Matt. x. 2; S. Mark iii. 16; S. Luke vi. 15. This, coupled with the fact that the name of Judas Iscariot stands *last* in these same three lists, points to a priority of some kind, albeit not defined clearly.

2. He is chosen as a companion and witness to Christ on three important occasions, from which the general body of the Apostles was excluded, (*a*) the Transfiguration—S. Matt.

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xvii. 1; S. Mark ix. 2; S. Luke ix. 28; (*b*) the raising of Jairus's daughter—S. Mark v. 37; S. Luke viii. 51; (*c*) the Agony in the Garden—S. Matt. xxvi. 37; S. Mark xiv. 33.

3. He is directed to pay the tribute money for Christ and himself, and is thus specially coupled with our Lord.

4. He is sent to prepare the upper chamber for the Passover—S. Luke xxii. 8. These are all the instances discoverable.

(i.) As to the first of these distinctions, S. Peter's priority in the lists of Apostles, where we might naturally look in his stead either for the name of S. Andrew, as the first called of the Twelve, and himself the first to call another to Christ (S. John i. 40, 41), or else of S. John, because of his special prerogative as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (S. John xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7, 20), undoubtedly denotes some precedence, and were any jurisdiction over the other Apostles attributed to S. Peter elsewhere, it would serve as collateral evidence in proof of his claim. But the entire silence of the Gospels on this head forbids us to read any such clause into the statement, and shows that, instead of the order of the lists serving as a key to interpret the remainder of the notices concerning S. Peter in the Gospels, it must itself be interpreted by them, if the extent of S. Peter's privilege be inferred from the information they supply. In the analogy of any cognate lists, so far as Holy Scripture is concerned—such as those in Genesis, Numbers, and Chronicles—only genealogical order of seniority is denoted, and no difference of authority over the deacons appears in the case of S. Stephen (Acts vi. 5), nor over the Seven Churches in that of the Angel of the Church of Ephesus (Rev. i. 2, ii. 1); while in lists belonging to civil life, say, for example, such as the roll of English dukes, the order denotes merely social precedence, not inequality of rank and honour, far less official superiority, and the subordination of all the lower names on the roll to the authority of that which stands first. There are, moreover, two items of evidence discoverable in the lists of the Apostles, which materially weaken the argument drawn from the order of the names. They are that, unquestionably, S. James and S. John occupy a more prominent place in the Gospels than any other Apostle except S. Peter himself, and seemingly enjoy some degree of priority. But in two out of the three lists (S. Matt. x. 2, and S. Luke vi. 14), S. Andrew is placed next after S. Peter, and described as his brother, while in S. Mark's Gospel alone, chap. iii. 16, 17, is the actual order of rank observed, and the qualifying description of S. Andrew omitted—another

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incidental proof of S. Peter's care not to magnify his office. In like manner, S. Matthew, out of humility, places his own name after that of S. Thomas (S. Matt. x. 3), albeit he is put before S. Thomas in the lists of S. Mark (iii. 18) and S. Luke (v. 15). Consequently, these variations of the order forbid us to assume that any strict gradation of rank is implied, since otherwise the Evangelists would not have ventured to deviate from the series of the original appointment.

(ii.) As regards the three occasions on which S. Peter is specially chosen to accompany Christ, S. James and S. John share the distinction with him.

(iii.) The tribute money seems to couple him more individually with Christ; but an inquiry into the circumstances of the case deprives it of all importance for the matter at issue. For the event happened at Capernaum (S. Matt. xvii. 24), and a comparison of S. Mark i. 21, 29, shows that S. Peter's house was in that town: 'And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the Sabbath day He entered into the synagogue, and taught. . . . And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew.' The tax-collectors at Capernaum, going from house to house to demand the temple-tribute, come to S. Peter's dwelling in its turn, and call on him, in his character of householder, to answer for his guest as well as for himself, in order that if He were a loyal Jew, and consequently morally liable to the tribute, it might be levied on Him also; and knowing that Christ was then abiding in the house, they ask Peter, 'Doth not your Master pay tribute?'—(S. Matt. xvii. 24). Accordingly, Christ accepts the position, and in His capacity as S. Peter's guest, enables him to acquit himself of his two-fold responsibility in respect of the tax. But the relation is one which does not arise out of His spontaneous action for the purpose of honouring S. Peter, but from the accidental coincidence in time, so to speak, of the application to S. Peter for payment and our Lord's visit to his house. And, further, both Christ and S. Peter were, in this instance, alike subordinated to the Jewish law, which naturally treated them as on exactly the same footing below itself, and recognised no distinction of liability between them; so that no inference whatever can be drawn from the narrative as to their relation to each other under the Gospel, and it remains that the sole reason for the commemoration of the event is to record the miracle of the fish.

(iv.) Finally, S. John is coupled with S. Peter in the

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errand to prepare the Passover, so that here too no special privilege is discernible.

This concludes the evidence obtainable from the four Gospels, and it is manifest so far that no jurisdiction over the Church was clearly bestowed on or unquestionably exercised by S. Peter. And yet the analogy of the Old Testament justifies us in looking for the exact reverse of both these propositions, if the hypothesis of the special charter be sound. For in the Old Testament there are no fewer than three Divine and exceptional charters of privilege bestowed, in all of which the terms of gift are precise and unambiguous, and in all of which, moreover, the right of transmission of the privilege by inheritance is expressly provided for and assured. These are (*a*) the covenant with Abraham and his seed, Gen. xii. 1–3, renewed in Gen. xvii. 6–8, and xxii. 16–18, confirmed to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 3, 4, 5, and to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 13, and xxxv. 11, 12; (*b*) the grant of the priesthood to Aaron and his descendants, Exod. xxviii. 1, confirmed by miracle, Numb. xvi. 31–40, xvii. 5, 8, and amplified in detail, Numb. xviii. 1–8; (*c*) the grant of the kingdom of Israel to David and his posterity, 1 Sam. vii. 1–16, renewed to Solomon, 1 Kings ix. 2, 6. It is contrary to the analogy of faith that the Law should be clear, definite, and literal in a certain respect, and that the Gospel, in a perfectly cognate and similar one, should be obscure, indeterminate, and typical, veiling the grant itself in mystical and enigmatic phrases, and passing over in entire silence the question of transmission. And, regarded from a legal point of view, as the plea of a Divine right conveyed by a formal grant makes necessary to the Ultramontane argument, there is no conclusion possible from this marked departure from these three leading precedents, or, so to speak, exemplifications of form, save that no similar powers were bestowed, or intended to be bestowed, and conveyed by the grant to S. Peter, seeing that the grantor in all four cases is the same person, so that we have a right to look for identical action.

But it may not unreasonably be argued in reply, that as it is S. Peter's peculiar office and dignity to be the Vicar of Christ, we cannot fairly expect to find him discharging that function while Christ is Himself present with His Church on earth, just as we do not look for moonlight when the sun is shining in its strength, albeit at night the moon far excels the stars singly or collectively. It is after the constitution of the Church on the Day of Pentecost, and thenceforward, that we must look for proofs of S. Peter's authority. And it is per-

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fectly true that he does at once assume a prominence in the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, much exceeding anything recorded in the Gospels. The instances are as follows :—

1. He proposes, between the Ascension and Pentecost, the filling up of the vacancy left by Judas Iscariot in the college of Apostles.—(Acts i. 15, 21, 22.)

2. He preaches the first missionary sermon to the Jews on the Day of Pentecost.—(Acts ii. 14, 38.)

3. He works the first miracle of the Church, on the lame man at the Temple Gate—(Acts iii. 6), and two others of the very few recorded in the Acts (ix. 32–42).

4. He preaches the second missionary sermon to the Jews. —(Acts iii. 12.)

5. He is spokesman for himself and S. John before the Sanhedrim.—(Acts iv. 8.)

6. He passes judgment on Ananias and Sapphira.—(Acts v. 3–11.)

7. He is a second time spokesman for the Apostles before the Sanhedrim.—(Acts v. 29.)

8. He preaches the first missionary sermon to the Gentiles, and causes his converts from amongst them to be baptized. —(Acts x. 34, 48.)

9. He argues in the Council of Jerusalem for the relaxation of the ceremonial law in the case of Gentile Christians. —(Acts xv. 7.)

10. S. Paul, at the outset of his regular ministry, after his three years' sojourn in Arabia, goes up to Jerusalem to consult S. Peter.—(Gal. i. 18.)

Most of these acts are evidence of important and prominent station, and (2) and (8) of a distinction in honour greater in some respects than was accorded to any other Apostle, but not one of them singly, nor all of them collectively, can furnish a tittle of proof in favour of a primacy of jurisdiction. And it will be shown later that even the two acts which do confer peculiar lustre on S. Peter's name, are interpreted by ancient Christian writers in a sense adverse to the claim of supremacy.

(i.) The narrative of the election of S. Matthias, so far from helping to establish any claim to sovereign authority on S. Peter's behalf, furnishes one weighty item of evidence against it. Nothing is clearer than that if he had succeeded in any special sense to Christ's authority over the Church, as His Vicar, and if, in consequence, the Apostolic College bore any such relation to him, as, for instance, the College of Cardinals does to the Pope—and the Ultramontane theory

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requires no less—S. Peter would have filled up the vacant place of Judas on his own authority, as the Pope deals with a vacant Cardinal's hat, or as Solomon, when clothed with David's twofold office of king and prophet, dealt with the high-priesthood, when he put Zadok the priest into the room of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35). But nothing of the sort meets us. S. Peter's share in the transaction is strictly confined to suggesting the necessity of designating a successor. The whole College unites in nominating two candidates, and the actual election is decided in quite another way than by the voice of its president, so that there is no likeness even to the mode commonly observed in episcopal elections now-a-days by the Roman Catholic Church in countries where it is disconnected from the State, namely, that the electors to a vacant see submit three names to the Pope, who may select one, or, at his pleasure, set them all aside, and appoint some fourth person, whom none of the electors had chosen or desired to see in the post, as was exemplified by the appointment of Dr. Manning to the titular see of Westminster in 1865, to the prejudice not merely of the freedom of election, but of the vested rights of Archbishop Errington as coadjutor of Cardinal Wiseman *cum jure successionis*. The narrative in the Acts runs thus:—

'Wherefore of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that He was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of His resurrection. And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, Which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two Thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place. And they gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.'—Acts i. 21–26.

(ii.) Preaching a sermon to convert outsiders to the Church is in no respect akin to exercising jurisdiction over those within the Church.

(iii.) Nor is a miracle of healing, also performed on one outside the Church, an act of internal jurisdiction.

(iv.) This case is identical with (ii.).

(v.) A plea in self-defence before an alien and external tribunal is not an act of internal jurisdiction.

(vi.) The sentence on Ananias and Sapphira is unquestionably an example of coercive jurisdiction for the punishment, by Divine authority, of offences against religion. But (*a*) it is

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an extraordinary and miraculous judgment in a wholly exceptional case, not an act of habitual and general jurisdiction; (*b*) it is inflicted not on an Apostle, nor on any office-bearer in the Church, but on two lay persons belonging to the particular local congregation over which S. Peter was then presiding, so that it affords no clue to the extent of his authority over other Apostles, or even over lay folk void of offence; (*c*) the authority exercised is in any case not visibly different in kind or degree from that of S. Paul, when he smote Elymas the sorcerer with blindness (Acts xiii. 6–12), or when he delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. i. 20), while it is actually less than that which S. Paul exercised in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, because on that occasion the Apostle acted as a judge of appeal, not of first instance, deciding the case from a distance, and not on the spot.—(1 Cor. v. 3.)

(vii.) Is identical with v.

(viii.) Is identical with ii., with, however, a noteworthy hint of S. Peter's responsibility to the Apostolic College: 'Can any man forbid water,' &c. (Acts x. 47), words which imply that had no miracle attested his action, it might be disallowed at Jerusalem, in despite of his Apostolic office.

(ix.) This establishes no more than S. Peter's right to a voice in the assembly. He does not open the debate, for he does not begin to speak till 'after there had been much disputing' (Acts xv. 7), nor—what is more significant—does he close it, as will be shown presently.

(x.) S. Paul's consultation of S. Peter merely helps to establish what is not disputed, the prominence and weight which S. Peter's position gave him in the Church, that is to say, his primacy of honour. Whether it implied any obligation on S. Paul's part to be bound by S. Peter's decision, will be seen presently from an examination of another statement made by S. Paul in the very same Epistle, nay, in the very same part of its argument.

So far, then, the case of Ananias and Sapphira is the only example of anything resembling the exercise of actual jurisdiction and authority by S. Peter, and, as has been pointed out, it is a purely local instance, proving no more than the right of a pastor to rebuke and excommunicate one of his own immediate and local flock; a very slender result of the Petrine charter of privilege, if it be what is alleged.

On the other hand, there are three proofs in the Acts that establish more than mere failure of evidence as to S. Peter's exercise of supreme jurisdiction, because they show that it

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was not his to exercise at all. First stands the narrative of the mission to Samaria:—

'Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: (For as yet He was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.'—Acts viii. 14–17.

It is a maxim admitting of no exception in human affairs that the sender is greater than the sent, and therefore the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem was in its totality greater than S. Peter, whatever his rank in relation to its separate members may have been. It would be simply impossible to produce a parallel from the modern Roman Church in which such a phrase as 'The College of Cardinals at Rome, having heard that a dispute as to liturgical questions had arisen at Lyons, sent the Pope and Cardinal Simeoni to settle it,' would be so much as conceivable.

Secondly, when S. Peter had baptized Cornelius and some other Gentiles, the remaining Apostles and brethren, instead of submissively accepting his decision, called him to account for the innovation; and he in turn, instead of simply citing his privilege and bidding them obey, admitted his responsibility to them, by defending himself at length, recounting the circumstances of his vision:—

'And the apostles and brethren that were in Judæa heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them. But Peter rehearsed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order unto them,' &c.—Acts xi. 1–5.

The third item of disproof is even weightier. It is that the presidency and deciding voice in the Council of Jerusalem belong to S. James, and not to S. Peter, who is no more than an influential debater, on a level with S. Paul and S. Barnabas. S. James terminates the discussion with an authoritative ruling, Acts xv. 19, 'Wherefore my sentence is,' or, as it would be more tersely and literally rendered, 'Wherefore I *decide*,' (Gr. *ἐγὼ κρίνω*; Vulg. *ego judico*), whereas the words he uses of S. Peter's argument are merely 'Simeon hath declared,' &c., where the exact rendering is no more than 'stated' or 'related' (Gr. *ἐξηγήσατο*; Vulg. *narravit*). And the decree of the Council is strictly cor-

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porate in its terms, implying absolute equality in the authority of its framers :—

'Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church .... The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting .... It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send .... For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us .... Fare ye well.'—Acts xv. 22.

It will not avail here to argue that the presidency was conceded to S. James out of courtesy to his local rights as Bishop of the diocese of Jerusalem, even though his superior was present, much as in Church Congresses the diocesan is chairman, no matter what prelates of higher rank may attend; simply because this was not in any sense a local assembly for diocesan purposes, nor a merely consultative gathering, not intended to come to any decision, but a Council met to consider a question of first-rate importance to Christianity, and to formulate a binding decree respecting it for the whole Catholic Church of the time; while S. Peter's presence and active share in the proceedings excludes any rebutting plea based on his relation to the Council.

The next step in the inquiry is to ascertain what claims S. Peter himself, by his acts or writings, makes to supreme personal authority, as ruler or teacher of the Church, as it is certain that he could not justifiably conceal nor even minimise a Divine charter of the sort, forming an integral part of the constitution of Christ's Kingdom. Any acts or words of the kind would serve as an inspired comment on the terms of his commission, and should rightly be read into it as its measure and explanation.

There are exactly three passages of Holy Scripture which are relevant to this part of the discussion. They are these :—

1. 'And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man.'—Acts x. 25, 26.

2. 'The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed.'—1 S. Peter v. 1.

3. 'Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance; knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me. Moreover, I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.—2 S. Peter i. 12–15.

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It is to be observed that the phrase 'who am also an elder,' in the second of these citations, is simpler and humbler in the original and in the Vulgate, which have severally *συμπρεσβύτερος* and *consenior*='a fellow-elder;' so that here S. Peter does not press even his apostleship.

Obviously, these three citations, so far from strengthening the case for the supremacy, rather weaken it. To say the least, nothing can be extracted from them which denotes consciousness on S. Peter's part of his especial and singular privilege, while the language of the third quotation is that of a man who is seizing a final opportunity of warning his flock personally for the last time, in hopes that his dying words may have permanent influence; not that of a dying monarch and lawgiver, who had provided for all contingencies to the latest hour of time, by bequeathing infallible judgment and absolute power to a line of successors, heirs to his transmissible and inalienable privilege.

Moreover, if, as we are further assured, the plenitude of teaching as well as of ruling is vested in S. Peter and his successors, we are entitled to look for evidence of this fact also in Holy Scripture. S. Peter's own writings will in that case be our chief storehouse of doctrinal and disciplinary instruction. Here again, if no such writings had come down to us, we might perhaps assume that S. Mark's Gospel (itself the briefest and, in some sense, least important of the four) embodied for us the whole of Petrine teaching, but the existence of the two Epistles of S. Peter bars that plea. What do these Epistles yield us on examination?

They prove to be exclusively moral and hortatory, except in three passages, which only are, so to speak, classical texts supplying information on doctrinal matters not elsewhere set down in equivalent terms. They are these:—

1. 'For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. By which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing; wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ: Who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him.'—1 S. Peter iii. 18–22.

2. 'For this cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are

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dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.'—1 S. Peter iv. 6.

3. 'And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own desruction.'—2 S. Peter iii. 15, 16.

And there is a fourth passage, noticeable as the only one worded in an authoritative fashion, but remarkable for its collective and as it were impersonal wording 'us the apostles,' contrasted with the first person singular of S. Paul and S. John:—

'This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance: that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour.'—2 S. Peter iii. 1, 2.

This, then, is the sum of the direct instruction in matter of doctrine, as distinguished from devotional and moral exhortation, peculiar to these Epistles, which S. Peter has given to the Church—two sentences giving some information as to the souls of those who died before the coming of Christ, one declaration of the nature and effect of Baptism, and one warning against misinterpreting S. Paul's writings. There is no disciplinary instruction whatever. On the other hand, if we turn to the Epistles of S. James and S. John, even without taking account of the latter Apostle's Gospel and Apocalypse, we shall find a larger element of both discipline and doctrine than in S. Peter's writings. Thus, for example, in the second chapter of S. James's Epistle, a rule is laid down about the equality of rich and poor in Christian assemblies:—

'My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?—S. James ii. 1–4.

In another place a rule is laid down about the anointing the sick and the duty of confession:—

'Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let

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him sing psalms. Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him. Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.'—S. James v. 13–16.

And, perhaps more significantly than these passages, the error of those who perverted S. Paul's teaching is combated directly, and not by way of broad general statement, whereby we learn that their error was Antinomianism, and it is not too much to say that, as an element of Christian teaching, S. James's doctrine of the necessity of works as a proof and fruit of faith, laid down in chapter ii. 14–26, in correction of the misuse which had been made in the Early Church, as it has been in modern times also, of S. Paul's language in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, is of incomparably greater practical importance, and has occupied a much larger space in Catholic theology, than the above-cited words of S. Peter.

So, too, if we examine the Epistles of S. John, we shall find more explicit dogmatic teaching and clearer references to ecclesiastical discipline than in S. Peter's writings. There is, chiefly in the First Epistle, the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Homoousion clearly laid down (1 S. John i. 1, 2; ii. 22, 23; iv. 3, 15; v. 6, 10, 12); while in the Second and Third we have these intimations of discipline:—

'Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.'—2 S. John, 9–11;

and

'I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words; and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.'—3 S. John, 9, 10.

That is to say, in effect, if the two Epistles of S. Peter had been lost, as the Epistle to the Church of Laodicea has been lost (Coloss. iv. 16), albeit much food for devout meditation would be gone, no practical difference in the sum and colour of Christian teaching would be discernible, except as

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to the one speculation concerning the spirits of the pre-Christian patriarchs—a conclusion wholly inconsistent with the position of universal Teacher claimed for S. Peter by Roman controversialists, and yet indisputable as matter of fact. For Christianity, as we know it, is Pauline and Johannine all but exclusively, and if there be a Petrine element, it is so obscure as to be matter of conjecture, not of knowledge.[1]

There remains still a great mass of yet uncited Scripture testimony, which is perhaps weightier than all that has thus far been adduced, namely, that which consists of the life and writings of S. Paul.

That superior prominence in the narrative of the Apostolic Church, already named as evident of S. Peter from the moment of the Ascension, is not prolonged throughout. His leadership and chief share in guiding the fortunes and in moulding the shape of the infant community, end, so far as Scripture records for us, with his admission of the Gentiles into Church fellowship. From the time of S. Paul's return to Jerusalem, after the three years of retirement in Arabia which followed his conversion (Gal. i. 17), he completely overshadows S. Peter in the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, to such an extent, indeed, that no mention whatever of the elder Apostle occurs after the account of his deliverance from prison (Acts xii. 3–17), except his speech at the Council of Jerusalem in Acts xv. 7–11, already referred to; whereas the whole latter portion of the Acts, including chapters xiii.–xxviii., with the exception of part of chapter xv., is entirely devoted to recording the actions and missionary travels of S. Paul—an amount of direct biographical record not paralleled by any human lives in Holy Writ save those of Moses and David. And if it be urged that this circumstance is due to the 'accident,' so to speak, of S. Luke, the compiler of the Acts, having been the chosen companion of S. Paul (Coloss. iv. 14, 2 Tim. iv. 11), the reply is obvious, that S. Peter, too, had an Evangelist in his train, 'Marcus, my son' (S. Peter v. 13), so that they

[1] Indeed, if to be found now at all, it is in the literature of the Syrian Churches, influenced by the once famous schools of Edessa and Nisibis, whose Petrine tone is probable evidence that the 'Babylon' of S. Peter's First Epistle is the ancient city of Mesopotamia, in their neighbourhood, and not Rome; in which case the one possible link of *Scriptural* evidence to connect him with that See fails. And whether or not, as these Syrian Churches severed themselves from Catholic unity in hostility to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and have remained separated ever since, they are proof that adherence to Petrine teaching does not necessarily connote orthodoxy or Catholicity in all respects.

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were on an equal footing in that respect; and, had the events of S. Peter's life been as important for us to know as those of S. Paul, it would doubtless have pleased the Holy Ghost to have inspired S. Mark to write them for our edification. Yet, on the Ultramontane hypothesis, every act and word of S. Peter must needs be of vital interest, and especially everything which took the shape of a dogmatic instruction or a disciplinary regulation, as moulding the Church for all time.

The second fact which meets us under this head is the great bulk of S. Paul's writings, here again only paralleled by Moses, even if we exclude the Epistle to the Hebrews as not S. Paul's, albeit Pauline in its doctrine. Apart from the Pentateuch, Isaiah, with its 66 chapters of 1,302 verses, is the largest product of a single author in the Old Testament; for the Psalter, with its 150 Psalms of 2,500 verses, is the work of several hands besides that of David; while S. Paul's Epistles occupy 87 chapters, with 2,023 verses, and if the Hebrews be added in, 100 chapters with 2,325 verses, as compared with the eight chapters of 166 verses of S. Peter's two Epistles. Further, S. Luke's or the Pauline Gospel, exceeds S. Mark's, or the Petrine, in the ratio of 24 chapters with 1,151 verses to 16 chapters with 678 verses; and there are the 28 chapters of 1,007 verses of the Acts, also Pauline in source, to be added in besides, making a grand total of 152 chapters with 4,483 verses as against 24 chapters with 844 verses.

In the third place, not only are the directly Pauline writings fourteen times in excess of the Petrine in mere bulk, but they are of enormously greater literary and theological importance, being not merely replete with doctrinal statements and disciplinary enactments, such as are noticeably absent from S. Peter's Epistles, but having in truth been incomparably the most powerful factor in moulding the life and tenets of the Christian Church, which has drawn, for example, the whole of its teaching on grace, election, and free-will, on the moral and dogmatic results of Christ's Resurrection, on the nature of Baptism, on the unity of the Church, on the operations of the Holy Spirit, on the place of tradition as an element of doctrine, on the relation of the Law to the Gospel, and on the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical discipline, from the Epistles of S. Paul; for his Pastoral Epistles are our chief repertory of knowledge as to the rules of Church government which prevailed in the earliest times. So thoroughly did the Fathers realise this pre-eminence of S. Paul as the teacher of the Church, that wherever we find 'the

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Apostle' referred to by them, with no specification of person, they always mean S. Paul. So Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 36; so Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* ii. 7; so S. Augustine, *Cont. Epist. Pelag.*, saying, 'So, when "Apostle" is said, if it be not expressed what Apostle, none is understood save Paul;' so S. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. *in Act. Apost.*, observing, 'When you say *Apostle*, at once all think of him [Paul], just as when you say *Baptist* they think of John.' And this custom prevails in the Oriental Churches to the present day, where 'the Apostle' means the Book of S. Paul's Epistles. Similarly, S. Luke's Gospel is far more important than S. Mark's, which, save for a few passages, might be described as a short recension of S. Matthew, and could, so to speak, be more easily dispensed with than any of the others.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this broad fact with the position now claimed for the Popes as chief teachers of the Church in virtue of their heirship to S. Peter, for it is simply indisputable that S. Peter either did not fill this office at all in the primitive Church, or that by divine intervention he was set aside in it, and the records of his occupancy destroyed, leaving the apparent dignity, as well as the actual influence, in the hands of S. Paul, so far, at any rate, as the Biblical notices guide us; thus carrying out under the New Testament that rule of the first being last and the elder serving the younger, laid down by Christ, and evidenced in the Old Testament in the cases of Cain and Seth, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Reuben and Joseph or Judah, Aaron and Moses, Eliab and David, Adonijah and Solomon.

Such is the general result of this remarkable contrast in the parts severally played by the two Apostles in the New Testament, but there is in addition some important evidence obtainable from S. Paul's writings; first, as to the true measure and limits of S. Peter's official authority; and secondly, as regards the extent of S. Paul's own powers.

The first class of these testimonies is comprised in the following paragraphs:—

i. 'Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'—1 Cor. i. 10–13.

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ii. 'Therefore let no man glory in men. For all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's.'—1 Cor. iii. 21–23.

iii. 'When they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles:) and when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do. But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?' —Gal. ii. 7–14.

iv. 'And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.'—1 Cor. xii. 28.

v. 'And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.'—Eph. iv. 11, 12.

From these five passages we collect the subjoined facts, as divinely revealed:—

a. It was a mark of schism to adhere specifically to S. Peter so as to form a separate school or party in the Church, instead of this very choice being treated, as it is by Ultramontanes now, as the one peculiar note and test of Catholic fellowship and of covenant with God.

b. The Christian body is not S. Peter's domain, but he himself, contrariwise, as part of that body, belongs to the whole, and is included in its possessions, as it in turn is included in Christ's.

c. Instead of the Church universal being, so to speak, S. Peter's diocese, he was divinely restricted to the Circumcision, that is to say, the Church of Jewish converts, and had no jurisdiction whatever over the Gentiles, and, consequently, as no subsequent enlargement of this restriction is recorded

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either by Scripture or by other sources of revelation, he could not transmit to any of his successors a wider authority than that here named as his limit. The restriction is nowhere explained to us, and looks at first sight somewhat inconsistent with S. Peter's priority in making Gentile converts; but it is probably analogous to the subdivision of a too extensive diocese in our own day, whereby the original bishop gradually finds one district after another withdrawn from his jurisdiction, not in the least by way of slight or penalty, but as a matter of necessity. Whatever be the cause, nevertheless such withdrawal deprives him of episcopal rights over the severed districts, unless saved to him in the capacity of Metropolitan by express provision, nor can he transmit his original rights over the whole unbroken diocese to his successors. There are two modern and familiar instances, Australia and Cape Town, in the history of the Anglican Church in the colonies. The inference, so far, is that S. Peter had no Gentile jurisdiction to transmit, for the separate 'Church of the Circumcision' did not merge in the general Christian body till the reign of Hadrian, fifty years after S. Peter's death.

d. The order of the three Apostolic names, 'James, Cephas, John,' cited by S Paul, seems to imply either equality of rank amongst them, or else that S. James, as head of the principal Church of the Circumcision at Jerusalem, was now in some sense S. Peter's ecclesiastical superior. And this view is supported by the words which tell us (Gal. ii. 12) that S. Peter's line of policy at Antioch was through fear of S. James's legates, a fear not easily explicable on any ground save that of some accountability on his part to them. There is one further item of evidence, too slight for independent importance, but cumulative, which makes in the same direction, namely, that when S. Peter was released from prison he directed the people at S. Mark's house to 'Go, shew these things unto James and to the brethren' (Acts xii.)—words which may imply that he was in some way bound to report himself to what, in modern language, would be called the Bishop and Chapter of the see.

e. Next, there is at once the full disproof of S. Peter's infallibility and of his supremacy. He decides wrongly on an important question of faith and morals—for even if we accept the view of S. Jerome and others, that the debate was pre-arranged between S. Paul and himself, he was assigned the worse cause—as is established by the Church having ever since taken S. Paul's view of the situation, and he is withstood face to face, not submitted to, by the younger Apostle, who,

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had he been in the wrong, would have had his rebellion—for it would have been no less—as clearly censured in Holy Writ as S. Peter's denial of Christ, to warn all others by so terrible a fall, instead of standing as it does now, by the will of the Holy Ghost, as a proof of S. Paul's zeal and loyalty for the truth of the Gospel, and a ground of justifiable satisfaction to himself.

f. Lastly, the sketch which S. Paul gives of the divinely ordered constitution of the Church becomes more than merely defective if there were any office and authority higher than that of an Apostle instituted by Christ, and forming the immediate link of connexion—the neck, so to speak, between the Head and the Body.

It is clear, then, that in his capacity of Doctor of the Gentiles, and chief theologian of the primitive Christian Church, S. Paul, who expressly states himself to 'have kept back nothing that was profitable,' and to 'have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God' (Acts xx. 20, 27), not merely avoids any allusion in his copious writings to the 'privilege of Peter,' but uses language so manifestly inconsistent therewith as to necessarily mislead all to whom those writings might come, supposing that privilege to be a matter of Divine truth; while the silence of S. James also, as indeed of all the other New Testament writers, may be taken as proof that this was not one of S. Paul's misconstrued teachings which had been perverted, and needing correction at some other hand, but the received doctrine of Apostolic days.

There is besides this direct Pauline gloss on the alleged privilege of Peter, an indirect one, even fuller in its statements, and scarcely less convincing in its form. It is quite possible to argue that we have no right to draw conclusions from S. Peter's marked reticence as to his own supremacy, because we are not in a position to judge what kind of acts and language he would have used to enforce it, and we are not justified in treating our mere guess-work as to what would or would not have been fit and proper for him to say and do, as if it were a solid piece of evidence. In truth, this mode of reasoning (technically called the *à priori* argument) is itself the mainstay of every Roman controversialist who pleads the *practical necessity* of a visible and infallible Head of the Church, as a proof that such a head does really exist, so that the objection is not valid from that quarter, but it may be allowed to pass, since it can readily be dispensed with, inasmuch as S. Paul supplies us with all the illustration required.

The peculiar and altogether exceptional mode of S. Paul's

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appointment to the Apostolic office, and the leading part he took against the Judaizing school in the infant Church, caused his rank to be frequently called in question, and his authority disputed. Hence, he was obliged to magnify his office, and to insist on his powers and privileges, and that frequently; albeit there could be no such imperative obligation for him to do so, as for S. Peter to do the like, if it were true, as we are now told, that the whole relation of every human soul to the Father and Christ depends on, and is inextricably bound up with, its relation to the See of Peter. The rejection of S. Paul might be, and in fact was, perfectly consistent with acceptance of Christianity and with membership of the Church, for it did not involve the extrusion of the Judaizers who refused to acknowledge him, but the rejection of S. Peter, on the Ultramontane theory, would have been apostasy from the Faith itself. S. Peter would, therefore, have been bound, if not on his own behalf, yet on that of his successors, to allege his peculiar charter as plainly as S. Paul does his Apostolic character.

Let us now collect and examine the most salient instances of this vindication of his rights by S. Paul:—

a. 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, (which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures,) concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead: by Whom we have received grace and apostleship, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for His name: among whom are ye also the called of Jesus Christ: to all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.'—Rom. i. 1–7.

b. 'For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.'—Rom. xi. 13.

c. 'Nevertheless, brethen, I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost. I have therefore whereof I may glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God. For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ. Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation.'—Rom. xv. 15–20.

d. 'I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons

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I warn you. For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel. Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me. For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every church. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?'—1 Cor. iv. 14–21.

e. 'For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.'—1 Cor. v. 3–5.

f. 'But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk. And so ordain I in all churches. (Gr. *καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πασαῖς διατάσσομαι.* Vulg. *et sicut in omnibus ecclesiis doceo*).'—1 Cor. vii. 17.

g. 'Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ. Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you.'—1 Cor. xi. 1, 2.

h. 'Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.'—1 Cor. xvi. 1–4.

i. 'For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things. To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also: for if I forgave anything, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ.'—2 Cor. ii. 9, 10.

j. 'For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles.'—2 Cor. xi. 5.

k. Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.' (Gr. *ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίων*: Vulg. *solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.*)—2 Cor. xi. 28.

l. 'I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing. Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds. For what is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? forgive me this wrong.'—2 Cor. xii. 11–13.

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m. 'This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare: since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you. . . . . Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.'—2 Cor. xiii. 1–3, 10.

n. 'Those things, which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do: and the God of peace shall be with you.'—Philipp. iv. 9.

o. 'Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. . . . . And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.'—2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

p. 'Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.'—2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

q. 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.'—Tit. i. 5.

Besides all these statements of S. Paul's apostolic authority, we find disciplinary enactments, which need not be cited in detail, laid down by him on the following points:—

1. Observance of Jewish distinctions of food and of days, Rom. xiv.; Coloss. ii. 16.
2. Lawsuits between Christians, 1 Cor. vi. 1–4.
3. Marriage-tie between Christians and heathens, 1 Cor. vii. 12–17.
4. Lawfulness of using pagan sacrifices as food, 1 Cor. viii.; x. 27–28.
5. Head-dress of men and women at public prayer, 1 Cor. xi. 4–16.
6. Preparation for Communion, 1 Cor. xi. 28.
7. Vernacular language in public worship, 1 Cor. xiv. 15–19.
8. Order in public worship, 1 Cor. xiv. 27–33, 40.
9. Women forbidden to preach, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.
10. Weekly offertory, 1 Cor. xvi. 2.
11. Intercessory prayer, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.
12. Dress and conduct of women, 1 Tim. ii. 9–15.
13. Qualifications of bishops and deacons, 1 Tim. iii. 1–13; Tit. i. 7–9.

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14. Qualification of Church widows, 1 Tim. v. 9-13.

15. Excommunication of heretics after two admonitions, Tit. iii. 10.

These disciplinary rulings need not be further considered, but it is important to cite them as showing what kind of matters we might fairly expect to have found in S. Peter's Epistles had he been supreme ruler as well as chief teacher in the Church of Apostolic times. But it is desirable to emphasise certain results of the fuller citations just given, excluding such of those texts as we may fairly hold to denote no more than the degree of rank and power common to the Apostolic body, albeit even these are not paralleled by anything in S. Peter's Epistles.

a. S. Paul alleges himself to be 'not a whit [*al.* in nothing] behind the very chiefest Apostles,' making no exception in favour of S. Peter or S. James.

b. He claims the whole field of the 'Church of the Uncircumcision' as his own, to the direct and specified *exclusion* of S. Peter, alleging himself further to be '*the*,' not *an*, 'Apostle of the Gentiles.'

c. In virtue of this claim, he demands the obedience of the *Roman Church*, giving no hint throughout the Epistle to it of any superior, previous, or co-existing claim on S. Peter's part.

d. He tells the Church of Corinth that the only particular in which it was inferior to any other Church was that he did not permit it to defray his expenses. He gives no hint that Antioch or Rome, as S. Peter's see, had any priority or authority over Corinth.

e. He declares that the 'care of *all* the Churches' is his daily task.

f. He ordains rules to be observed 'in *all* Churches.'

g. He sends his legates with plenary powers to act for him, alleges his commission to them as their full warrant, and, unlike S. Peter (2 Pet. i. 13–15), provides at least one personal successor to himself, to transmit his teaching authoritatively.

h. He directs the excommunication of all persons who refuse to accept his injunctions as being in effect those of Christ Himself.

Now, if it were S. Paul who is alleged to have been the infallible and sovereign head of the Church Militant on earth, it would be extremely easy to support such an allegation by the cited passages, all of which are at least consistent with such a theory, and some of which even seem to force it on our attention. Nevertheless, no such allegation has ever been

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made on S. Paul's behalf. We can guess what use would have been made of it on S. Peter's behalf had such evidence been producible from the Petrine Epistles.

Further, not only are we justified in saying that the claim made for S. Peter absolutely requires the production of some at least equivalent, if not more cogent, Scriptural testimony, confessedly non-existent, but that the Pauline assertions *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, are wholly inconsistent with and destructive of the alleged 'Privilege of Peter,' as stated by the modern Church of Rome, unless some overwhelmingly rebutting evidence, unequivocally bearing the stamp of Divine revelation, can be adduced in its favour from some other quarter than Holy Scripture—a question to be considered later.

The charter of privilege, so far, is shown to be restricted to the words in S. Matthew xvi. 18, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.' This sentence obviously does not satisfy the second condition—that of clearness—laid down by the Canonists, as necessary to fulfil the legal requirements of a claim of privilege, because there is confessedly an ambiguity in its wording, which is not certain, manifest, and unmistakable in meaning.

The ambiguity consists in a play upon words, so to speak, visible in the Greek text, which runs thus: Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: a peculiarity reproduced by the Vulgate, which translates thus: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.*

With this compare the partially parallel passage in S. John i. 42, 'And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A stone.' Here the Greek runs: Σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Πέτρος; and the Vulgate: *Tu vocaberis Cephas; quod interpretatur Petrus.*

Obviously, to warrant the stress laid on this obscure saying of our Lord's, the *same* word ought to be used in both clauses of the sentence, and it should run in the Greek: Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ, κ.τ.λ., or else Σὺ εἶ πέτρα in the first clause; and in the Vulgate: *Tu es Petrus, et super hunc Petrum, &c.*, or else we ought to have *Tu es Petra* in the earlier member. As the clauses actually stand, there is contrast as well as likeness implied, and the *stone*, although akin to the *rock*, is something different and apart from it, less in dimensions, stability, and importance, for though πέτρος is used with extreme rarity in Attic Greek to signify a rock, it is never so found in the LXX. or the New Testament.

An ingenious reply was devised by Cardinal Bellarmine

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to this objection, which has been frequently reproduced since his time. It is that our Lord, speaking in Syriac or Aramaic, actually did use the same word in both clauses, saying, 'Thou art *Cepha*, and upon this *Cepha* I will build My Church.' The answer to this is fivefold. (1) It is matter of reasonable conjecture and high probability only, not of absolute certainty, that our Lord did use, or must have used, the same word, and indeed that He spoke in Syriac or Aramaic at all, and not in Greek. (2) In any case, if His original words are *not* those of the Greek S. Matthew, they are for ever lost to us, and as the very first and fundamental rule of Canon law as to any privilege is that the document containing it must be produced, this plea is barred. (3) For us, S. Matthew's Greek is the original text, and not a mere translation, so that even *if* we were sure of the unproved assertion made by Bellarmine, we should yet be compelled to accept S. Matthew's variation of the two words, as divinely inspired for the express purpose of marking a difference which the Syriac failed to accentuate or suggest. (4) In any case, no Roman Catholic is at liberty to raise the plea at all, because he is certainly bound by the decrees of Trent, and perhaps by those of the Vatican, to accept the 'old Latin Vulgate edition as holy and canonical' (*Conc. Vatic. Constit. de Fide.* cap. ii.), and inasmuch as this version marks the antithesis between *Petrus* and *petram*, Roman Catholics are barred from asserting their identity. (5) Lastly, as regards those not so restricted, and who are at liberty to look at the question as a purely textual and grammatical one, the reply is direct and conclusive, that both the Hebrew *Cepha* (כֵּיפָא) and the Peshîttâ Syriac (ܟܐܦܐ), when they mean rock or stone, are of the feminine gender, which Cephas, or Peter, as a masculine noun denoting a man's name, certainly is not, either in Syriac or Greek; and in the ancient Syriac version of this very passage, S. Matt. xvi. 18 (doubtless the most trustworthy gloss obtainable), the feminine pronoun is found united with the second *Cepha* thus, ܟܐܦܐ ܗܕܐ (*hâdhe* Kipha=*hanc* petram), not ܗܢܐ (*hana* =*hunc*), which Bellarmine's argument would require.[1]

[1] This Peshîttâ version (which in this place agrees precisely with the Curetonian Gospels), assuming that Christ spoke Syro-Aramaic, is probably the nearest reproduction extant of His exact words, and is at any rate good authority for the interpretation of S. Matt. xvi. 18, in the second century. And it is very noteworthy that in two other extremely old Syriac versions, the Palestinian Lectionary, published by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo from a Vatican MS., and the 'Philoxenian' version by Thomas of Heraclea (A.D. 533), the Greek word *Petros* occurs in the first clause in

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If the question be now regarded from another Biblical standpoint, the result is not more favourable to the Ultramontane claim. The theological principle known as the analogy of faith, already referred to, demands that the Gospel shall always be at the very least on an equality with the Law, and that, wherever possible, it shall move in a higher plane, but that it shall never descend under any circumstances whatever to a lower level, far less substitute a type for a reality, a shadow for a substance.

Now, wherever in the Old Testament the word *rock* is spiritually used to denote either the basis and strength of the Hebrew Church, or the refuge and confidence of a single believer, it invariably means none save Almighty God Himself, in which sense it occurs no fewer than 35 times.

Here are a few select examples:—

1. 'He is the rock, His work is perfect: for all His ways are judgment: a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is He.'—Deut. xxii. 4.

2. 'Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee.'—Deut. xxxii. 18.

3. 'There is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like our God.'—1 Sam. ii. 2.

4. 'The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer; the God of my rock. For who is God, save the Lord? and who is a rock, save our God?'—2 Sam. xxii. 2, 3, 32.

5. 'The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.'—2 Sam. xxiii. 3.

6. 'Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation. He only is my rock and my salvation; He is my defence; I shall not be greatly moved.'—Psalm lxii. 1, 2.

7. 'Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is the Rock of ages.'—Isa. xxvi. 4. (marg.)

8. 'Is there a God beside Me? yea, no Rock, I know not any.'—Isa. xliv. 8. (marg.)

The remaining examples are Deut. xxxii. 15, 30, 31; 2 Sam. xxii. 47; Psalm xviii. 2, 31, 46; xix. 14 (marg.); xvii. 5; xxviii. 1; xxxi. 2, 3; xlii. 9; lxi. 2; lxii. 2, 7; lxxi. 3. (marg.); lxxiii. 26 (marg.); lxxviii. 35; lxxxix. 26; xcii. 15; xciv. 22 (marg.); xcv. 1; Isa. viii. 14; xxx. 29 (marg.); li. 1; Hab. i. 12. (marg.)

Even if this remarkable identity of spiritual application

Syriac letters; while the native word *Kîphâ* is in the second clause of the Palestinian version, and its synonym *shu'â* in the second clause of the Philoxenian, thus studiously avoiding even the chance of identification of the Rock with Peter.

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were not preserved, we have three authoritative glosses in the New Testament itself—one by our Lord, given with slight verbal differences by S. Matthew vii. 24, 25, and S. Luke vi. 47, 48:—

'Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of Mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.'

'Whosoever cometh to Me, and heareth My sayings, and doeth them, I will show you to whom he is like: He is like a man which built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a rock: and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it: for it was founded upon a rock.'

S. Paul supplies the others, 1 Cor. x. 4, and 1 Cor. iii. 2:—

'They drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ.'

'For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'

If it had so happened that these New Testament illustrations of the meaning of S. Matthew xvi. 18 were absent, and that in their stead others were found which seemed to warrant, or even to enforce, the Ultramontane interpretation, then in that case there would be here the only exception, and that a wholly unaccountable one, to the rule which insists that the Gospel plane must be higher than the Mosaic, wherever a higher plane is conceivable and possible. For extol as we may the privilege of Peter, clothe him with one semi-divine attribute after another, magnify as we choose his share in the establishment of Christianity, and his authority over the Apostolic Church; nevertheless, the interval between him and God cannot be appreciably abridged, the finite cannot be stretched so as even to suggest the infinite. And if the Infinite and Almighty was the Rock of Israel, while Peter is the rock of Christendom, then the Gospel has sunk unspeakably and immeasurably below the Law. Even in human affairs, every one acknowledges the wide difference—perfectly measurable though it be—there is between the personal visit of a king, coming in a recognised and public fashion to his subjects, and that of a mere viceroy, though loaded with titles, decorated with orders, and clothed with plenipotentiary powers; and no one could be persuaded that equal favour had been shown to two cities, one of which had welcomed the sovereign as a personal guest, while the other had perforce to put up with a

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deputy. So ends our inquiry into that part of the evidence for the personal privilege of Peter which is professedly based on Holy Scripture, regarded in the light of a purely legal document of absolutely indefeasible authority, and as the main evidence adduced in support of the claim. It is obvious that unless some corroborative testimony of equally high and indisputable character can be discovered the case is not made out, and does not even satisfy several of the tests of validity exacted by the Roman Canon law itself in all claims of privilege.

ART. II.—ETERNAL PUNISHMENT AND THE RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS.

1. *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things.* A Letter to a Friend. By ANDREW JUKES. (Longmans.)
2. *Salvator Mundi; or, Is Christ the Saviour of all Men?* By SAMUEL COX. (C. Kegan Paul and Co.)
3. *Catholic Eschatology and Universalism.* An Essay on the Doctrine of Future Retribution. By HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A. (Basil Montagu Pickering.)

ONE of the greatest and most pressing difficulties of the present day has reference to Eschatology. On every side men are asking the question—What are we to believe regarding the final estate of mankind, and more especially in regard to the wicked? A very definite doctrine of eternal punishment has come down to us among the traditions of post-Reformation Theology; but it is just that doctrine that it is felt impossible to receive. How are we to reconcile the eternal burning of hell with the goodness of God? The punishment, it is felt, is out of all proportion to the offence. And then other questionings arise, Why did God create men when He must have foreseen the end? Of one man, it was said, and probably it is true of others, 'good were it for that man if he had not been born.' Then why were they born? Then, it is also asked, had they a fair chance? If so, what mean those dogmas of a fallen nature, which is *utterly* corrupt and powerless, which must certainly go wrong if left to itself? What means the dogma of irresistible grace, which teaches that God and God only can save; that men must be snatched as brands from the burning, if they are to be saved at all?

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If God, and God only, can save, then why does He not save all? Is it so certain that He will not save all? What is there in Scripture or in reason and conscience which militates against this supposition? At any rate, we feel that eternal burning is not reconcilable with the goodness of God. Either we must cease to believe in the goodness of God, or we must cease to believe in eternal burning.

So men reason. They gather arguments from reason and conscience against the doctrine of eternal punishment; and, then, under the influence of strong prepossession, they set themselves to criticise the teaching of Holy Scripture. That teaching is plain enough to the simple mind; but by subjecting it to torture and criticism they contrive to make it say something quite different. It never seems to have occurred to them to ask, whether the real difficulty may lie, not in the teaching of Holy Scripture, but in a false and narrow system of Christian doctrine, which they have inherited. That system is perfectly well known to Church theologians under the name of Calvinism. Ever since the Reformation High Church theologians have been predicting of it just such consequences as those which are now ensuing. They have pointed out that its positions and premisses are so narrow as to be quite onesided. They have especially urged that they must issue in positions which are quite incompatible with the goodness of God. It may be good for the pious Christian subjectively to feel that he is *utterly* corrupt in nature, that he can *do nothing* towards his salvation, that God must *do all;* but to change these pious feelings, as Calvinism does, into objective theological dogmas, can only end in disaster. We see the consequences of doing so in the difficulty about eternal punishment which perplexes us at the present moment; and it is, in fact, only one of the difficulties in which the Calvinistic system issues on every side.

From this it is perfectly clear that the true remedy for the present perplexity is theological reform. The question of eternal punishment can never be satisfactorily solved, if it is treated in an isolated way; more especially if it is treated by itself, *with the tacit assumption of the Calvinistic premisses.* The true remedy is to be found in the correction of these premisses; in the widening of our theological conceptions generally. It will be seen that the moment this is done, the presumptions and arguments on which the denial of eternal punishment is based, disappear, and the doctrine, which is undoubtedly the doctrine of Holy Scripture, emerges in harmony with the conscience of mankind and the goodness

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of God. Unhappily this is not the way in which the subject has been approached. It has been dealt with exclusively in an isolated way, and the consequences, as we think, have been very deplorable. A doctrine has been advocated, which is at variance, as we think, with all the facts of human nature, with God's general government of the world, and with the plain teaching of Holy Scripture. The doctrine, too, is far from being a purely speculative one. On the contrary, it is intensely practical. Surely if the doctrine of eternal and utter failure be true, and if the essential elements of such failure are worked out in a man's life in this world, the responsibility of those who would persuade men to the contrary must be very great.

Foremost among the advocates of this new doctrine we must name Andrew Jukes; nor can we name him without a feeling of the deepest respect. None can read his writings without a feeling of great admiration for their many excellencies. In them we encounter a profoundly reverent and devout mind, penetrated throughout with all the poetry of mysticism. In fact, it is chiefly owing to the charm of his writings that the doctrine he so winningly advocates has gained such wide acceptance. He gains the confidence of his reader, and hurries him on to accept his conclusion along a smooth and easy path. And yet Mr. Jukes is pre-eminently an unsafe guide. When we have read through his book and begin to reflect, we are amazed to think of the doubts and difficulties that now start up with such persistent sternness. We never encountered them along the flowery path by which he led us, and yet there they are, demanding consideration and utterly refusing to be charmed away. The truth is, that Mr. Jukes' mind is essentially untheological, and consequently unfit for grappling with such a difficulty as the present. There is a singular want of comprehensiveness about it, and an equally singular inability to see the force of facts and considerations lying outside its immediate horizon.

In many respects Mr. Cox is the very opposite of Mr. Jukes. If Mr. Jukes gains the confidence of his reader and hurries him along in spite of himself, Mr. Cox manages to destroy confidence from the very outset by his too great eagerness to plead his cause. For instance, he begins by taking a saying of our Blessed Lord, which was clearly uttered *ad hominem* in the sense of an absolute dogmatic statement; and upon this wrong rendering bases the most momentous of the conclusions he arrives at. The sequel of the book is entirely in accordance with this unhappy beginning. What

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could be more futile, for instance, than to take the words *damnation* and *hell* for separate consideration, to trace them up to their original meaning, and then to attempt to pin down the Christian to the acceptance of the meaning and import which attached to them in Jewish or heathen systems? We would just ask Mr. Cox to perform a similar process upon the words Θεός, *Deus*, or God, and to reflect upon the consequences. He seems entirely to forget that Christianity is a new revelation, and consequently that its technical terms, bearing on momentous subjects, received a new meaning and a quite different application. That meaning is not to be ascertained by any tracing of words up to their origin, but by careful induction of all the facts in the new revelation which bear upon the point. In regard to the words under consideration, Christ presents to us, as the last and closing scene, the outcome of all that is now going on—the awful picture of the Judge upon his throne: all nations are gathered before Him, and He pronounces, as we believe, an irrevocable sentence, the consequence of which is, that the wicked are sent away into everlasting fire, or everlasting chastisement. Now, whatever the words which express *damnation* and *hell* may have meant in other systems, this grand fact fixes their meaning for Christianity; nor can they be dismissed from the new revelation in the easy way in which Mr. Cox professes to dismiss them. We think the effect of such one-sided reasoning can only be disastrous. Mr. Cox must singularly deceive himself, if he imagines his readers cannot see through it; and what, we ask, will be the effect upon their Christian faith, supposing that their feelings are engaged on his own side? We regret it all the more on Mr. Cox's own account; for his book is the work of an able man, and with many of its thoughts and aspirations we have great sympathy.

On the other side, we can speak very highly of Mr. Oxenham's work. Mr. Oxenham is an able and accomplished writer and a controversialist of the first order. Though written from the Roman Catholic point of view, his book will be none the less useful to Churchmen who desire to master the subject, and it is especially valuable in view of modern thought and literature. Mr. Oxenham deals with the subject on the threefold basis of reason, tradition, and scripture; and on each of these heads the reader will find much matter and very comprehensive and sound reasoning.

In addressing ourselves to the consideration of the momentous subject of eternal punishment, the first thing that

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claims our attention seems to be the question, What does Christianity really teach about hell, or the state of the lost? Unfortunately we miss in all the works which we have met with a really comprehensive inquiry into this point. In fact, all the writers whom we have studied pass it by. They assume, without the slightest inquiry, popular and untheological notions, and then they argue that because a hell, such as the popular fancy has painted it, is to them incredible, therefore there is no hell at all. It is clear that this is altogether a wrong procedure. Before we reject the doctrine of eternal punishment we ought to make sure that what we reject is really the Christian doctrine. By rejecting hastily the entire doctrine because a particular view of it is deemed incredible, we may really be doing immense mischief. No thinking man can fail to see that this doctrine viewed in its essential elements, and apart from any particular rendering, has a momentous bearing on Christian life and upon our whole theological system. In fact, without the contemplated possibility of final and irreversible failure, it is difficult to see how the Christian life could be built up on the lines of Holy Scripture, or how our theological system could remain the same in any one of its parts. By rejecting the doctrine uncritically and in block we may be not only losing hold of a very awful truth, but committing ourselves to a revolution.

If we look at Holy Scripture we find some very awful images of the suffering of hell. In Rev. xx. 10, we read, 'And the Devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented (*βασανισθήσονται*) day and night, for ever and ever.' Immediately after this passage we have a picture of the Day of Judgment, and the description ends with the sentence, 'Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.' This quite agrees with our Lord's own description of the Day of Judgment, Matt. xxv. 41. He is there represented as saying to the wicked, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into [the] everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels;' and afterwards it is said, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment' (*κόλασις* = chastisement), 'but the righteous into life eternal.' Again, in S. Matt. xiii. 41, we have our Lord saying. 'The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a [or the] furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.' Similarly, in S. Mark ix. 43, he says, 'If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for

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thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.'

In regard to all these descriptions, it is to be remarked that they are *images*, what the Germans call *Vorstellungen;* and as such they are untheological. Before they can become theological, they must be translated from the image form and rendered into consistent and intelligible thoughts—into what the Germans call *Gedanken.* No doubt, in performing the work of translation, theology must be very careful absolutely to verify the image. She must not explain it away, or translate only a part of it. She must verify it completely, so that everything which lies before the mental eye in the image may be found in the thought. In precisely the same way, the rising of the sun is to science an image; and as such it is unscientific. Before it can be made science it must be translated into a consistent and intelligible thought. And this analogy of scientific procedure suggests an important remark in regard to theology. Science *apparently* contradicts the fact of the sun's rising in the explanation which it gives of it, though it does not really do so. And so it may seem in regard to theology. In the conception or idea which theology may give of the state of the lost there may be an apparent contradiction of the letter of Scripture. The only thing to make sure of is, that, as in science the whole content of the image is rendered in the thought, so it may be in theology.

The popular mind, however, is not theological, just as it is not scientific; nor is it desirable that it should be so. In fact, it is far more effectually taught by means of images than it could be by thoughts. Yet there is a drawback here. The images of the popular mind have a constant tendency to expand and complete themselves, and when they have done so to come before the mind with all the pretensions of theological dogma to the great detriment of Christian faith. In regard, for instance, to the present question, the popular fancy has filled up and fixed the images of Scripture into a state of things which is truly appalling.

Take for, instance, the following description from Mr. Spurgeon:—

'Only conceive that poor wretch in the flames, who is saying "Oh for one drop of water to cool my parched tongue!" See how his tongue hangs from between his blistered lips! How it excoriates and burns the roof of his mouth, as if it were a firebrand! Behold him crying for a drop of water. I will not picture the scene. Suf-

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fice it for me to close up by saying, that the hell of hells will be to thee, poor sinner, the thought that it is to be for ever. Thou wilt look up there on the throne of God, and on it shall be written, "For ever!" When the damned jingle the burning irons of their torments, they shall say "For ever!" When they howl, echo cries, "For ever!"

"For ever" is written on their racks;
"For ever," on their chains;
"For ever" burneth in the fire,
"For ever" ever reigns.

Doleful thought! "If I could but get out, then I should be happy. If there were a hope of deliverance, then I might be peaceful; but here I am for ever." Sirs, if ye would escape eternal torments, if ye would be found amongst the number of the blessed, the road to heaven can only be found by prayer.'[1]

Or take another picture from a Roman Catholic writer:—

'See on the middle of that red-hot floor stands a girl: she looks about sixteen years old. Her feet are bare. Listen: she speaks, "I have been standing on this red-hot floor for years! Look at my burnt and bleeding feet! Let me go off this burning floor for one moment!" The fifth dungeon is the red-hot oven. The little child is in the red-hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out; see how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet upon the floor. God was very good to this little child. Very likely God saw it would get worse and worse, and would never repent, and so it would have to be punished more severely in hell. So God in His mercy called it out of the world in early childhood.'[2]

Similar pictures of the torments of hell have been painted by Christians in all ages. Thus S. Cyprian: 'The glowing hell shall burn the damned for ever, and the devouring punishment shall consume them with living flames; nor will there be any means whereby the torments may be sometimes assuaged, or brought to an end.'[3] To a similar effect quotations might be given from Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and indeed from great authorities in all ages of the Church.

But now let us treat these statements theologically. As I have already remarked, it is the business of theology not to deny the statements of revelation, or to evacuate their meaning, but to present them in a consistent and thinkable shape. Now when we come to look at these statements from this point of view, it is seen at once that certain abatements must be made by every one. It is clear that the furnace or fiery

[1] Sermon preached in 1855, quoted in White's *Life in Christ*, p. 65.
[2] *Sight of Hell.* By Rev. J. Furniss.
[3] *S. Cyprian. ad Demet.* p. 195.

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lake of hell cannot be a furnace such as we kindle in this world, nor can it act upon material bodies such as we at present possess. Unless God reverses all the laws by which He at present governs physical nature, the very first contact of a material body with such a furnace would destroy life, and so hell would come to an end as soon as it began. But we have no right to suppose that God will change the laws of physical nature. Theology must insist strictly upon this point; for if it is not granted, there is an end to all reasoning upon the subject. Indeed those who draw conclusions and maintain dogmas in defiance of physical law, are not aware of the consequences of their procedure if carried out to its logical conclusion. It would simply destroy all theological knowledge; for it would destroy the very elements of knowledge itself. We may therefore conclude that the lake of hell cannot be a furnace such as we kindle, nor can the bodies that are subjected to it be material bodies, such as we at present possess. Indeed this conclusion is forced upon us from other considerations. The fire of the intermediate state is burning at the present moment, and those who are subjected to it have left their material bodies in this world. The bodies therefore which they at present possess, or whatever may serve in place of bodies, cannot be material; nor can the fire which burns them be such as we kindle, for clearly it does not belong to the material or visible world, but exists in the recesses of the invisible. In like manner, in regard to the eternal fire of hell, we are told that ere it is kindled all this visible world, with its matter and of course also with its fire, will have passed away.

In face of these difficulties, even the most determined literalists have felt compelled to make some abatement. Thus Lactantius, in a statement which we slightly abbreviate, says:—

'Since men have contracted defilement in their bodies they shall again be clad in the flesh. Yet that flesh shall not be like this earthly flesh, but indissoluble and for ever permanent, that it may be apt to endure the torments and the eternal fire; which fire also is of a different nature from ours. Ours needs to be fed, but that lives for ever of itself, without any aliment, and without admixture of smoke, and is pure, liquid, and fluid like water. Whence by one and the same power, it will burn the wicked and recreate them, and just as much as it consumes from their bodies it will replace, and will administer to itself an eternal food.' [1]

An exactly similar idea is contained in Minucius Felix,

[1] Lactantius vii. 21.

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who speaks of the fire as that which *urit et reficit, carpit et nutrit.* We need not stop to inquire whether this rendering is the best possible, or whether, with our enlarged notions of physical law, we might not give a better. All that we have to do is to point out the enormous distance that lies between such a view and the 'blistered lips' and 'burnt and bleeding feet' of the popular conception.

But we find, on a closer consideration, that we cannot stop short even with this considerable abatement. It is to be observed that in the New Testament and in the Primitive Fathers, three separate chastening fires are contemplated. There is, first, the fire of the intermediate state; secondly, the fire which is kindled at the Day of Judgment; and, thirdly, the lake of fire into which the wicked are finally cast after the judgment. The idea of the first is grounded on the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Thus S. Hilary says—

'The vengeance of hell overtakes us at once, and immediately we depart from the body, if we have so lived, "we perish from the right way." The rich and poor man in the Gospel show us this; the one placed by angels in the abode of the blessed, and in Abraham's bosom, the other at once received into the place of punishment. So quickly did punishment come upon the dead, that even his brothers were still alive. There is no deferring or delaying there. For, as the day of judgment is the eternal award either of bliss or of punishment, so the time of death orders the interval for every man by its own laws, committing every one to Abraham or to punishment till the judgment.' [1]

The idea of the fire of judgment is grounded on 1 Cor. iii. 13, and on the passage which describes the world as being burned up. Some seem to have spoken of this as if it were the kindling of the eternal fire; and it was believed that all would have to pass through it, with this remarkable difference, that the righteous would escape unscathed, while the wicked would sink and be buried in it. Thus Origen says—'But how some remain in the fire, others escape through it, learn from another Scripture. The Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, the Israelites passed over; Moses passed through, Pharaoh sank, for his heavy sins drowned him. In like manner, the irreligious will sink in the lake of burning fire.' [2]

Thus the fire of the intermediate state, the fire of judgment, and the lake of eternal fire were so far identified that

[1] *S. Hilary in Psalm* ii. sec. 48. See a number of similar passages from various Fathers quoted in *Bishop Forbes on the Articles*, ii. 321.

[2] *Origen in Psalm* xxxvi. note 26, i. 790, *Ben.*

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they were regarded as belonging to one system. Now what we have particularly to attend to is this. An attribute of a very remarkable character was assigned to these fires, and this attribute was derived from or grounded on the saying of S. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 13. These fires possess the singular property of discrimination. They attack the sinful soul, and permit the righteous to escape; they attack fiercely the utterly wicked, and more mildly the less wicked. Thus S. Ephrem, speaking of the fire of judgment, says—'Both the just and the unjust shall pass through the fire which is to try them, and shall be proved by it; the righteous pass and the flame is quiet; but it burneth the wicked and snatcheth him away.' The eternal flames of hell possessed a similar property, inflicting a great degree of torture on the most wicked, and a lesser degree on the less. Thus S. Augustine remarks, 'It is, however, by no means to be denied that even the eternal fire, according to the diversity of evil merit, will be lighter to some and more grievous to others: whether it be that its strength and fierceness are varied to inflict the merited pain, or it burns uniformly, but is not equally felt.'[1] In consequence of this peculiarity the fire was called *πῦρ σωφρονοῦν, ignis sapiens.*

If now we take into consideration this peculiarity we shall see that the difficulty of maintaining a literal fire becomes greater. What kind of a fire can that be which possesses the character of wisdom and discrimination, which knows whom to burn and whom to spare? It cannot be literal fire, such as we know it, for the peculiarity of literal fire is that it acts invariably. This fire, on the other hand, does not so act, but possesses all the discrimination which belongs to a mind. If we were to convert this property into something like an intelligible idea or notion, we might say that the fire is providential, or is an instrument of God's Providence. For, clearly, we must suppose that the will and mind of God lies behind it, directing it whom to attack and whom to spare. But the moment we look at the matter in this point of view we open the door to the metaphorical rendering. May not the image of fire be simply a mode of expressing the system of treatment or discipline to which God subjects the lost? God's anger is spoken of in Scripture as a consuming fire. God is represented as purging Jerusalem by the 'spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning;' and our Lord came to kindle a fire upon earth, which is even now burning. Under

[1] S. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* xxi. 15.

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this point of view may we not suppose that the lake of fire simply indicates the awful severity of that system of chastisement to which the lost shall be subjected, the exact particulars of which are unknown to us?

The metaphorical rendering has always been allowed in the Church. Yet we must confess, while allowing due weight to it, that we have great difficulty in altogether accepting it. The fire is spoken of in Holy Scripture so persistently, and in such a way as seems to imply the reality, if not of literal fire, at least of its analogue; some real pain, of which the burning in literal fire is to us the most expressive image. On the supposition, too, that God's system of dealing with the lost is on the whole a merciful one, it would seem that some such agony as that represented by the fire were absolutely needed. It is to be observed that in this world consciences are for the most part asleep. The sinner has no true idea of the awfulness of his guilt. But the effect of the great judgment will be that all consciences will be awakened. Men will then see their sins in the light in which God sees them; and it is not obscurely intimated that the agony arising from this awakening will be all but unbearable. It is said, they shall call on the mountains and rocks to fall on them and hide them from the face of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb. Under these circumstances it would seem that something like the agony of the fire would be needed to restore the sinner to mental equilibrium.

But on the supposition that the fire or its analogue is real, and that it gives real physical pain, an important question arises, is the pain of burning continuous? Does the acute torment the fire inflicts go on uninterruptedly? Are the lost always in the fire, or are they only there for a time, and for a special chastisement, and at other times are not in it? The general opinion has been that the lost are always in the fire, and that they suffer uninterruptedly; the only alleviation being that some have maintained a doctrine of mitigation. Yet a little reflection will show the immense difficulty of this supposition. No doubt, physically speaking, the thing is perfectly possible. The difficulties which beset Lactantius in his endeavours to render the flames of hell intelligible do not beset us. We have no need like him to have recourse to miracle. On the contrary, physical science has afforded us the means of picturing easily what an eternal unfed fire might be. Physically, therefore, we might allow it to be possible; but if we look at the matter in reference to mind it is hardly, if at all conceiv-

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able. The sensation of burning being the acutest agony that we can imagine, would, according to all mental laws, if continued uninterruptedly, reduce the mind to impotence. Of course we can only reason on the basis of our present mental constitution; and taking that as our basis, we see that a single sensation of acute agony would be practically no sensation at all. Constituted as our minds are at present, sensation is only possible under the law of difference. We only know light by the contrast of darkness. Were there no darkness there could be no light. And so of other things. Pain is only possible in contrast with pleasure or ease. Hence we see that a soul subjected to the agony of excruciating pain without the contrast of ease or rest would in time not suffer at all, would in fact be reduced to complete impotence.

If we turn to Holy Scripture we find nothing to indicate such uninterrupted pain, but rather the contrary. The lake of fire is not the only image under which the punishment of the lost is represented. In S. Luke xii. 47, it is represented under the figure of stripes; some, it is said, are beaten with few and some with many stripes. Now, this figure of stripes necessarily conveys to us the idea of interruption. The most savage of masters does not always beat his slave. There are intervals of release from suffering; nor are the stripes applied again, unless there is at least a pretext that they are needed for purposes of correction. And this figure of the stripes would seem to indicate that so it is with the lost. But this is not the only Scriptural ground tending in the same direction. Our Lord says of the wicked that they are to go away into *κόλασιν αἰώνιον*, eternal chastisement. How could such chastisement be conceived as uninterrupted? If it were uninterrupted it would not be chastisement; for the very idea of chastisement seems to imply the application of stripes only when needed. We think, too, that the same idea, though under a slightly different form, is conveyed in the word *βασανισθήσονται*, which is used in the Revelation. The only thing against this view is that the fire of hell is called unquenchable, eternal; but might not this merely mean that the corrective suffering indicated by the fire is always there ready to be applied in case of necessity? If we are right in our supposition, our Lord's phrase, *κόλασις αἰώνιος*, might be taken as indicating the principle on which the society of hell is constituted. Hell is a place which is governed on the principle of coercion or chastisement.

Here it seems necessary to somewhat widen our view by taking other things into consideration. If we look at human

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society as at present constituted we see how God has laid His hand firmly upon it and subjected it to inexorable laws, and in the simplest way imaginable. Man needs food, clothing, and shelter; and the effect of these three wants is that he becomes tied to the soil, and society assumes external order. The same wants, likewise, give rise to the idea of property, which constitutes the central point around which human society moves; and this idea in its turn gives rise to the idea of rights. Now how is it that the ideas of property and of right are enforced? It is by means of penalties; so that human society as at present constituted is governed on the principle of κόλασις.

Now our Blessed Lord never concealed his view that human society is grounded on a wrong principle, or on a principle which is imperfect as being suited only for fallen beings, and which can at best only serve as a makeshift. He especially attacked the principle of property as being the principle of selfishness. Personally He possessed nothing, and He required his perfect followers to be like Himself. Thus He gave the command, 'Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.' In opposition to the principle of property with its enforcements and penalties, He laid down as that on which a perfect society might be constituted the principle of self-sacrificing love. Unless we get this central idea of Christ clearly into view, it is impossible to understand the meaning and drift of much of His teaching. It was in pursuance of this cardinal principle of love that He required the giving up of all things, the utter renunciation of self, and the taking up of the cross. It was as being utterly opposed to and subversive of the same principle that He proscribed entirely the feeling and act of revenge; requiring His followers to turn the other cheek to the smiter. Christ's enthusiastic followers have tried more or less to realise His idea in this world, though, as might be expected, with indifferent success. The infant Church, for instance, tried the principle of having all things in common, though they had soon to give it up; and the religious orders with more success have tried to realise the idea of self-renunciation and poverty. Yet though we may allow that constituted as human society is, and must be, in this world, Christ's idea is impossible; yet we shall egregiously err if we suppose that it has been inoperative. On the contrary, it has ever been the ideal of the Christian life, and to the influence of that ideal human society owes all the ameliorations which Christianity has conferred upon it.

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But if Christ's idea cannot be realised in this world, may it not be in the world to come? If, indeed, it could be realised, we see at once that a society would be constituted on a totally different principle from that of κόλασις, and ineffably above it. And may not the discipline of the present life be intended to prepare souls to be members of such a perfect society? In this point of view the whole system of the Christian Church first becomes intelligible, for every part of that system is ordered with a view to charity or love, which S. Paul says is the end of the commandment. If it be so, that the eternal society of Christ's kingdom is to be constituted on the principle of love, we see why at baptism we are raised to the dignity of sons, and habitual love or justifying grace is implanted in our souls. We see why all the other means of grace are directed to the end of renewing or strengthening it. In fact, theology has expressed this central idea by making our spiritual life depend upon our having or not having love. To have love is to have life, that eternal life of which Christ spoke so much; not to have it is to be dead.

Now, in the light of these views, let us turn back to the punishment of the lost, and see whether some light is not thrown upon it. If we suppose that the damned are those who do not possess the principle of love, and who have so lived as to be incapable of it, may it not be that damnation is the assigning to them a lot outside the kingdom of Christ? They are to be formed into a society of their own, a society formed on a totally different principle from that of self-sacrificing love; and how should we designate that principle but as that of a state of κόλασις? The damned have refused the dignity of sons, they are consequently condemned to be servants; they refused the liberty of the children of God, and they are deprived of their freedom; they refused to obey God out of love, they are compelled to obey Him by chastisement. If we look at the classical and most complete passage in which our blessed Lord laid down the doctrine of eternal punishment, there is much in it to suggest this view. The sentence on the wicked, no doubt, is 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels;' but these words may be held to be interpreted by the final summing-up, in which the eternal chastisement of the wicked is contrasted with the eternal life of the righteous. But what, perhaps, more than anything else suggests this view is the *ground* on which the final condemnation rests. The wicked are separated not on the ground of their sins,

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but on the ground of defect; and that in which they are deficient is precisely the virtue of love. 'I was an hungred and ye gave me no meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink, a stranger and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed me not, sick and in prison and ye visited me not.' These are the very works of love, and the meaning seems to be that not possessing that principle which is the principle on which the eternal kingdom of Christ is founded, they are unfit for it, and must have their portion without. The society of which they are to form part must be bound together by the principle of chastisement or coercion, not by the principle of love.

The principal conclusions, then, at which we arrive regarding the state of the lost are the following. Hell must be a society of human beings, and of course as such must have a principle of government. This principle we suppose to be coercion or chastisement in opposition to the principle which rules in heaven, which is self-sacrificing love. Further, it would appear that hell is not one society, but is made up of a vast number of societies; for the Church, following the idea of 'few' and 'many' stripes, has always held that there are different degrees of punishment according to the different degrees of guilt and degradation. If we are right in supposing that the pain and chastisement of hell is not uninterrupted, we may suppose that after enduring the punishment of past sin, souls would be left free to follow their tastes and likings within the limits assigned to them, and that chastisement would only be applied again in case of fresh sin and insubordination. In the higher societies, as the more human and orderly, we may suppose the coercive power would be less severely applied as not being needed; in the lower it would be more sharp and stinging. In regard to the moral condition of these societies there is no need to suppose that it is an utter wreck. Indeed, in regard to the *limbus puerorum*, which, according to mediæval theology, constitutes the highest society of hell, S. Thomas Aquinas remarks that the souls confined there are joined to God through the participation of *natural* good. It is true that an opposite idea has very generally prevailed. Rothe, for instance, supposes that the wicked are finally fixed in evil (*dämonisirt*); but this is a horrible idea, and in the absence of any direct proof we may be permitted to reject it. It might, perhaps, be true to some extent, of the lowest societies, the penal settlements so to speak; but in the higher we conceive there would be degrees of moral state, very much as it is now.

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In regard to the kind of life that will be led, we of course know nothing, just as we know nothing of the life of heaven. So far, however, we might, perhaps, venture to guess, that in one point of view the life of hell would be higher, in another infinitely lower, than the present. We know that the resurrection body possesses a higher constitution than our present bodies, and is thus capable of higher degrees of suffering and enjoyment. The soul, too, after passing through the intermediate state and the trial of the judgment, must be greatly enlarged in knowledge and capacity. It is thus conceivable that so far as *natural* appliances are concerned, the life of hell might be an advance on the present. It might have what we call a higher and more perfect civilisation. In another point of view, however, it must be inconceivably lower. What sweetens and gives all the zest to the present life is hope. We not only have 'access to the Father,' but we have hope of endless progress in the future; we have hope of being in the end all that God meant us to be. In hell there is no hope, but the crushing sense of failure.

Before passing from this point it may be right to notice an objection that possibly might be urged. It may be said this view is too lenient, and much might be urged in support, not only from the letter of Scripture, but from our religious nature.

The religious sentiment is grounded on the utter abhorrence of sin. To the religious mind sin is something which is utterly and eternally damnable; it deserves an infinite punishment; ages and ages, even an eternity of torment, would not suffice to expiate it. Now, this feeling is perfectly true, and there is much in Holy Scripture which answers to it. If taken subjectively and as the measure to be applied to our own sins, it is indispensably necessary. But may we translate it into an objective truth, and regard it as the principle on which God will judge the world? The two things, it will be seen, are very different. An eternity of torment as the measure of my own individual sin is one thing, the consigning of a soul to eternal, uninterrupted torment by God, the Judge of all, is another. May we not suppose that God has other standards of judgment besides those which apply subjectively to the loving and religious soul? And if so, it is clear we should form a false view of the state of the lost if we gained it solely by reasoning from subjective views of the nature of sin.

But is not our conception terrible enough even after the withdrawal of the idea of uninterrupted eternal torment?

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Only conceive such agony as is represented by the image of fire, lasting for a year, a month, or even a day, and is not the prospect of hell terrible enough? But, after all, the agony of the fire is not that which makes up what is emphatically the bitterness of hell. From the earliest times divines have considered the punishment of hell under two aspects, as consisting in one point of view of the *pœna damni*, and in another of the *pœna sensus;* and the general opinion has been that in view of the *pœna damni*, the *pœna sensus* is comparatively unimportant. Many have denied altogether the reality of the fire, and have taken the expressions denoting it metaphorically. S. Gregory of Nyssa, for instance, denies that the fire of hell is a material fire, and that the worm is an ἀπλγειον θηρίον. For reasons we have given, we think this is going too far. But even so, it would still be true that there is an element in damnation which is far more bitter than the lake of fire; in view of which the lake of fire might even be regarded as a merciful provision.

Let us try to realise what damnation really is. In the first place, it is the judgment of God, and as such is infallibly true. Must not that to the lost be infinitely terrible? If in this life men can hardly face the reprobation of their fellow-men, what agony must it be to endure the reprobation of God, and to know for certain that life has been a failure. Then, in the second place, there is the bitter knowledge of all that has been lost. In this world we have inadequate views of the glory of heaven; inevitably it is so, because we are expressly told it is so great as to surpass our power even of conception. But, after passing through the intermediate state and the judgment, it will be different. The lost will have actual proof of that ineffable state of exaltation which seems to be indicated in words like these—'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their father.' Who shall conceive the anguish of the thought of such a state, compared with the lot they have earned for themselves? 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth when ye shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.'

And now let us turn to consider the opposite doctrine, which, rejecting the doctrine of eternal punishment, proposes to substitute for it the doctrine of the final restoration of all.

One of the strongest indictments of the doctrine of eternal punishment which we have ever seen, is contained in a letter of the late Mr. John Forster, addressed to the Rev.

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E. White.[1] And as the position taken up by Mr. Forster might be considered as the strongest basis *on natural grounds* of the doctrine of Restitution, we shall take it as the starting-point for the remarks we have to make.

Mr. Forster's great objection to the orthodox doctrine of the punishment of the lost, lies in its eternity. He remarks that people never make an effort to try to realise what eternity is: if they would do so they would see how irresistible the strength of the moral argument against eternal punishment really is. But how can we realise eternity? Only by considering what it is not. We must try to realise the vastest measures of *time*, and look to the termination of these as only touching the mere commencement of eternity.

'For example:—It has been suggested to imagine the number of particles or atoms contained in this globe, and suppose them one by one annihilated, each in a thousand years, till all were gone; but just as well say a million, or a million of millions of years or ages, it is all the same as against infinite duration.'

Then after some other examples of vast periods, he goes on—

'Now think of an infliction of misery protracted through such a period, and at the end of it being only *commencing*,—not one smallest step nearer a conclusion:—the case just the same if that sum of figures were multiplied by itself. And then think of *Man*—his nature, his situation, the circumstances of his brief sojourn and trial upon earth. Far be it from us to make light of the demerit of sin, and to remonstrate with the Supreme Judge against a severe chastisement, of whatever moral nature we may regard the infliction to be. But still, what is man? He comes into the world with a nature fatally corrupt, and powerfully tending to actual evil. He comes among a crowd of temptations adapted to his innate evil propensities. He grows up (incomparably the greater proportion of the race) in great ignorance; his judgment weak; and under numberless beguilements into error; while his passions and appetites are strong; his conscience unequally matched against their power;—in the majority of men but feebly and rudely constituted. The influence of whatever good instructions he may receive is counteracted by a combination of opposite influences almost constantly acting upon him. He is essentially and inevitably unapt to be powerfully acted on by what is invisible and future. In addition to all which, there is the intervention and activity of the great tempter and destroyer.

'I acknowledge my inability (I would say it reverently) to admit this belief, together with a belief in the Divine Goodness—the belief that "God is love," that His tender mercies are over all His works. . . . How would all our ideas be confounded, while contemplating

[1] *Life in Christ*, p. 67.

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Him bringing, of His own sovereign will, a race of creatures into existence, in such a condition that they certainly will and must,—*must* by their nature and circumstances, go wrong and be miserable, unless prevented by especial grace,—which is the privilege of only a small proportion of them, and, at the same time affixing on their delinquency a doom, of which it is absolutely beyond the highest archangel's faculty to apprehend a thousandth part of the horror. . . .

'But it is usually alleged that there will be an endless *continuance* of sinning, with probably an endless aggravation, and *therefore* the punishment must be endless. Is not this like an admission of disproportion between the punishment and the *original cause* of infliction? But suppose the case to be so—that is to say, that the punishment is not a retribution *simply* for the guilt of the momentary existence on earth, but a continued punishment of the continued, ever aggravated guilt in the eternal state; the allegation is of no avail in vindication of the doctrine; because the first consignment to the dreadful state *necessitates a continuance of the criminality;* the doctrine teaching that it is of the essence, and is an awful aggravation, of the original consignment, that it dooms the condemned to maintain the criminal spirit unchanged for ever. The doom to *sin*, as well as suffer, and, according to the argument, to sin *in order* to suffer, is inflicted as the punishment of the sin committed in the mortal state. Virtually, therefore, the eternal punishment is the punishment of the sins of time.'

And then he remarks, under the light [or darkness] of this doctrine, how awful is the economy of this human world!

Now, it is evident that the very pith and marrow of the case here presented, has already been removed if the view of everlasting punishment which we have given above be accepted. Mr. Forster's reasoning reposes on the popular conception of uninterrupted eternal burning, and the reduction of the lost to the state of demons. But we have found reason to question both of these positions. We imagine that what Holy Scripture teaches of hell is, that it is a state of government by stripes; that after the penalty for past sin has been paid in the fire, coercive discipline is not resorted to except in case of insubordination. And for the rest, there is nothing to show but that God may do for the damned the very best of which they are susceptible. It is true, they are for ever deprived of supernatural good, but there is the whole field of natural good which may be awarded to them in proportion to their deserts. It is clear, therefore, that after the elimination of these wrong prepossessions, the case of Mr. Forster well nigh breaks down.

Still, however, it would be uncandid not to admit, that,

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even after the removal of these false views, the damned are to all eternity deprived of the inheritance. They are reduced to a state of being infinitely below what God purposed for man. They are in 'outer darkness' so far as the light of God's countenance is concerned; and instead of living in a state of love and freedon, they are in a state of compulsory subjection. It may be asked—Is this consistent with the goodness of God? Might we not rather expect that He would award the highest good to all? And this argument is strengthened by the considerations Mr. Forster brings forward with the view of showing, that the majority of men have not a fair chance. Now, let us for the present postpone the question of whether men have or have not a fair chance, and address ourselves to the great question, whether hell being a deprivation of supernatural good, it is consistent with God's goodness to permit a portion of the human race to fall into it.

Now, if our contention that in hell the punishment is not out of proportion to the guilt, and further that God gives even in hell natural good in proportion to desert, is admitted, the question assumes this character. Is it consistent with the goodness of God to create some creatures to a higher and some to a lower good? or if He create at all, is He bound in justice to create all to the highest good? In addressing ourselves to this question, we cannot help remarking that S. Paul has scanty patience with those who adopt the latter alternative. He asks, indignantly: 'Hath not the potter power over the clay to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?' And this is perfectly conclusive. Nevertheless, we may look about to see, whether there are not facts which when calmly weighed will bear it out. Of course we can only reason of God from the *facts* of His Providence, of which we have experience. It is very easy to follow the high *à priori* road, and to lay down a course of conduct for the Almighty which we think He ought to follow. But such reasonings are in the highest degree insecure and baseless. God has revealed Himself in nature, as well as in revelation, and no ideas of His character and procedure are at all worthy of consideration, unless gathered by a cautious induction from the analogy of nature. Now if we look at nature, we see broadly written upon it the fact of inequality. God has not thought it right to endow His creatures with the same powers and the same advantages. We see a gradation in the animal kingdom, from the lowest living forms up to man. And then, within the sphere of humanity there is the same inequality,

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both in respect of natural endowments and condition of life. Even within the kingdom of Christ there are the same gradations, and the Scripture indicates that so it will be for ever. In the eternal kingdom, while some are only citizens, we are given to understand that there are others who will be rulers over five and ten cities. There is nothing, therefore, in the analogy of nature, that would lead us to conclude, that there is anything contrary to the goodness of God, in assigning to those who are unfit for anything else their portion outside the kingdom of Christ.

But still it may be asked, would it not be more worthy of God, to restore all, and admit all, into the kingdom of Christ? Yes, perhaps; provided only that human souls are like counters, to be played with, and sorted as we please! Here, in fact, we touch the very kernel of the question, of the final restoration of all, so far as philosophical considerations are concerned. Is the thing possible, human nature being what it is? It is easy of course to blink this question, to assume without inquiry the possibility of restoring all, and then to set forward on the easy path of optimistic speculation. Nevertheless, to any one who chooses to take note of the facts of human nature, the whole theory must appear in utter and hopeless contradiction to them. Here, however, we find ourselves in a difficulty. How shall we make this clear in the few pages at our disposal? Perhaps the best way of eliciting the incongruity will be to address ourselves to the simple practical question—How is the thing to be done?

Now Calvinism has a very compact theory on the subject. According to Calvinism, man's free-will has been utterly destroyed by the fall. In theological language the fall reduced man to such a state of impotence, that it is true to say of him *non potest non peccare.* Hence man's conversion is entirely the work of God, and it possesses the character of a miracle. Conversion, however, is only one half of our restoration; after our conversion we are still in a state of utter depravity; but Calvinism looks forward to another miracle, whereby at the moment of death the elect will be suddenly transformed into a state of angelic perfection, and so fitted to reign with Christ. Now, it is clear, if these premisses are admitted, the Restitutionist might well demand of the Calvinist whether it would not be more accordant with the goodness of God to perform the same miracle upon all. Nor, indeed, do we see how, upon Calvinistic principles, any satisfactory answer could be given to this question. But is this theory of man's restoration true?

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There is no evidence in Holy Scripture tending to show that God will ever perform such a miracle; and clearly the supposition that He will do so stands in complete contradiction with God's usual dealing. According to God's ordinary dealing, man's restoration is a gradual process, freely worked out by himself. Constituted as we are, our characters, i.e., our states of moral perfection or imperfection, are the effect of those of our past acts, that have been *freely* chosen by the will; nor can we even conceive the possibility of a man's being other than what he has in this way *freely* made himself. But according to the Calvinistic theory, the moral state to which we are elevated by this supposed miracle, is effected by a power which works altogether independent of the will. No doubt Calvinism is right in its affirmation that no amelioration, moral or spiritual, can be effected in man, except by the power of Divine grace; but it is utterly wrong in affirming that it is effected without the co-operation of the will. The Catholic Church has ever taught that the human will must co-operate; that the human will has the power of accepting or rejecting; and that if it accepts, the amelioration effected is non-miraculous, is, in fact, a process quite in the course of ordinary human progress.

We may therefore set aside this Calvinistic theory, as involving a breach of continuity, and for that reason being quite unthinkable.

But it may be said, dismissing the notion of a miraculous restoration, such as Calvinism teaches, might not men be restored by a system of discipline extending into ages beyond the grave? This is the theory of Mr. Jukes, the Scriptural grounds for which we shall presently advert to. Here we deal with the question on purely natural considerations. Now granting that there are such ages, and that men are subjected to such discipline with a view to restoration, on what ground are we to conclude that it would be probably successful? Mr. Jukes alleges that the restoration is to be effected through the instrumentality of death and judgment. His theory, so far as we can make it out, is that some are converted through God's providential dealing in this world. They are the elect or first fruits. Others are converted by the judgments and sufferings of the age immediately succeeding, or, as we should prefer to call it, the intermediate state; while those who still remain unconverted are finally subdued by the great judgment, and the lake of fire, which is the second death. Certainly Mr. Jukes is perfectly right in pointing out that judgment and death are the only ways by which a poor sinner can return

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to God; nor would we say one word in detriment of the precious sacramental efficacy of these and all other dispensations of God's providence. But that is hardly the point which needs to be cleared up. The point is, What ground have we for believing that these Divine dispensations will have the intended effect upon all? Mr. Jukes, so far as we can see, brings no evidence to clear up this; and of course in the absence of evidence we can only resort to the teaching of experience. Have we any reason for believing that God's judgments will exert their intended effect upon all? that all will take up the cross sent to them, and follow Christ. Experience surely gives us no ground for such an expectation. Experience teaches the awful fact that the judgments of God may be ineffectual; and that when they are so, they only tend to harden and confirm the soul in wrong-doing. It is a simple fact of experience, that, notwithstanding all the pleading of God with the soul, in the marvellous disposition of the events of a man's life, many souls live estranged from Him, and die in sin.

But it may be said—granted that the discipline of this life is ineffectual in many cases, still, the theory teaches that God has not done with a soul when this life is over. Those whom the discipline of this life has failed to recover, will be subjected to the sharper discipline of the life to come; and if that still fails, to the sharpest discipline of all, viz., the great judgment and the lake of fire, which is the second death. Now we would ask the reader to pause and calmly ask himself what kind of a conversion would that be? The sinner, after having held out against all God's loving correction, held out against his severer chastisement, held out to the very end, is only turned by the inexpressible agony of the second death. Would it not be manifestly a *forced* conversion? And if forced, we naturally ask, of what use would the soul so converted be for the purposes of Christ's kingdom? Surely none at all. Up to the last moment its whole bent and tendency was in a direction contrary to Christ's kingdom; and only at the last moment, when utterly broken down by intense agony, did it turn. What can such a turning be but the putting on of the *semblance* of the new life?

But there is more than this. This theory of the restoration of all comes before us as a theory of mercy. Is it after all really merciful? God has chosen to create man free; and we can see that by so doing He gains from His creatures, from those at least who *freely* choose Him, a love and service inexpressibly higher and more precious than He could have

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gained from creatures not free. But when God created man free He must have foreseen that some would use their freedom to follow their own ways. Is it really merciful to coerce them in this terrible manner into following a way which is not their own? Would it not be more merciful to leave them to their own ways, and give them such provision for following those ways as He may deem fitting?

I have said that such a conversion as Restorationism supposes must be forced, and some may demur to this. But if we think of it we shall see that there is only one way in which we can possibly conceive it as not forced, viz., by supposing that God at the last moment performs a miracle such as Calvinism supposes. If we suppose that at the last moment God suddenly and miraculously changes the whole nature and bent of the lost soul, then we grant the conversion would be real. But, in that case, we naturally ask, Why did not God perform the miracle sooner? Calvinism is logical, so far, in insisting that the miracle takes place at the moment of death, and in denying altogether the existence of an intermediate state. Surely, it is illogical, to accept the intermediate state with all its discipline, *in lieu of the miracle*, and then in the end to have recourse to the miracle. In that case to what purpose is all the suffering of the intermediate state? To what purpose the lake of fire? Confessedly they fail in effecting the end for which they are postulated; the end can only be effected by the miracle. But, if so, how shall we defend the goodness of God in subjecting His creatures to such torments?

The conclusion, then, at which we arrive on purely natural grounds is, that this idea of the final restoration of all is in utter and hopeless conflict with all the facts of human nature.

To pass on to another point. Let us now inquire how far we may be justified in extending the idea of a state of trial beyond the grave. It is urged in support of such extension, that many men, from circumstances over which they have no control, have not a fair chance in this world; whence, it is argued, it is reasonable to suppose that God may permit an extension of trial under circumstances which are more favourable. If we inquire what those circumstances are, we find that what is specially urged by Mr. Forster is our 'nature fatally corrupt and powerfully tending to evil,' the great ignorance of incomparably the greatest portion of men, the strength of passion, the weakness of conscience. Mr. Cox, in a similar way, asks:

'Who dare say of any class of men, in any age, that nothing but

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their own will prevented their salvation? There are thousands and tens of thousands in this Christian land to-day who have never had a fair chance of being quickened into life. Conceived in sin, and shapen in iniquity, inheriting defects of will and taints of blood, cradled in ignorance and vice, they have hardly heard the name of Christ save as a word to curse by. And there are thousands and myriads more to whom the faith of Christ has been presented in forms so meagre and narrow, or in forms so fictitious and theatrical, that the only wonder is that so many of them care to worship Him at all. And with all these in our midst, now that the Gospel has been preached among us for a thousand years, which of us will dare to affirm that those ancient sinners of Sodom, born in an age so dark, reared in "fulness of bread and abundance of idleness," enervated by a tropical climate and by the abominations amid which they were nurtured, had *all* that men needed in order that they might know the only true God and serve Him alone?'

And then, after a few further remarks, he asks:

'What *shall* we say then? For myself, I can only say, that I see no way out of the difficulty, no single loophole of escape, so long as we assume what the Bible does not teach, that there is no probation beyond the grave, that no moral change is possible in that world towards which all the children of time are travelling.'

Now we so far admit the force of these pleas that we imagine they constitute a strong argument for the existence of the intermediate state with all its discipline. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have never in this world heard the name of Christ, should hear it in the world to come. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been born and educated in a state of life fatally corrupt, and who have not been aware of its corruption, should have their eyes opened to that corruption. Nay, we think, it is even reasonable that those who, living in a high state of civilisation have been misled by false reasoning into doubt or atheism, should have their eyes opened to the truth. And admitting all this, we must necessarily admit its reasonable consequence, viz. that many souls who have hitherto groped in darkness, not knowing it to be darkness, nor knowing its contrary the light, will be irresistibly drawn to the light when it is made known to them. Socrates, for instance, and Plato, and many a sage unknown to fame, have never heard the name of Christ, nor known of His kingdom, in this world; in the world in which they now are they may not only have heard of Him, but actually have seen Him; and it may be the moment they saw Him, the moment it was made known to them what His kingdom is, they bent down in adoration and love. So too many poor

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souls, not philosophers at all, many a heathen trained in barbarity and vice, like the Red Indian, not even knowing what virtue or purity is, may, in like manner, as soon as they saw Him, have been irresistibly drawn to Him; nor only so, but joyfully have submitted to that discipline which in the providence of God was to undo the past and perfect them in the image of Christ. In fact, it is reasonable to suppose that God will afford to every one all that is necessary to salvation; that Christ's kingdom will be made up of the cream of humanity, gathered out of every nation and every clime; in fine, that every human being who is susceptible of salvation will be saved.

And yet admitting all this, we cannot admit with Mr. Cox that there is a 'probation beyond the grave.' On the contrary, we believe most firmly with the Catholic Church of all ages, that the great battle of a man's destiny is fought and decided in this world. The whole purpose of the discipline of the intermediate state is of a totally different character from the discipline of this life. In this life we are, in the proper sense of the word, in a state of probation; the discipline of this life is intended to prove us, whether we will serve the Lord. In the intermediate state, on the other hand, the discipline is intended for undoing evil, and perfecting the good work in those who have been proved and accepted. It appears to us that this idea of probation beyond the grave is one of the most serious errors of the theory of Restitutionism. Its advocates forget that in this life we grow up to maturity, and that the character is formed for good or evil. Our destiny is thus practically decided; nor can we see any purpose which a prolongation of probation would really serve.

It appears to us that in advocating a prolongation of probation, Restitutionists have laid too much stress upon the accidental adjuncts of a man's life, and too little on the marvellous working of God's providence, in arranging the events and trials that constitute our life. Granted that a man is a member of a vicious and corrupt society; granted that he has never heard the name of Christ, or heard it only as a name to curse by; granted that instead of true religion he has been trained in the abominations of a false one:—granting all these things, may not a man be sufficiently *proved* by the events and trials of his life? It is said that God takes care of oxen, nay even of sparrows: may we not therefore suppose that He takes a special care of human beings? Are not all the events and trials of a man's life specially arranged in His providence? and may we not suppose, so wisely and

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mercifully arranged, that they shall sift a man to the very core? In the case of the heathen and the outcast, may they not be ordered to this very end, to bring the man to such a point, that when in the invisible world the light of Christ is first shed upon his soul, he shall either be drawn or repelled.

In denying that a state of probation is continued beyond the grave we desire not to be misunderstood. It is not as if there were any fixed law prohibiting repentance. To maintain such a view would be going beyond the teaching of the Church. The Eastern Church has always maintained that it is just possible for a soul in the intermediate state to pass from the awful to the joyful anticipation. It is not so much that Almighty God refuses to receive repentance, as that repentance is no longer practicable. We may speak of repentances in the intermediate state, in much the same way as we speak of death-bed repentances. Who would dare to deny that God would receive a death-bed repentance, provided only it were sincere? And yet we are justified in warning men not to trust to them. We are justified in believing that the vast majority of them are false and delusive. We know this in many of those cases which seemed to be death, and which were not really so. We know that on rising from the bed of death the penitent forgot his vows, and speedily returned to his former life. And may it not be the same with many others who really died? As long as they were in the body, borne down by the burden of the flesh, they were penitent; but the moment they shook off the trammels of mortality, the moment they started up in the intermediate state, again in the full vigour of life, may they not have recurred, as others did, to their habitual frame of mind? There is as much truth as there is exquisite wit in the old couplet—

'When the devil was sick,
The devil a monk would be,
But when the devil got well
The devil a monk was he.'

And, surely, in this point of view we see the inexpressible cruelty of this view of probation beyond the grave. If it be so, that the battle of a man's destiny is practically fought in this life, how cruel to tell men that it is not so! How cruel would it be to say to a young man,—You may revel in riot, you may take your fill of pleasure, you may shirk work and duty, and squander your time in idleness; you will thereby bring upon yourself a heavy chastisement, but *you will not ruin your prospects in life.* And so if the events of this life,

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every one of them arranged in the marvellous providence of God, are the very things which shape a man's character, and so determine his destiny for ever and ever, is it not manifestly cruel to persuade men to the contrary? Rather ought we to teach men to look with intense awe on the trials of life, to beware of the habits they contract, and the character which is gradually being impressed upon the soul. If a man spends his life in acts of self-seeking, or in acts of deceit or revenge, it is easy to see that he is contracting a character of soul which will totally unfit him for that kingdom of love where Christ shall reign with his saints.

And now let us glance at the Scriptural argument in favour of this new doctrine. The conception which the Primitive Church had of the future, and which, as we believe, it derived from the teaching of the Apostles, was the following. After the present life there is the intermediate state, where souls await the judgment in joyful or in awful anticipation; where, too, the saved are gradually perfected in the image of Christ, the 'good work' begun in this life being carried on to its completion, so that they may be presented perfect and blameless. Then follows the day of judgment, which is the closing act of the great drama now being enacted, and which has after it only the eternal bliss of heaven, or the eternal punishment of hell. Now the Restitutionists discard altogether this conception, and claim Scriptural grounds for the introduction of a new one. This new conception is what they term the 'doctrine of the ages.' They tell us that after this world there will be an indefinite number of 'ages' or periods, in which God will deal with lost sinners; that these ages extend far beyond the Day of Judgment; that during them God will subject the lost to ever severer trials, in proportion as they hold out, the judgment and the lake of fire being amongst the most severe; in fine, that the ages will only come to an end when all the lost are gathered in, and God is all in all.

Now we naturally inquire, what ground is there in Holy Scripture for thus upsetting the old Christian conception, and introducing the new one. The ground we find to be this. The sacred writers make use of certain phrases, which all scholars up to a recent period have understood to mean 'for ever' or 'everlasting.' These phrases are, *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, literally 'for an age;' *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, 'for ages'; *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, 'for ages of ages.' It is now contended that these are not merely differing modes of expressing the same idea of 'for ever,' but that they ought to be translated

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literally. They really mean, so it is contended, exactly what they literally say, viz. not 'for ever,' but 'for an age,' 'for ages,' and 'for ages of ages.' It is to be observed that there is really no other ground for the 'doctrine of the ages,' but this literal translation of these phrases; because in no other way can we get at the fact that the Scripture contemplates 'ages' at all. It is sometimes said that if the adjective *αἰώνιος* can be made to mean anything less than everlasting, then that is enough for the doctrine; but *αἰώνιος* cannot possibly mean less than everlasting, except upon condition that the Scriptures contemplate a 'doctrine of the ages.' So that the whole controversy turns ultimately upon the question, whether these phrases are to be translated in the letter, and so to be taken as a 'doctrine of the ages.'

Well, now to consider this point.

The first thing to be remarked is, that supposing the inspired writers had really meant to express the idea of 'for ever,' they must have used phrases of a similar character, for phrases of another character did not exist, and could not possibly exist. No one who is at all acquainted with the processes of human thought which issue in the construction of language can for a moment doubt this. It is to be observed that primitive man does not sit down off-hand to work the differential calculus. On the contrary, a long and painful process is required before he can attain to such a height, or even get a glimpse of what it is like. He must first learn to count three upon his fingers, then five, and after that ten; and when he has laid this necessary foundation, he must then mount up slowly and painfully through arithmetic and other disciplines, till at length he attains to high mathematics. Similarly the human mind cannot by a single bound leap up to such difficult conceptions as eternal or lasting for ever. It is by a gradual process of enlargement that these and similar notions are attained. Men first seize upon some period of time, for instance, an age or lifetime; they put it in the plural, and then gradually enlarge the conception expressed by it, till at last they attain to the idea of 'for ever,' which is then fixed and embodied in some definite word or phrase. The process is clearly seen from expressions which are still current amongst us; we say, for instance, a thing would take ages to accomplish, or that it happened ages ago.

Hence all words denoting eternity or everlasting carry in their composition the history of their development. For instance, our word *eternal*, which is the Latin *æternus*, has exactly the same origin as the Greek *αἰώνιος*. It literally

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means lasting an age, and we are bold to say that every argument which would tend to reduce *αἰώνιος* from *everlasting* is equally applicable to the word *eternal*. But, in the case of *eternal*, such an attempt would be hopeless. It was fixed in its present meaning, as we know from classical usage, long before the New Testament was written.

Now, if we bear these things in mind, we shall see that the inspired writers when they used the phrases, 'for an age,' 'for ages,' 'for ages of ages,' were not thinking of a 'doctrine of ages' at all, but were just using phrases which had long been fixed in the definite meaning which we attach to *everlasting*. Just in the same way, when we use the word 'always,' we are not thinking of 'roads' or 'ways,' but are simply expressing the relation in which something that we are thinking about stands to time in general. The proof of this assertion lies in the fact that there is not in the New Testament a single usage of any of these phrases where the meaning might not be for ever; and there are very many where it cannot possibly be anything else.

For instance, to take first the phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. In Heb. vi. 20 and vii. 17, it is used to denote Christ's priesthood, which is for ever; and that nothing less than for ever will do here, is shown by the contrast which the Apostle draws between the priesthood of Christ and the Jewish priesthood. The Jewish priests were removed by death, but Christ is a priest for ever. Or, to take another example, Christ uses the same phrase to denote the duration of the life which He came into the world to bestow. In John vi. 51, Christ says, 'I am the living bread which cometh down from Heaven; if any man eat of this bread He shall live for ever.' It is clear that nothing less than 'for ever' will do here; for Christ could not possibly mean that the life which He came to bestow was to last for *one* out of the innumerable ages which Restitutionists speak of, and was then to come to an end. Or again, when S. Paul says, 2 Cor. ix. 9, that the righteousness of God remaineth for ever, can he possibly mean, that during the age which is now present, God is righteous, but possibly He may not continue to be righteous in the age which is coming? Or when Christ says to the fig-tree, 'let no fruit grow upon thee for ever,' does he mean it to be barren for the present age, and then to bear fruit in the following one?

Next comes the phrase, *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, which is an intensified form of expressing exactly the same idea, and similarly we find that there are very many passages where it can only mean for ever. It is used by S. Paul in the following sentences, 'God, who is blessed for ever. Amen.' 'Christ,

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who is over all, God, blessed for ever.' 'The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for ever more. Amen.' It is clear that the idea in the Apostle's mind in perusing these passages had no reference to 'ages' at all; he was simply expressing the idea of that adoration which is due and will be paid to God throughout eternity. But there is a passage in which the same phrase is used, which is put completely beyond cavil by the fact that a sentence put in apposition explains it. In Luke i. 33, we read of Christ: 'He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end.' And now we come to the most momentous expression of all, the *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, for this is the expression which is used to denote the endless duration of hell. In the Book of Revelation it is said of those, who are cast into the lake of fire, that they shall be tormented, or perhaps castigated for ever and ever. What does this mean? It is to be observed that even if we take it literally we do not sensibly diminish the idea. But plainly it is not to be taken literally. It is an intensified form of expressing the idea of neverendingness. This is clearly seen from other uses in the same book. Thus, for instance, it is said of Christ: 'I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore. Amen.' Similarly of the elect: 'They need no candle, neither light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever.'

In like manner, in regard to the adjective *αἰώνιος*, there can be no doubt that it means, and can mean nothing less than *everlasting*. This is clearly shown by Christ's use of the word in the phrase *eternal life*. What kind of a life would that have been which He came to bestow, if it had only been meant to last for an age, or even for all the ages? Surely we do not need His own repeated declaration, to be assured that they who possess that life shall never die, never perish; and it is in fact this attribute of imperishableness which the word *eternal* was meant to express. Or, when the same word is used of God, or of the Holy Spirit, how can it conceivably mean less than eternal? Or when S. Paul, speaking of the perishableness of our present body, comforts us by the assurance that we have a house eternal in the heavens, how can he possibly mean less than eternal?

Now if this be so, we see how completely the doctrine of the ages, and with it the Scriptural proof for the doctrine of Restitution, falls to the ground. If there is no doctrine of the ages, then the Day of Judgment reclaims the place which it has always held in the thoughts of Christians, namely, that of

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being the last act of the great drama which is now being enacted. And the Day of Judgment tells us clearly that all are not restored; at that day there is still a residuum left, and so they are sentenced to a doom which is unchangeable. 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.'

And now we have done for the present. It is said that many of our younger clergy are adopting this opinion as being in their view more merciful, and less liable to objections. We would earnestly ask them, before taking such a course, to pause and consider. Is it really the case that this new doctrine is more merciful? We think we have given reasons for believing that it is not so; and then as to objections, it will be found, instead of diminishing them, to increase them tenfold. The moment we adopt it, we bring theology into conflict with the great fact of free-will; it would be impossible for any length of time to hold the doctrine, and at the same time to recognise the fact of free-will. But what a state of things would this bring about? How would it react even on the very premisses of Restitutionism? It has hitherto been the glory of Catholic theology that it never has made a mistake in regard to the great problems of metaphysics. If we are led to adopt this new doctrine we shall make a mistake of the first magnitude; and the consequences of this blunder would extend into every department of theology. Our whole doctrine of grace would need to be remodelled.

Then, too, there are immense practical issues dependent on the question. It is easy to see that this new doctrine, if adopted, would tend to destroy the estimate, which happily we now have, of the awful import of this life as that which determines our fate for ever. No, the true remedy for present difficulties is to be found, not in fanciful theories of the restoration of all, but in more rational views as to the state of the lost, and in bringing into greater prominence the doctrine of the intermediate state, which, unhappily, our traditional Calvinism denies. If it be so, that on opening the eyes in the intermediate state we open them upon the light, that then all darkness and all error are impossible, then surely no soul can be lost unless it has so lived, as that it chooses darkness rather than the light. If in that solemn moment it chooses the light, is drawn to the light, falls down in adoration before Him, who is the light, then however much it may have been stained, there is all the merciful discipline whereby it is chastened and perfected and made fit for the kingdom. If, on the other hand, it has so lived as to choose darkness rather

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than the light, what is gained by supposing that God pursues it with unspeakable judgment, till He utterly crushes and breaks it down? It is not such forced service that our Master wants. He asks for the heart, and nothing less than the heart will satisfy Him.

ART. III.—GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I.

1. *A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.*, 1624–28. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER.
2. *The Personal Government of Charles I.* A History of England from the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham to the Declaration of the Judges on Ship-money, 1628–37. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER.[1]

IT was hardly necessary for Mr. Gardiner to apologise for applying himself to the investigation of the history of what he truly calls 'a momentous period,' after 'the many great writers who have given their thoughts to the world on the subject of these years' (*Pref.* vi.); for certainly the history of one's own country is one of the noblest subjects that can employ the industry of a scholar. And, copiously as the reign of Charles I. has been discussed, both as a whole, and also with respect to separate transactions or periods, it is in the very sense which previous writers have entertained of its enduring importance, that Mr. Gardiner finds the strongest motive, or, as he would characterise it, excuse for adding himself to the number. He abstains from mentioning names, but it seems to him that they have all taken as personal an interest, as it were, in all the details of the struggle between Charles and his Parliament, as is usually inspired by contemporary events; and that, consequently, they have not attained, nor even aimed at that impartiality which is commonly recognised as one of the first duties of an historian; that some have written as Whigs, others as Tories; that the 'one class has thought it unnecessary to take the trouble to understand how matters looked in the eyes of the King and of his friends; the other class has thought it unnecessary to take the trouble to understand how

[1] In referring to these two works, it will be more convenient to treat them as one, and to speak of this last as vols. iii. and iv.

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matters looked in the eyes of the leaders of the House of Commons'—(*ib.* vii.). There was, therefore, he conceived, still room for a writer who would make it his object honestly to represent the transactions of this important and still exciting epoch under both these aspects; so as to 'do justice to the motives of both parties' in the strife, 'without misrepresenting either.' Where, as too often happens, no attempt whatever is made to 'understand the strong points of the King's case, or the weak points in the case of his opponents, the result,' he truly says, 'is a mere caricature.' Undoubtedly, this is the spirit in which history should be written: and it is but justice to Mr. Gardiner to admit that he has carried out the views which he has thus expressed with rare fidelity and candour. We can see, indeed, that his sympathies are with Eliot, Pym, and Hampden; but they have not prevented him from doing full justice to the benevolent intentions which actuated Charles, even amid his most dangerous encroachments on the liberties of his subjects; nor to the statesmanlike grandeur of Wentworth, displayed, not in barren goodwill, but in substantial and enduring benefits to the people entrusted to his government. If ever Hallam forgot his candour, it was in his denunciation of what he termed Wentworth's 'fatal and base apostasy from the path of true honour,' which he attributed to the lowest motives of jealousy and self-interest. Even Hume, while amply displaying and acknowledging his brilliant talents and great services, abstains from justifying him wholly from the accusation. But Mr. Gardiner has shown conclusively that no charge was ever dictated by a more complete misapprehension of his character and entire career; that, far from ever quitting the path in which he first walked, he was consistent and unchanged throughout his whole public life: and that the very same principles which, during the first years of Charles, led him to resist the encroachments of the King, and to frame and advocate with irresistible eloquence the Petition of Right, influenced him equally in his subsequent opposition to the majority of the House of Commons, when proceedings seemed to him to tend to its disorder and anarchy—(ii. 321.)

Indeed, so great is Mr. Gardiner's desire to do justice to every political leader of the age with which he deals, that he throws his shield even over Buckingham, and attributes to him a disinterested patriotism and a steadiness of political view for which certainly none of his contemporaries gave him credit, and of which we confess that even our historian's earnest advocacy of his honesty has failed to convince us. Mr. Gardiner's view of the Duke is to some extent shown by

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the rather curious title which he has prefixed to his first two volumes: 'England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.,' as if he had been not so much the most influential favourite and counsellor of the Sovereign, as the real and ostensible governor of the State. He admits, indeed, that both as politician and general he lacked ability; but he maintains that, 'if the politician was at fault, the man was not' (ii. 165), and is not afraid to compare the expedition to Rhé, and the position of the English force under the Duke's command, to 'that of the allied armies before Sebastopol after the failure of the first bombardment;' or to argue that the difference in the final results of the two enterprises may be traced to the fact that Lord Raglan had 'a powerful government behind him, and a nation feverishly anxious for the honour of its arms;' supports which, had they been supplied to Buckingham, might possibly have enabled him to defeat the stratagems of the warlike Cardinal.

Still, if ever a departure from absolute impartiality be excusable, it is in the estimate of the character of public men, who are fairly entitled to have the most favourable construction, consistent with probability, placed upon their actions, from the greatness of the difficulties and trials to which, even in the most peaceful and easy-going times, they are exposed beyond their contemporaries, and that in a degree which the student in his closet can hardly appreciate. When events, not persons, are under discussion, Mr. Gardiner seems eminently dispassionate and judicious. And there is no period in our annals in which the exercise of such qualities is more important; hardly one, too, in which it is more difficult.

In all fairness, it must be admitted that, even in those instances in which Charles's infractions of the legal rights and liberties of his subjects were most undeniable, he was not wholly without plausible excuse. It was true, indeed, that Magna Charta, with its score of confirmations, had secured, as far as enactments could secure, every individual in his personal freedom, and in the possession of his property, to be diminished only by such imposts as he himself, by his representatives, had consented to. But it was equally true that throughout the sixteenth century those great statutes had been so constantly violated by a succession of arbitrary monarchs, that they seemed to have become almost a dead letter. Those 'iron barons' who had withstood the great Edward in the fulness of his power; who, by the deposition of Richard II., had established the principle of a contract between the king and the people; and who by their exertions

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in another direction had nearly brought France into subjection, had been swept away by the fatal War of the Roses; and during the reigns of the five Tudor sovereigns the will of the sovereign had been obeyed by the Parliament with almost uninterrupted submission. Even Hallam, who with patriotic diligence and satisfaction enumerates every instance of the resistance of the Commons, is compelled to own that the 'dominion over Parliament' exercised by Henry VIII. was 'almost absolute;' that Mary imposed taxes without procuring the assent of, or even consulting either House; that the records of the whole period are full of instances of illegal imprisonments, and even of illegal executions; and that, while even under the more constitutional sway of the later Plantagenets, 'the excesses of prerogative had never been thoroughly restrained,' there 'had evidently been a retrograde tendency towards absolute monarchy from the occupation of the throne by Edward IV.' In a country, therefore, where law has at all times been so greatly interpreted and regulated by precedent as in England, it cannot be thought unintelligible, nor at first sight wholly unpardonable, that a prince like Charles should have adopted the reasoning which Hume puts into the mouth of the partisans of the Court, that 'the principle for which lawyers contend, that a statute can never be abrogated by opposite custom is vain,' and that, on the contrary, 'if a statute has at any time been rashly voted and assented to, it cannot be more effectually abrogated than by a train of contrary precedents, which prove that by common consent it has tacitly been set aside as inconvenient and impracticable.' The mistake of Charles was that he overlooked the degree in which the weak reign of his father had shaken the prerogative which his predecessors had built up, a result to which his own encouragement of the impeachment of Lord Middlesex had also contributed. But he seems to have thought absolute power so inalienably the sovereign's right, that to be re-established, it needed only to be re-asserted, instead of regarding it as an artificial dam by which the natural stream of liberty might indeed be kept back for a time; but which was in itself so unnatural that the slightest breach in it once made would ruin the whole superstructure.

But we shall not do justice to Charles, nor form a correct estimate of his actions during the first portion of his reign, which is the subject of the works before us, unless we constantly bear in mind the ends for which he sought to exercise the uncontrolled authority which he claimed. Undoubtedly he did not wholly overlook the consideration of his own

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dignity; but it is equally certain, and is fully admitted by Mr. Gardiner, that his principal object was the welfare and happiness of his people, to be secured by the encouragement of virtue and the maintenance of justice. His view of good government and of national prosperity (for the two were never separated in his mind) was, as it was tersely expressed by a statesman of a later age and a different country, 'Everything for the people; but nothing by them;'—or, as Mr. Gardiner describes his opinions, 'he knew better what was good for the people than they could possibly know for themselves.' He would have had his subjects feel towards him as Juvenal bade the Romans feel towards Jupiter—

> 'Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
> Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris,
> Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt Dî.'

In elucidating the history of this period, Mr. Gardiner gives more prominence than any other recent writer, except Ranke, to the negotiations with foreign Powers, never long interrupted, and most of them connected more or less directly with the affairs of the Palatinate, and in which it is evident that Charles's personal affection for his sister and her children was deeply concerned. They were not unknown to Hume and Carte, but of late they had been so completely lost sight of that Macaulay asserts that after the dissolution of 1629 'Charles hastened to make peace with his neighbours, and thenceforth gave his whole mind to British politics.'[1] But diligent researches, not only among 'the foreign series of State papers in our own Record Office,' but among the French despatches which are preserved in the Museum Library, and other public documents in the archives of Vienna and Brussels, to which he has obtained access, have enabled Mr. Gardiner to show the utter groundlessness of such an assertion, since in fact there was no single year in which Charles was not conducting either open or secret negotiations with every court on the Continent, with Sweden, Spain, the Empire, France, and the States of Holland. And he proves at the same time that the hopes and projects founded on those negotiations had an immediate and powerful influence on the King's domestic policy.

The apology, therefore, with which he seeks to pacify 'those of his readers who may think that he has allotted too large a space to the treatment of foreign affairs,' is certainly not necessary, especially as the importance which he attaches

[1] *History of England*, i. 85 (10th ed. 1854).

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to them has in no degree blinded him to the still greater interest of the internal affairs of the kingdom. On the contrary, if he boasts, as he is well entitled to boast, of having succeeded in disentangling the complicated labours of diplomacy during the years of which he speaks, he can with equal truth affirm that he has brought to light a vast 'wealth of new material relating to the Parliamentary contests' of the first four years of the reign; and that he himself has been the first person to discover a valuable report of the great Session of 1628 (*Harl. MSS.* 4771), 'which, strangely enough, lurked unknown in that well-ransacked collection, till he was fortunate enough to light upon it, by which the history of the struggle which led to the Petition of Right is at last made clear, the part taken by the various leaders becomes more intelligible, and Wentworth's character especially receives fresh elucidation; and we come to understand, when the evidence is sifted, how he came to take service under the King without being an apostate'—(i. v.). Other documents, which Mr. Gardiner is the first person to have consulted, have enabled him to unfold 'the details of the way in which the Peers dealt with Buckingham's impeachment, and with the still more important questions arising out of the Petition of Right.' 'Writers,' to quote his own description, 'have hitherto been content to guess what passed in the House of Lords, and have frequently guessed wrong. Especially is this the case with respect to Bishop Williams, who turns out to have had nothing to do with the additional clause reserving sovereignty to the Crown, which is usually attributed to him, and to have been totally innocent of those intrigues against the Petition which have called forth such denunciations of his conduct.' Even Hallam, with all his diligence and candour, has adopted the story, and has founded on it, and on the Bishop's imagined subserviency to Buckingham, charges of 'corruption, baseness, and treachery,' sufficient, as it seems to him, to justify the distrust of both the House of Peers and the King, shewn by the Commons in all their proceedings as to the Petition.[1]

Thus to throw additional light on the transactions of so important a time, and at the same time to clear the character of those who took a leading part in those transactions, is a service not only to historical truth but to a correct appreciation of mankind in general. Lord Melbourne on one occasion said that familiarity with public affairs, and experience in dealing with public men of different parties and countries,

[1] *Constitutional History*, i. 532, *note* (3rd ed. 1832).

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had convinced him that such men commonly acted from much purer motives than were commonly attributed to them. We most cordially agree in the truth of this observation, and are satisfied that the frame of mind which it inculcates is that which is most desirable, not only for the statesman whose career may be under review, but also for the student of history who is examining his conduct, since hardly any habit can have a more deteriorating influence on one's own character than that of seeking for unworthy motives. Statesmanship and the government of nations commonly present only alternatives of difficulties, between which the ablest and the most honest men may well hesitate. And never was this more the case than in the 17th century, and nowhere at that time more than in England, where the Constitution, however apparently defined by a series of carefully-framed enactments, was practically still in a state of transition, and where the considerations of questions of civil policy was complicated by the intrusion of others relating to religion, and by the contest, not merely between the old Roman Catholic and the new Protestant forms, but between the different schools of Protestantism, the rivalry between which was scarcely less keen and bitter than that which separated either from Popery.

The first half of the reign of Charles I. Mr. Gardiner divides into two periods. The first, that during which, in his view, the King was so completely under Buckingham's influence, that the Duke was, in fact, the ruler of the nation. The second, that in which, after the Duke's death, 'Charles stepped at once into the supreme direction of affairs'—(iii. 2). In the first, Buckingham's influence was not the least of his royal master's difficulties, so general, and, it must be admitted, so well founded was the jealousy with which he was regarded in both Houses of Parliament. We need not enlarge here on the greatness of the offence committed by Charles during the second of these periods in dispensing altogether with the Parliament; but it is a remarkable fact that he was so far from being originally unfavourable to Parliaments, that his first idea, after his accession, was, for the avoidance of delay, to continue the last Parliament of his father's reign, till he was warned by Bishop Williams that such a step would be a violation of the Constitution, according to which the decease of the sovereign dissolved the existing House of Commons, and rendered a fresh election requisite. For this he at once issued writs, summoning the House to meet within three months of the day of his accession. And we see an

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evidence of the anxiety with which the whole nation expected the announcement of the policy of the new reign in two circumstances mentioned by our historian, that 'never within living memory had there been such competition for seats in the House of Commons. Never had the members chosen attended so numerously on the first day of the Session'—(i. 189). Not that the objects for which the Government was solicitous were the same which produced this excitement among the people. Buckingham was engrossed by schemes of foreign policy. Full of animosity against the Court of Madrid, he was eager for an offensive and defensive alliance with France and the United States of Holland; and, had his will prevailed, he would once more have embarked England in a war for the acquisition of Continental dominion. He made no doubt that such a confederacy would easily wrest the Netherlands from Philip; and, though the Dutch Republic must be the chief gainer by such a conquest, he proposed that France should be rewarded by the important province of Artois, and the strength it would add to her position, while England should be reimbursed by the still more valuable district between Brussels and Ostend; and he urged that the loss of the whole province must disable Spain from ever again becoming formidable in the north of Europe.

But the Parliament had no inclination for war, and was not more disposed to an alliance with France. In the week before it met, the young Queen, the daughter of Henry IV., had arrived in England; and already a general and deep discontent had been aroused by the indulgences in the matter of religion which had been granted to her attendants; though for them it was evident that it was not Charles, but his father who was responsible. The feeling which existed on the subject was shown in the very first debate of the Commons. The King, in his opening speech, had dwelt chiefly on the diplomatic engagements which, by the advice of his Parliament, James had incurred in the early part of the year; and touched in only the most cursory manner on his resolution 'to maintain true religion.' But the Commons scarcely heeded his mention of existing treaties with foreign Powers; and declared religion the first thing to be considered. 'Their duty to God,' said Sir Francis Seymour, 'must not be forgotten. Let them ask the King to put in execution the laws against priests and Jesuits'—(i. 194). And, after Sir John Eliot and Pym had enlarged on this topic with uncompromising earnestness (Eliot's adoption of this line of argument being, in Mr. Gardiner's view, the more remarkable because he himself was

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free from Puritan ideas), a formal petition was drawn up entreating the King 'to execute the penal laws in all their strictness, and to take other measures to prevent the spread of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.'

And this movement, in itself sufficiently distasteful to the King, was rendered more unpalatable still by the positive refusal of the Commons to grant more than a mere fraction of the sums which were needed for the prosecution of the warlike measures to which he was bound, partly by his own, and still more by his father's promises. The estimate for the war expenses of the coming year alone amounted to a million of money. But the sum voted by the Commons was only 200,000*l.*,[1] and even that doubled what had been proposed by some members. This niggardliness has been generally condemned as unbecoming and impolitic. But, in Mr. Gardiner's opinion, it was very greatly to be attributed to the mismanagement of the Government itself. As he truly remarks, 'Above all things assemblies of men ask to be led, and to this assembly no guidance was offered.' 'Not a Minister rose in his place to say how much was wanted, or to explain in what way the surplus voted would be spent.' The Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams, did indeed announce to the two Houses that 'supply was urgently needed,' but he named no sum. 'And silence such as this, whether it was the result of a deliberate purpose, or, as is more likely, of mere youthful inexperience and ignorance of human nature, was in itself the worst of policies'—(i. 192).

Not that, while saying this, Mr. Gardiner entirely acquits the House itself: regarding the vote as practically one of want of confidence in the King's advisers, he nevertheless 'regrets the manner in which the thing was done.' He admits that 'the Court party had been taken by surprise,' and that the leaders of the Opposition gave no sufficient reasons for the step thus taken, so as to 'conciliate popular feeling.' The truth is, however, probably, that those leaders were too much divided in their views to agree upon any such statement. In his mention of a motion made by Sir Thomas Mallory that, on account of the plague which was raging with great violence in London, the King should be requested

[1] Grants at this time were divided into subsidies and fifteenths—a subsidy was a tax on landed property, and for many generations had been constantly falling in value. As late as the time of Elizabeth one had produced 120,000*l.* It now only produced 70,000*l.* A fifteenth was a tax on personal property or moveables, as it was usually called, levied according to a valuation of Edward III., and was uniform in the amount it produced, 30,000*l.*

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to adjourn the Session till Michaelmas, Mr. Gardiner tells us that it was 'warmly supported by Sir Thomas Wentworth,' who had lately begun to take a prominent part in politics, and that his motive was an objection to any Continental war. 'The duty of England, he considered, was to attend to its own business, to amend its laws, and improve the administration of justice, leaving the Continent to settle its troubles in its own way'—(i. 193). But there is no doubt that many members, and a large majority of the nation, would gladly have embarked in war for the re-establishment of the Palatine in his dominions, an object equally dear to their religious and political feelings; and we believe that the chief bond of union between the different sections of the Opposition was one which as yet no one liked to allege as a ground of action, distrust and jealousy of Buckingham. Even on this point the two great orators of the party were not fully agreed; for Sir John Eliot had not wholly shaken off the recollection of some personal obligations under which the Duke had laid him, while Wentworth's feeling was that of contempt for his incapacity, mingled with no small distrust of his motives.

Nor was this the only matter in which these two illustrious and excellent men were divided; for, though often uniting in the pursuit of a common end, their principles were widely different, and a right understanding of their characters is so important, that we will quote Mr. Gardiner's description of them:—

'With Wentworth good government was the sole object in view. Everything else was mere machinery. Conscious of his own powers, he was longing for an opportunity of exercising them for the good of his fellow-countrymen. But, excepting so far as they could serve his ends, he cared nothing for those constitutional forms which counted for so much in the eyes of other men. . . . He was an outspoken representative of that large class of politicians who hold that ability is the chief requisite for government, and who look with ill-concealed contempt upon that view which bases government upon the popular will.

'Eliot stood at the opposite pole of political thought. He was to the bottom of his heart an idealist. To him the Parliament was scarcely a collection of fallible beings; just as the King was hardly a being who could by any possibility go deliberately astray. If he who wore the crown wandered from the right path, he had but to listen to those who formed in more than a rhetorical sense the collective wisdom of the nation. Whoever stepped between King and people; whoever tendered other counsel than the House of Commons had to offer, was a divider and a traitor'—(i. 16).

The sparing grant of two subsidies was not, however, the

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only financial arrangement which, as the King conceived, gave him reason to complain of the Commons. Another source of revenue was the impost on exports and imports, known as tonnage and poundage. As long ago as the days of the Plantagenets it had been the custom of Parliament, in the first session of the reign, to grant this impost to the sovereign for his life; and the grant had been regarded so completely as a matter of course that the revenue officers had, in more than one instance, collected the duty before Parliament could meet to vote it. But the present House of Commons was not in a humour to be bound by precedents. They had chosen to erect themselves into a theological tribunal; and in that character to visit a clergyman named Montague with their severest condemnation. In the last year of the preceding reign, Montague had written a pamphlet in reply to another put forth by a Roman Catholic priest, which, in Mr. Gardiner's opinion, 'an impartial judgment will probably consider a temperate exposition of the reasons which were leading an increasing body of scholars to reject the doctrines of Rome and of Geneva alike'—(i. 206). But 'he refused to speak of the Roman Church as indubitably Antichrist, or of the Pope as the Man of Sin,' and he had described the adherents of Geneva doctrine as Puritans—a term which was then looked upon as a disgraceful epithet, only applicable to those who refused conformity to the Prayer-Book—(*ib.* 218). Two clergymen, who felt aggrieved by having such a title fixed upon them, complained of it to the House of Commons. The House referred the consideration of the matter to Archbishop Abbot, who, though himself favourable to Calvinism, apparently saw no ground for censuring Montague's views. And before any formal sentence was pronounced, Montague had found that James himself was inclined to sympathise with his doctrine; so that with his approval he prepared a second treatise, under the title of *Appello Cæsarem*, reiterating with greater emphasis the tenets advanced in the former. But as James died before it was completed, Charles allowed it to be published with a dedication to himself.

Though the new House of Commons was not that which had requested Abbot to examine the first treatise, it chose to pronounce that the authority of Parliament had been slighted by Montague's publication of this second work while his first was under consideration, and passed a series of resolutions on the subject, which Mr. Gardiner rightly characterises as 'absolutely ludicrous;' and committed the writer to custody for what was alleged to be contempt of the House.

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Charles, however, agreed with his father in regarding him and his writings with approval, and showed his feeling by nominating Montague one of his chaplains. The Commons were offended and alarmed. In their narrow bigotry they had no idea of permitting even the King to approve of views from which they differed. They fancied, too, that they saw in the act of thus taking the offender into the royal service, the advancement of a claim to deny the responsibility of the King's servants to any one but their master. The resolution to which they came on the question of Tonnage and Poundage was doubtless meant as an answer to this pretension. They brought in and passed a Bill to grant the impost for a single year; and even that was not finally carried. For the plague increased in virulence so greatly, that before the Bill could pass the Lords, the Session was adjourned, to meet at Oxford at the end of three weeks.

Mr. Gardiner's comment on the state of affairs is that 'Religion was to be Charles's main difficulty in the future. His main difficulty in the present was want of money'—(i. 221). We should rather say that religion had already become his main difficulty, and that a reason, at least as powerful as any other, for the want of generosity in money matters shown by the Commons, was to be found in their resolution to force on the Government their own theological views, with respect not only to Roman Catholics, but to the different schools of Protestantism. The resolution was shown more strongly than ever on the very first day after the Parliament re-assembled at Oxford. June and July had been eventful months. Admiral Pennington, with a fleet of eight ships, had been despatched to France and placed at the service of the French king. But when he reached Dieppe, he learnt that the object for which his aid was required was an attack on Rochelle, which the Huguenots were gallantly defending against Richelieu; and, as there was not an English sailor in the whole fleet who was willing to co-operate in the subjugation of his brother Protestants, he took on himself the responsibility of returning to Portsmouth. The Government, or rather Buckingham, was in great perplexity; and the Duke's only expedient to extricate himself was to try and deceive every one who was concerned in the transaction. Of the eight ships, only one, the 'Vanguard,' belonged to the navy; the rest were merchantmen, which had been hired for that particular service. And by availing himself of this mixed character of the squadron he hoped to be able to cheat the French and the House of Commons. He sent orders to Pennington to return to Dieppe, and to deliver up the ships to the

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French. He ordered Nicholas, his secretary, to do his best 'to hinder, or at least to delay their delivery.' He tampered with the owners of the merchant vessels to induce them to refuse to allow their ships to be employed on such a service. And he even sent 'underhand instructions to Pennington to encourage the crew of the "Vanguard" herself to mutiny'—(i. 247). Before July ended, news arrived that the Huguenots had made their peace with Louis; on which he once more sent orders to Pennington to return to Dieppe, believing that France was on the point of declaring war against Spain; and that the employment of the ships against that hated nation would propitiate the Opposition, and prevent all inquiry into their original destination.

But when the Parliament re-assembled at Oxford it was from the first seen that the Commons were in no mood to put a favourable interpretation on any act of the Government. They did indeed, on the first day of their meeting, appoint a finance committee, though even in doing that their intention was not so much to increase their hitherto scanty supplies, as to inquire into the past expenditure, and into the proceedings of the farmers of the revenue, who had been busy in the collection of the Tonnage and Poundage, though the Bill to authorise its levy had not passed. But, practically, they postponed even the question of finance to that of religion. As Mr. Gardiner puts it, 'the first day was devoted to the Catholics; the second to the High Churchmen.' First, they complained that pardons had been granted to some Jesuits; and next, that Montague was still unpunished, though they had declared him guilty of 'contempt;' Sir Edward Coke himself, the greatest legal authority in the kingdom, not being ashamed to say that 'no books concerning religion ought to be printed without the sanction of Convocation.' Mr. Gardiner justly holds up the intolerance of the House to reprobation, though pointing out that the Government was equally blind. 'On liberty, so far as it implied the right of each man to enjoy freedom of person and property according to the law of the land, Coke (and Eliot) placed the highest value. For liberty, so far as it meant intellectual liberty, they cared nothing at all.' Had Charles's mind been of a higher order he might have entered the lists against the legal intolerance of Coke, and the dogmatic intolerance of the Calvinistic clergy, with a fair prospect of success. If he had failed, at least he would have failed in 'a noble cause'—(i. 260). But in fact, 'neither he nor Buckingham cared really for the principle of religious toleration. They were both of them ready to execute the

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penal laws against the Catholics if it could be done without risk to the French alliance'—(*ib.* 281).

It was not strange, therefore, that Charles sought to evade the question as to the Roman Catholics, while with respect to Montague, he had still more pressing motives for the same line of conduct, since the attack which the Commons made upon him was an attack also on the principle that persons in the King's service were protected by their offices: a principle for which, though, in the case of Middlesex in his father's time, he had himself disregarded it, he was now resolved to contend to the uttermost. He, therefore, took no further notice of the remonstrance of the House on these transactions than to promise that it should receive a speedy answer. But at the same time, with what must be confessed to have been an unstatesmanlike ignorance of, or indifference to their feelings on the subject, he thought it still possible to induce the Commons to grant him a further supply. On the fourth day of the Session he summoned the members to Christchurch Hall for the purpose, making them a short speech himself as a sort of introduction to the statements to be made by some of his Ministers. But again he committed the same fault which Mr. Gardiner, as we have seen, condemns in his opening of the former Session. Neither he nor his Ministers explained his views fully and frankly; nay, they even managed or mismanaged so strangely that they did not all agree together either in the sums which they mentioned as necessary, nor in the objects for which the money was required. Charles himself 'dwelt entirely on the fleet.' Sir Edward Conway, as a member of the Council of War, 'took a wider view of the situation. He said that 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* were wanted to enable the fleet to start; but he drew a picture in the background of the Continent in flames, and hinted at the large sums needed for keeping the Protestant forces on foot in Germany and the Netherlands.' Sir John Coke did not confine himself to hints. 'With all possible emphasis he enlarged upon the greatness of the work before them. 600,000*l.* would be wanted for Mansfield and the King of Denmark. He argued that, though Mansfield's armament had not been so successful as could have been wished, it had shown that the King of England was in earnest. The German princes had been encouraged. The Danes had taken the field. The King of France was aiming at Milan, and had made peace with his Huguenot subjects. It now devolved upon Parliament to consider whether they would yield his Majesty a convenient help'—(i. 265–7). Yet, even he 'left his hearers in uncertainty'

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—how much the Government really expected—'an uncertainty which was doubtless shared by the King. . . . The success of the fleet might perhaps enable him to dispense with' much that Coke had mentioned. And so 'he did not come forward with a definite demand which he himself recognised as indispensable. He tried to influence the minds of the members without first making up his own'—(*ib.*).

But *omne ignotum pro magnifico* is not more true of anything than of demands for money. The manifest uncertainty of the Government communicated itself to the House. The sum mentioned by Coke seemed in that age enormous, and was certainly unexampled. Not even when the Armada was preparing at Lisbon, and Parma with his legions was arrayed on the Flemish coast, had Elizabeth made such demands on her subjects. Yet, should the fleet fail instead of succeeding, there was no security that even this prodigious grant would prove sufficient. No wonder that in such a state of things members were found to argue that, when it was possible that all that could be granted might prove inadequate, it was as well to hold their hands altogether. Sir Francis Seymour attacked the whole foreign policy of the Government, avowing openly 'that he had no confidence in the advisers of the Crown. They had given three subsidies and three fifteenths for the Queen of Bohemia. And she was nothing the better. Nothing had been done. They knew not their enemy. They had set upon and consumed their own people. What he wished for was that they might now do somewhat for the country. And they would then give his Majesty a seasonable and bountiful supply.'

He was evidently speaking the sense of a large portion of the Opposition. They desired to confine the expenditure of the nation to the domestic uses of the nation. They would, indeed, have grudged nothing to re-establish their Princess and her husband in his dominions, but they 'distrusted Buckingham's capacity, perhaps his integrity,' and saw no prospect of any grant being judiciously employed while he had the regulation of the expenditure. Other members went further, and attacked even the management of affairs at home. Sir Robert Philips complained that the farmers of the revenue had collected Tonnage and Poundage though it had not yet been granted by Parliament, and, warming with his own energy, went on to question 'prerogative,' and to remind the House 'that their forefathers had struggled against it.' One sentence of his speech, read by the light of subsequent events, was but too prophetic. 'When kings are

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persuaded to do what they should not, subjects have often been persuaded to do what they ought not.' But at the moment such words were calculated rather to irritate Charles than to warn him, the more so as the speaker concluded with a somewhat odd jumble of intolerance, conciliatory submission, and eagerness for constitutional reform. 'The best way to secure ourselves is to suppress the Papists here. Let the fleet go in. Let us not part till his Majesty may see an ample demonstration of our affections. Let us look into the estate and government, and, finding that which is amiss, make this Parliament the reformer of the commonwealth' (i. 272–3).

'Such a speech was an historical event.' It was in vain that Heath, the Solicitor-General, tried to neutralise its effect by suggestions of the King's willingness to gratify the House in all reasonable desires. More than one speaker openly recommended the calling the Duke to account, till at last Buckingham himself became alarmed, for surely it could have been only the extremest perplexity of apprehension that could have suggested the idea that the King could altogether break the engagement to protect the Roman Catholics, into which he had entered with Louis on the occasion of his marriage, and that in fact Louis himself was indifferent to its performance, having only required the stipulation to deceive the Pope—(i. 281). It was still more in vain that with this strange notion in his head the Duke undertook to harangue the Commons himself, professing, indeed, to explain in detail the objects for which the King required money, but practically aiming at inducing them to vote the supply, and to leave him to spend it. Mr. Gardiner acquits him of intending to deceive the House. 'But it is one thing to hold that he was sincere, it is another thing to hold that what he said ought to have given satisfaction. . . . . His explanation, taken at its best, is fatal to his claims to statesmanship'—(i. 285–7), and, far from removing their distrust of him, it even irritated some by 'his assumption of almost regal dignity in the tone in which he specified his expectations.' Mr. Forster, in his Life of Eliot, gives a long and powerful speech on the subject, which he found among Sir John's papers, but Mr. Gardiner proves that, though such a speech had indeed been prepared, it was never spoken. Other members, however, spoke with great effect—Seymour, Philips, and, above all, Wentworth. He was never illiberal, but as a champion of the rights of the House, he had taken great offence at a threat implied in the Duke's harangue, that if they did not give they should be

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dissolved. 'He was not,' he said, 'against giving, but against the manner' (i. 291), and, before any decision was come to, intelligence arrived of English vessels having been plundered by pirates in the Channel itself. Even our coast had become so unsafe, 'that vessels scarcely ventured from port to port. . . . . It was known that orders given by the Council for the employment of some of the King's ships against the pirates had been countermanded by the Navy Commissioners' (i. 293). The Opposition, and, secretly, we must believe, many even of the supporters of the Government, were excited by patriotic indignation, and under this intolerable shame, Buckingham was openly named as the Minister to whom, or to whose agents, it was to be imputed.

The denunciation of one who was not only his Minister, but his friend, was regarded by Charles as a direct challenge. It was to no purpose that Sir Henry Martin, a member of weight with a considerable section of the House, still proposed to grant a supply. Charles saw that 'his own authority was at stake.' The course which the Commons were taking led surely, if indirectly, to the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament. And the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament meant just as surely the transference of sovereignty from the Crown to the Parliament'—(i. 295). He determined to dissolve the Parliament. It was to no purpose that the sagacious Lord Keeper 'pleaded hard against the fatal error of opening the new reign with a quarrel with the House of Commons;' and that the Duke himself took the same side, in mere hypocrisy, as was commonly believed; though, in Mr. Gardiner's opinion, he was expressing his real sentiments and wishes, since 'it was not in his nature to shrink from opposition.' But Charles was immovable. When the House met on the 12th, it was known that it would be allowed to exist but for a few minutes longer. In these, its last moments, some members, unwilling to let the brief space remaining to them pass without one more effort to bring the House into harmony with its sovereign, endeavoured to obtain a hearing for a proposal of supply. But Wentworth put all such schemes aside in a few haughty words, 'We are under the rod, and cannot with credit or safety yield. Since we sat here the subjects have lost a subsidy at sea.' It was resolved, however, so far to show a desire to propitiate his Majesty as to vote an address 'solemnly protesting and vowing before God and the world, with one heart and one voice, that they would ever continue his most loyal and obedient subjects . . . that they would always be ready to afford all necessary

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supply to his Majesty, upon his present and all other his just occasions and designs; most humbly beseeching him' (whom they styled 'their most ever dear and dread sovereign'), 'in his princely wisdom and goodness, to rest assured of the true and hearty affection of his poor Commons, and to esteem the same, as they indeed conceived it to be the greatest worldly reputation and security a just king can have'—(i. 297). But Charles was not to be moved by dutiful expressions, sincere though they undoubtedly were, of obedience and affection to himself, so long as Buckingham was regarded with different feelings. And so the Parliament was dissolved only twelve days after it had re-assembled; and before it had had time to make any further grant of supply, or to carry a single measure of any kind.

It is impossible for the King's warmest advocates to deny that the dissolution was not only a most unfortunate, but a most ill-judged act. It was placing the Crown and the Parliament at the outset of the reign in a position of antagonism; embarking both in a contest for power to which there could hardly be but one issue. Mr. Gardiner, however, is not inclined to acquit the Commons of some want both of judgment and of fairness. He will 'not defend all that was said, still less all that was thought in the House about Buckingham.' And he regards 'the speeches of the popular members as full of unfounded suspicions and unreasonable demands'—(i. 298). The censure, which he practically qualifies by more than one candid admission of the mischief the Duke had done, is apparently due in no slight degree to the ignorance of foreign affairs which he attributes to the Parliament. 'Their conception of the war was more suited to 1588 than to 1625; and the maze of European politics formed for them a labyrinth without a thread. In all they had to say about the affairs of the Continent it is hard to find a single word which betrays any real knowledge of the wants and difficulties of the Protestants of Germany.' The charge is no doubt well founded; but the state of mind which it denounces is not peculiar to that Parliament nor to that age. The occasions have been very rare when the interest in foreign politics has not been confined to a very small portion of the people, while an accurate and judicious comprehension of them is even still more limited. But, in fact, the discontent with the Duke was equally justified by the internal or domestic policy of the Court, especially in its financial transactions; the one point in which it was blameless being, perhaps, that for which the Commons were least likely to see any justification. The

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Court would not persecute the Roman Catholics, and still less the moderate High Churchmen; while, if the Commons could only get their way, 'differences of opinion' (in religious matters) 'were to be altogether prohibited, and the Calvinistic creed was to be imposed for ever on the English nation'—(i. 301). Whatever share these different motives may have had in producing the result, it was a most unfortunate one for the nation. There is no time in which first impressions, proverbially important, can be half so important as at the beginning of a new reign. And in this instance the end of the proceedings of Charles's first Parliament, though it only sat exactly five weeks,[1] had been, instead of laying a foundation of harmony between the King and the Houses, to place them in a position of antagonism. Unless the breach thus made could be speedily closed—a work not to be accomplished without consummate prudence on both sides—there was reason to fear that it would widen till either the rightful authority of the King or the liberties of the people would be swallowed up in it.

Unhappily every transaction on the Continent made matters worse instead of better. The Parliament had hardly separated when news arrived that the treaty which had been said to have been made between the French King and his Huguenot subjects had either never been ratified, or had been grossly violated. 'The English ships were in the hands of the French Admiral, and would doubtless be used against the citizens of Rochelle'—(i. 303). Charles, who by his premature dissolution of the Parliament, had lost the further supply which it might have voted, began to issue Privy Seals, as orders of the Privy Council were termed, for the raising of a forced loan, which no law that had ever been enacted could warrant. It seemed as if the more Charles was in want of money, the more determined was he on schemes which could not be prosecuted without money. He had brought himself to believe that a confederacy against Spain was the most effectual means of restoring his brother-in-law to his dominions; and, empty as his treasury was, his zeal for foreign alliances was not damped by the knowledge that he was expected to find funds to put the troops of his allies in motion. Rather than be baffled in his purpose he was even ready to send Buckingham to pledge the Crown plate and jewels to Dutch goldsmiths. And, as if the Duke had not enough to do at home, a fleet also was to be equipped to attack the Spanish ports, of which he was to have the command, with the title of

[1] From June 18 to July 11, twenty-three days; from August 1 to August 12, exactly thirty-five days.

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'generalissimo,' one which, it has sometimes been said, was invented by Richelieu for himself, a few years later, when he laid aside his Cardinal's robes for helmet and cuirass, and, priest as he was, took the command of the French army in the Italian campaign.

But as no loans so raised could meet the expenditure required by such extensive schemes of foreign policy, Charles was compelled to summon a fresh Parliament. It augured ill for the chance of his agreeing with it better than with the preceding one, that in the course of the winter Buckingham prevailed on him to discard Williams, by far the shrewdest member of his Council; and within a very few weeks it became apparent that a second rupture was unavoidable; the Commons, while professing a loyal willingness to grant supplies, showing at the same time a resolution to know how the money which they were prepared to vote would be spent, and to institute a rigid inquiry into abuses and grievances; and Charles, reproving them for wasting time in such investigations, which he enjoined them at all events to postpone to the more pressing business of granting money. Especially he threw his shield over Buckingham: 'In old time it had been said, what shall be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour? But now it is the labour of some to seek what may be done *against* the man whom the king thinks fit to be honoured'—(ii. 23), and, though the statement was calculated to sweep away the constitutional doctrine of the irresponsibility of the Sovereign and the responsibility of the Ministers, he added 'that it was certain that he had commanded the Duke to do what he had done;[1] that he would not have the House to question his servants; and that he hoped the House itself would join with him in punishing those who should so offend.' The last sentence was so clearly a threat, that it exasperated more than it alarmed, and the next day Eliot denounced Buckingham by name as the cause of most of the evils complained of. Nor did either side confine itself to hard words. Presently the Commons proceeded to order the formal impeachment of the Duke; and Charles not only threw Eliot, and another member, named Digges,

[1] Among the many remarkable parallels which the French Revolution and the reign of Louis XVI. furnish to the events of this time, not the least striking is the resemblance between this declaration of Charles and the language of reproof which on one occasion Vergennes persuaded Louis to address to a deputation from the Parliaments of Paris and of several of the provinces; and in which the King laid down the rule that 'the Councillors were to consider everything done in his name as done by his especial order.'—*France under the Bourbons*, iii. 486.

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into prison, but ordered Heath, the Attorney-General, to accuse the Earl of Bristol of high treason, with no other object, as the Earl affirmed, than that of preventing him from appearing as a witness against the Duke, with respect to whom he was in a position to give very damaging evidence. But these acts of violence only betrayed his weakness. He was soon forced to release all but Bristol (the charges against whom were subsequently brought before the Star Chamber, only to be disproved); and after vainly trying to coax or intimidate the Commons into a grant of supply before their complaint against Buckingham was examined, he dissolved this second Parliament also.

He had warned the Commons that it belonged to him alone to call them together or to dispense with them. And, to show that this was not an empty threat, he let nearly two years elapse before he called another Parliament.

At last, however, his necessities overcame his antipathy. He had tried more than one expedient to raise money from his subjects, which he fancied was not illegal because he avoided the use of the term tax or duty; but all his contrivances had proved very unproductive. He had sought to intimidate the opponents of the Court by removing from the commission of the peace those members who had been foremost in resistance or disapproval; not only Eliot, but even Wentworth being visited with the mark of the royal displeasure. And Mr. Gardiner, remarking that 'a Government which could alienate men so opposed to one another as Eliot and Wentworth, must indeed have gone far astray'—(ii. 78), takes occasion once more to point out how great was the difference between the views and positions of these statesmen; and how entirely a correct understanding of those of Wentworth exculpates him from the charge which Pym brought against him, and which has since been often repeated with a bitterness such as is rarely provoked by events long past, of having been bought over by the Court to desert his party:—

'He was longing to enter the service of the Crown. . . . The reforming spirit was strong in him. To him England was a stage on which there was much to be done; many abuses to be overthrown, many interested and ignorant vices to be silenced. Since the days when Bacon had been a member of the House of Commons no man's voice had been raised so frequently in favour of new legislation. Legislation was the only mode in which, as a member of the House, he could proceed to action. But there could be little doubt that he would prefer a shorter course. Power in his own hands would be very welcome to him from whatever quarter it came. . . . A courtier

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in the ordinary sense of the word Wentworth never was; never by any possibility could become. . . . Whatever his heart conceived his mouth would speak. And whatever position he occupied he was sure to magnify his office. . . . He indeed could join the leaders of the Opposition in refusing or putting down the supplies which Buckingham needed for the war. But he joined them as one who would gladly be spared the task of resisting the wishes of his sovereign. In short, he was with the Opposition, but not of it. And Charles acknowledged the difference between his resistance and that of some others; and, though he included him in his penal list, spoke of him with kindness as one who might yet be won. Wentworth justified the preference. His objection was not against Charles's system of government, but against the policy pursued by the King and his Minister. Consequently he refused to take measures to evade the restrictions placed upon him. "My rule," he said, "which I will never transgress, is never to contend with the prerogative out of Parliament, nor yet to contest with a King, but when I am constrained thereto, or else make shipwreck of my peace of conscience, which I trust God will ever bless me with, and with courage too to preserve it." '

He did not indeed conceive that his desire to avoid a contest with prerogative was to lead him to contribute to one of the forced loans which Charles endeavoured to exact for an object to which he was so averse as a French war, even though for his refusal he was summoned before the Council, and 'sent into confinement, in Kent; the last resource of the King' (and a singular one it was) being 'to banish the leading opposers of the loan to counties as far as possible from their own homes'—(ii. 117). But, when in the spring of 1628, Charles yielded to the compulsion of an empty exchequer, and summoned a third Parliament, Wentworth at once prepared not only to join in but to lead the opposition to the recent measures of the Government. He was not disposed to renew the impeachment of Buckingham; partly perhaps because he considered the Duke had been thoroughly discredited by the recent failure of the expedition to Rochelle, in which he himself had commanded; partly perhaps because it was no secret that, on the first hint of such a step, Charles had made up his mind to repeat the dissolution. But his principal reason was that other objects of more general importance seemed to him and to the other leaders of the country party, to be more immediately pressing. The months which had elapsed since the dissolution of the former Parliament had been marked by continual violations of the rights of the people. The independence of the Judges had been assailed by the dismissal of some of the body. The

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Court of the King's Bench had refused to admit to bail some members of the last House of Commons who had been thrown into prison. A new tax, under the name of Ship-money had been levied in every county by the mere order of the Council. Soldiers had been billeted in different parts of the kingdom, for whose maintenance the farmers and shop-keepers could obtain no payment; and whose excesses and extortions caused universal discontent, while the haughty and imprudent imperiousness of the King's language at the opening of the Parliament could not fail to be regarded as an aggravation of the wrong done by his acts. 'If they failed to do their duty' (in providing ample supplies) 'he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands. They were not to take this as a threat, for he scorned to threaten any but his equals. But he wished them to understand that, though he was willing to forget the distractions of the last Parliament, he expected them to alter their conduct'—(ii. 202).

It was not to be wondered at that such language irritated rather than terrified, and produced a steadfast resolution to put an end to grievances so universally and so deeply felt. Eliot indeed weakened the effect of a powerful denunciation of the past misgovernment by mixing theological questions with political, and affirming that all the evils complained of 'sprang from the danger of innovation in religion'—(ii. 204). But Wentworth's speech was a masterpiece, inspired at once by the most fearless patriotism and the most penetrating statesmanship. 'The business of Parliament,' as he declared, 'was to produce union between the King and the people.' Both had been injured by past evils. Both were interested in finding a remedy for those evils.' And, having enumerated the grievances of the people with unsparing precision, 'illegal punishments and marks of indignation, the raising of loans, the billeting of soldiers, as if the object had been to persuade worlds that the right of empire was to take away by strong hand,' he declared that it was not the King himself who had done these things, but 'projectors, who had extended the prerogative of the King beyond its just symmetry;' and he concluded by declaring his resolution 'to apply himself to make whole all that had been impaired, and to propound a remedy to all these diseases.'

And as he saw that these abuses, unless speedily put an end to, so that they could never be repeated, must tend to lose their temporary character and to become permanent, he was resolved that the House should content itself with no

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temporary retractation or remedy, but that it should erect a bulwark strong enough for all time to prevent a recurrence of similar misgovernment. And this could only be done by a formal statute. Historians and constitutional critics have been so unanimous in their appreciation of the great Petition of Right, that Mr. Gardiner may well call it strange that it should have been left to him to throw any new light on the struggle which ended in its enactment—(*Pref.* to vol. i. p. x.) But the 'Notes' of Buckingham's secretary, Nicholas, were written in 'a peculiar semi-shorthand, which seems to have repelled previous investigators,' while a still more elaborate report of the Commons debates on the subject 'lurked unknown in the well-ransacked collection of the Harleian MSS. till he was fortunate enough to light upon it.' By the aid of these invaluable authorities he has been able to show us that, valuable and powerful a resistance to all future encroachments on freedom as was supplied by the Petition of Right, Wentworth had it in his mind to erect a bulwark which should have been still more absolutely impregnable by a formal Bill.

Had Charles been wiser, had he as yet been able to appreciate, as he appreciated afterwards, Wentworth's true character, he would have accepted such a Bill with cordiality. Yet, though he opposed it, there can be no doubt that he believed that in so doing he too was acting in the interest of the people, who were concerned equally with himself in the upholding of his lawful prerogative. The Commons, under Wentworth's guidance, passed resolutions condemning any attempt to levy money which they had not voted, and any punishment of those who refused to pay. But they were willing, if satisfied on these points, to grant an ample supply, and to leave its expenditure wholly to the Government. But Charles resented all attempts to fetter him by positive enactments. He was willing to make informal promises, to assure the Houses 'that he would not again put in force the extraordinary powers of which they complained. But he firmly believed that these extraordinary powers were part of the inheritance of the Crown, and he was resolved not to divest himself of them'—(ii. 221).

Some days were occupied by a series of resolutions, promises, and remonstrances, alternating with each other. The advocacy of Charles's views by some of the inferior Ministers was so unskilful as to injure his cause rather than promote it. The Secretary, Sir John Coke, declared the question at issue to be whether the Houses 'would or would not believe the King's royal word and promise.' The Solicitor-

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General argued that a Bill must be needless, because a good king would not need it and a bad king could not be bound by it; to which Wentworth replied by expressing a hope 'that the question whether the King be above the law or the law above the King might never be stirred.' But he stood firmly to his original view, that there must be a distinct Act of Parliament, a measure which Charles was equally resolved to avoid. Charles still thought that he had a right to expect the Houses to be satisfied with vague general promises, and summoned them to his presence to receive from his own lips a resolution which had at least as much of admonition in it as of promise. In a severe tone he declared that 'he held Magna Charta to be in force, but he would not hear of any encroachment upon that sovereignty or prerogative which God had put into his hands for the good of his people'—(ii. 246).

We cannot wonder that the Commons were not satisfied, nor that they replied with a remonstrance embodying the arguments already brought forward by Wentworth. But Charles held his ground, and in consideration of the impossibility of compelling his assent to it, the idea of proceeding by Bill was at last abandoned.

'Wentworth's hopes were baffled. He had hoped to reconcile the King and his subjects. His idea of kingship was a high one; too high, indeed, for the circumstances of the time. But he regarded it as Bacon had regarded it, as part of the constitution of England, as bound to act in consonance with the laws, and only rising above them because no written laws could possibly provide for all the emergencies which might arise. For Charles the kingship was something different from this, something divine in its origin and unlimited in its powers. Therefore, even if he was willing to agree that he would not repeat the actions which had given just offence in the preceding year, he was not willing to bind himself to more. He would surrender the abuse, the authority from which the abuse sprang he would not surrender'—(ii. 247).

Charles, on the other hand, had triumphed, but he gained nothing by his victory. Three days after the abandonment of the Bill it was brought forward in another form, that of the immortal Petition of Right. And in some respects the Petition made a greater inroad on his system of government than had been attempted by the Bill; for the Petition contained a recital of past grievances from which the Bill had abstained, and moreover, as was argued by some of the advocates of the Petition, 'it was better than a Bill, for by it the Houses would have an answer before they sent up the subsidies. A Petition must receive an immediate answer. A

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Bill would be sent up at the end of the Session, and what were there to hinder the King from accepting the subsidies and rejecting the Bill?'—(ii. 251).

Our space is too limited, and the leading circumstances of the discussions which followed have been too fully and frequently narrated to make it necessary for us here to recapitulate them in detail. The Petition passed the Commons in two days, and was sent to the Lords, who referred it to a Committee; and though some amendments introduced in the Upper House 'were intended to render the condemnation of the Government less abrupt,' yet, on the whole, Mr. Gardiner pronounces the report of the Committee to 'contain the severest censure to which any King of England had submitted since the days of Richard II.'—(ii. 253.)

In his relation of the debates our historian takes occasion to correct one expression of Pym (now rapidly rising into a commanding position in the House) which has been hitherto quoted thus:—'We cannot *leave* the King sovereign power, for *he* never was possessed of it.' Mr. Gardiner maintains that his words were 'for *we* were never possessed of it,' meaning, as he explains the phrase, 'we can only leave what we have control over; this is beyond our control'—(ii. 258). The point is not of great importance; but we certainly prefer the common reading. In the first place it is more consistent with '*leave*:' since that could not be left to the King which he never had had at all. And, secondly, though to do so might have been a betrayal of their trust, so great a stickler for the power of Parliament as Pym was, would hardly have affirmed that even the admission of sovereign or absolute power was beyond its competency to make.

The contest in the Lords was not less animated than that in the Commons; and Mr. Gardiner deservedly claims credit for being the first person to give a full account of their proceedings on the subject, on which 'writers have hitherto been contented to guess; and have frequently guessed wrong'—(*Pref.* xi.), as they have done especially in the case of Bishop Williams, 'who turns out to have had nothing to do with the additional clause reserving sovereignty to the Crown, which is usually attributed to him;' and to have been innocent of those intrigues 'against the Petition which have called forth such denunciations of his conduct.'

Buckingham's resistance to the Petition, which he carried on in a most imperious tone, as if every clause depended on his consent, was far more vigorous than could be made by his underlings. Indeed so difficult did it seem to overbear him,

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that Eliot proposed to act without reference to the Upper House; a suggestion which was at once rejected by the more statesmanlike intelligence of Wentworth, 'whose mind was full of schemes for alteration and reform; and who was an advocate of the constitutional forms which had existed in the days of his youth. Early in the Session he had announced that the Commons could do nothing without the King; he now announced that they could do nothing without the Lords'—(ii. 262.)

Undeniable as the assertion was on every constitutional principle, it provoked Eliot into a singular display of ill-temper; and he forgot himself so much as even to charge 'Wentworth with deserting the cause he had once espoused.' Such an accusation the great framer of the Petition disdained to notice. His defence was the practical one of reasserting the importance of every article which it contained, and his own resolution to adhere to every one of them, though not unaware that 'the resolutions, in the opinion of wise men, stretched very far on the King's power, and if they were kept punctually, would give a blow to government:' an opinion in which Mr. Gardiner so fully coincides that he affirms that 'whether the Commons were right or wrong, the Petition contained within it the germ of a revolution'—(ii. 263.)

Hume had expressed the same opinion before; at last the Petition was passed by both Houses, but it was not without great reluctance that Charles could bring himself to ratify it. Had not intelligence of disasters to the Protestant arms in France and Germany arrived in the same week, Mr. Gardiner thinks he would have refused his assent altogether. Still in his manifest reluctance our historian sees evidence, not of hostility to the people, but of his rigid honesty. 'The Lords had distinctly spoken of his prerogative as something untouched by the Petition; and even the Commons had declared that they had no intention of encroaching upon it. A hypocritical prince would perhaps have been content with this; would have assented to the Petition, and tacitly reserved for himself the right of breaking it afterwards'—(ii. 274). He, on the contrary, would deceive neither others nor himself as to the sense in which he assented, if he should assent; and therefore publicly consulted the Judges on the effect of different articles, especially those which affected his claim to imprison without showing cause. And, when he found their opinion adverse to his own notions of his rights, in spite of the bad news from abroad, he sought to evade the sacrifice demanded of him by an informal answer, which in

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general terms promised and enjoined adherence 'to the laws and customs of the realm.' His object was of course transparent. The Commons were indignant, and all their indignation was again poured out on the Duke, who was branded by name as the cause of all the evils. A remonstrance was proposed; an impeachment was not obscurely hinted at. It was to no purpose that Finch, the Speaker, announced that he had instructions to interrupt any member who reflected on any Minister of State; or that Charles himself sent down a message to the House couched in terms of angry and menacing reproof. The excitement surpassed all previous agitation. As some of the journals consulted by Mr. Gardiner relate, the Speaker wept with perplexity; and even the hard, fierce old Chief Justice, Sir E. Coke, was for a moment unable to express his sentiments. 'With the tears running down his furrowed face, he stood up, faltered, and sat down again'—(p. 286). The Lords, though less impulsive, showed no less resolution than the Commons. Even Buckingham was unable to oppose himself to the current; till at last the King gave way, and on June 7 pronounced the old legal form of Royal Assent—adding a few words of (for him) more than usual graciousness. He declared that 'he had always meant to confirm all their liberties, knowing, according to their own protestations, that they neither meant to nor could hurt his prerogative. And he assured them that his maxim was that the people's liberties strengthen the king's prerogative, and that the king's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties.'

The most resolute patriot could hardly have wished to put both prerogative and liberty on a more healthy foundation than that which was thus laid down by Charles. But he deceived himself when he expected that either his words of grace and wisdom, or even his assent to the Petition, would suffice to allay all the discontent of the Commons, so long as Buckingham's influence remained predominant; or to extinguish their animosity against the Duke himself. He closed his speech with the statement that 'he had shown himself ready to satisfy their demands, so that he had done his part; wherefore, if the Parliament had not a happy conclusion, the sin was theirs; he was free from it'—(ii. 291). For the moment indeed they seemed to agree with him; and the people outside the House more than shared their feelings. 'The acclamations of the Commons arose; the shout was taken up without as the news spread from street to street. The steeples of the City churches rang out their merriest peals. As the dusk deepened into darkness bonfires were lighted up amidst

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rejoicing crowds. Since the day when Charles had returned from Spain, no such signs of public happiness had been seen.'

But the satisfaction was only partial and temporary. The Commons were so far appeased that they at once granted a liberal vote of supply; but there were still what seemed to them to be grievances, though they had not been, nor could have been inserted in the Petition; and these they were embodying in a remonstrance, which not even the great concession now made would induce them to give up. It was an unhappy characteristic of the time, and one perhaps more full of evil omen for the future than any other, that once more religion, if it be not profaning the term to apply it to an intolerant enforcement of one narrow theological system, occupied a more prominent place in their minds than the gravest questions of foreign policy or constitutional privilege. Yet so it was; the Commons still persisted in completing a remonstrance which they had begun to draw up some weeks before; and in it a denunciation of Arminianism, and complaints that books had been licensed which were unfavourable to the doctrines of Calvin, were given a marked precedence over allegations 'of the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham,' and the abuse of that power. Charles, though little inclined to Puritanism, placed these matters in a very different order. In the hope of drawing the Commons off from their attacks on the Duke, he was willing to disountenance the Arminians, 'which,' says Mr. Gardiner, 'he might easily do, as Laud and his friends (as yet) entirely disclaimed the title.' But 'to abandon the Duke was to abandon himself'—(ii. 301); and the murder in a street riot of Dr. Lambe, a quack doctor, who was generally regarded as a creature of Buckingham's, made Charles only the more resolute to protect him. With such a warning before his eyes, he looked on 'the movement against Buckingham as nothing more than a decent veil for an outbreak against popular anarchy;' and while he refused the Duke permission to answer the charges brought against him, he addressed a stern reproof to the House, for making so ungrateful a return to his recent great concession in assenting to the Petition of Right.

It was an ill-advised indication of displeasure; for, in spite of their recent vote of supply, the King was still to a certain degree in the power of the Commons. And not only were their leaders men far more likely to be exasperated than intimidated by such rebuke, but they had abundant evidence that the nation was with them. 'Who rules the kingdom?' were

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the words of a pasquinade found nailed to a house in Coleman Street; 'the King. Who rules the King? the Duke. Who rules the Duke? the Devil. Let the Duke look to it' (ii. 305). And, strong in this support, they proceeded to draw up a fresh remonstrance on the old subject of Tonnage and Poundage; and, as a prorogation was notoriously at hand, they 'proposed to pass a temporary Bill to save the rights which they claimed in this matter.' Charles had no mind to give time for the framing of such a Bill. The language of the new remonstrance, that 'the receiving of Tonnage and Poundage, which had not been granted by Parliament, was a breach of the liberties of this kingdom, and contrary to his Majesty's assent to the Petition of Right,' he regarded as at once a personal insult and a practical injury, since 'it would make it impossible for him to govern the kingdom, except in accordance with the views of the House of Commons' (ii. 306.) And he determined at once to prorogue the Parliament before such a remonstrance could be presented, avowing that his object was to prevent its presentation.

In his review of the Session Mr. Gardiner examines the position of affairs and the conduct of both parties with careful impartiality. As he views it, 'the crisis was more serious, the breach more complete and hopeless than ever before. . . . . The King's whole policy was to be changed at home and abroad, his whole personal feeling was to be sacrificed by the condemnation of Laud and Neile,[1] as well as of the great Duke himself.' But he lays the chief blame on the Commons, and regards their resolution which condemned the collection of Tonnage and Poundage after the Judges had decided in favour of the King's right to levy it, as an attempt to give a resolution of their single House a validity equal to that of a formal political decision of the Courts of Law, which could lead to nothing 'but a tyranny such as enabled Cromwell to turn the key on the expelled Long Parliament, and which, in the following century, roused the thinking part of the nation in defence of a man so unworthy as Wilkes'—(ii. 310). Moreover, he impugns the honesty of the Commons in affirming that the Petition of Right barred the sovereign from levying Tonnage and Poundage. Not only had lawyers constantly 'held that a customs' duty was something of a kind altogether different from a tax;' but 'it is as certain as anything can well be, that the Commons never had any intention to include the question of Tonnage

[1] The Bishop of Winchester.

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and Poundage in the Petition of Right'—(ii. 311). At the same time he balances his blame of them by granting that, 'if formally in the wrong, they may have been materially in the right;' and, while on that particular question he defends the King, he at the same time severely condemns him for 'blindness, narrow-mindedness, obstinacy, and an habitual disregard of that primary axiom of government, that men cannot be driven, though they may be led.'

In Mr. Gardiner's opinion Buckingham was more alive to the perilous nature of the crisis than Charles, and showed his consciousness of it 'in a desire to meet Parliament, when it should re-assemble, in something like a conciliatory spirit,' —(ii. 320). Lord Bristol and Lord Arundel were restored to favour: Weston was made Lord Treasurer, while Wentworth was raised to the peerage, and was also, on Weston's introduction, received into favour by Charles. Whether it were beneficial to the nation 'thus to remove from the Commons the only man among its leaders who had shown anything like power of constructive statesmanship,' Mr. Gardiner is very doubtful; but than his defence of Wentworth himself nothing can be more conclusive:—

'From that time to this no word has been found too hard for the great apostate, the unworthy deserter of the principles of his youth. Those who have studied the true records of the Session which had just come to an end, are aware that he was neither an apostate nor a deserter. The abuses struck at by the Petition of Right he regarded as prejudicial to government as well as injurious to the subject; when they had been swept away he was free to take his own course, and that course must have been greatly determined by the proceedings of the Commons in the last days of the Session. With Puritanism he had no sympathy whatever: he had no confidence in the House of Commons as an instrument of government, and regarded some of its recent declarations on the subject of Tonnage and Poundage as a proclamation inviting to anarchy'—(ii. 321).

But he distrusted Buckingham still more, and, for ourselves, we fail to see how, if the Duke had lived, a place could ever have been found for him in the Councils of the King. Wentworth's worse as well as his better qualities, his proud, overbearing disposition as well as his consciousness of pre-eminent ability and honest zeal for the State, alike forbade it. No two men in the kingdom was it so impossible to bring together in co-operation. That difficulty, however, was not destined to continue. While Buckingham was fitting out a fresh expedition to Rochelle, in the vain hope of wiping away

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the disgrace of his former failure, one of his old officers, stung by his gross personal insults, and rendered desperate by the refusal of promotion to which he conceived himself entitled, and by the withholding of his pay, which he had certainly earned, murdered him at Portsmouth. Foul as the crime was, the people in general, and especially the Londoners, heard of it with exultation. But Charles bewailed him 'with bitter tears and lamentations,' and set himself to do honour to the memory of his favourite, by giving his personal superintendence to the equipping of the Rochelle fleet. Its result only showed the want of judgment with which the expedition had been planned. Lord Lindsey, to whom, on the Duke's death, the command had been given, found himself utterly unable to force his way through the moles with which Richelieu had barred the entrance to the harbour. A great portion of his force consisted of merchant-vessels, whose masters had no appetite for encountering any danger that could be avoided; and it might be said that the British only came in sight of the city to behold its surrender, and perhaps to flatter themselves that the tolerant humanity with which the Cardinal used his victory was in some degree due to the interest their king had shown in the fate of the subdued Huguenots.

With these transactions, according to Mr. Gardiner's views, one period of Charles's reign ends. He doubts indeed whether Buckingham had ever exerted the absolute dominion over Charles which he was 'commonly thought' to have exerted, and believes 'that Charles's tenacity and self-sufficiency had to the full as large a share in the mischief as the presumptuous optimism of his favourite'—(ii. 339). However this may be, it is universally agreed that after the Duke's death Charles took the government of the State on himself more visibly than before; and, as we have already pointed out, Mr. Gardiner proclaims the fact by the title of his third and fourth volumes, 'The Personal Government of Charles.' As he tells us, 'the King at once announced his intention of presiding continually at the Council, and ordered each Minister to report directly to himself on the business entrusted to his charge'—(iii. 2). Nor was it a merely formal presidency which he was contented to exercise. On the contrary, Ranke affirms that 'on all important questions he expressed his opinion so decidedly that no one ventured to contradict him;'[1] and before the end of the year he followed up his announcement by a declaration providing for the determina-

[1] *History of England*, ii. 2.

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tion of all theological disputes and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs generally, which showed that he intended to exercise an active superintendence over every kind of business, whether civil or spiritual. And the character of the new Lord Treasurer was favourable to his prosecution of such a purpose, since Weston, though a prudent and judicious Finance Minister, was too eager to keep his place to offer any opposition to his royal master's declared intentions.[1]

Unluckily, like Louis XIV. forty years later, Charles could not perceive that the affairs of a whole kingdom were too various to be conducted by a single mind, however well informed. At this moment questions of foreign policy occupied as large a space in his eyes as the internal government of his kingdom. But not only were the means by which he proposed to obtain his objects abroad inconsistent with each other, but all of them were incompatible with the design which in all probability he had begun also to entertain, of avoiding any immediate summons to the prorogued Parliament to reassemble for a second session. His great object was the recovery of the Palatinate for his brother-in-law; and he had so high an opinion of his own diplomatic abilities that he doubted not being able to use both France and Spain as tools to effect his purpose. He failed to see that the mutual jealousy of these two nations rendered it hopeless to induce both to act with him cordially; though both were willing to amuse him with specious promises, in order 'to secure the neutrality, if not the alliance of England in the conflict with one another' for which both were preparing—(iii. 10.)

In suffering himself to be thus played with, he no doubt lacked statesmanlike sagacity; but it does not follow, as Mr. Gardiner would seem to imply, that his object was ill chosen. It was not only natural for him to desire to aid his kinsman, but his feeling on this point was wholly in harmony with that of his subjects, on no subject more unanimous; and success would have been the most important service that could have been rendered to the cause of Protestantism. On the other hand, in his endeavours to remove the question of his right to Tonnage and Poundage from the decision of Parliament to that of the Courts of Law, Gardiner allows Charles the praise of cleverness and tact, though he contends that 'it was impossible to allow any mere interpretation of the law to decide the question at issue'—(iii. 13). But once again political questions were complicated and exasperated by theological

[1] *History of England*, ii. 7.

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quarrels; and it is hard altogether to acquit some of the clergy of what, in modern language, may be called the extreme High Church party, of imprudence in connecting their religious doctrines with arbitrary power, much as Sacheverell did eighty years later, in a way that perhaps gratified the King, but which certainly injured his cause and their own.

Yet, even if such ideas were secretly not unpleasing to Charles, they were not such as Laud, the divine with whom in such matters Charles chiefly took counsel, desired to see publicly inculcated. Laud was not in every point a large-minded or judicious adviser. But, on the other hand, he was far from being wholly swayed by the narrow views which have been generally imputed to him; and, though he is clearly no favourite with Mr. Gardiner, who is never so little impartial as in explaining the differences which separated the Episcopalians from the Puritans; yet even he from time to time lets fall expressions which show plainly enough how bright a side there was to the prelate's character. 'Peace was the object which he pursued,' a praise which, however, is qualified by the addition that it was peace even in preference to truth. He had a deep 'dislike of arrogant and self-sufficient dogmatists,' and, like his royal master, 'no taste for dogmatic controversy; believing that it only served to distract the clergy from their real work; and he looked with the contempt of a practical man upon the endless discussions of problems which it was impossible for the human intellect to solve'—(iii. 35, 155). With the Puritans a love of peace was a proof of lukewarmness: controversy and conflict were dear to them, whether the cause of dispute were the 'abstruse doctrines of grace and predestination,' or the promotion of Montague to a bishopric. And Mr. Gardiner admits that their system 'had its narrowness,' and that many of the most vehement and influential of their leaders were 'men who had no broad intelligence or spiritual insight, no quality to inspire respect except that dogged persistency in support of that which they believed to be true, which is in itself a virtue'—(iii. 25).

Such was the state of affairs when at the beginning of 1629 Charles re-assembled the Parliament. But our space forbids us to dwell on the incidents which marked its brief session; and which we may pass over the more contentedly since they have been related so frequently and so fully that even Mr. Gardiner's diligence has not been able to add anything that is new to the narrative. In too many respects the proceedings were creditable to neither party, neither to the King nor to the leaders of the Opposition; but, while the

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Session lasted, the greater errors were manifestly committed by Eliot and his friends. In spite of the favourable decision of the Judges, Charles, in a set speech, formally disavowed all intention of levying duties by 'virtue of hereditary prerogative;' and condescended to explain 'that he had not intended to challenge Tonnage and Poundage of right, but for expedience, showing to Parliament the necessity, not the right, by which he was to take it until they had granted it to him; assuring himself, according to their general profession, that they wanted time and not good-will to give it to him'—(iii. 50). But though 'the first impression made by this speech was extremely favourable,' so much so that, 'in a manner contrary to all precedent, instead of being listened to in respectful silence, it was many times interrupted by sounds of applause,' the *odium theologicum* had such entire possession of the leaders of the Opposition, that no condescension or moderation of the King could allay it; and, chiefly under the influence and guidance of Eliot, they passed a series of votes against 'Jesuits and Arminians,' which Mr. Gardiner admits could only be justified by arguments which 'may be used to justify a revolution; and which, in fact, meant nothing less than a declaration of war against the King'—(iii. 61, 62). The last expression may be rather too strong, but undoubtedly the proceedings of the Commons justified Charles in his resolution to mark his disapproval by a speedy dissolution. And he was more justified still by the tumultuous conduct of some of the Presbyterian members on the last day of the Session, when they actually laid violent hands on their own Speaker, and held him down in his chair by force, that a fresh set of resolutions prepared by Eliot might be voted before the King could summon them to hear their sentence of dismissal.

In examining the votes passed by Charles's second Parliament Mr. Gardiner cannot forbear once more expressing a severe disapproval of many of them. 'It would be unfair to deny that the germ of much that was evil existed in the pretensions of the House of Commons, . . . and it is not possible to deny that the growing ascendancy of the House of Commons, desirable as it was, had yet its ugly side; that it might come to represent the interests rather than the wisdom of the nation; and that, unless the national mind were aroused to reverence for justice, it might be as arbitrary as Charles had ever been'—(ii. 177). And, if the King had now behaved with prudence and magnanimity, it is hardly conceivable that the disorderly and scandalous scene which closed the Session could have failed to startle many sober-minded

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observers, and to lead them to doubt whether, with all his high-flown ideas of his prerogative, he were not of the two the safer guardian of their liberties. Unhappily, however, Charles was too angry to be magnanimous, or even prudent. Though we can hardly doubt that he was determined to summon no new Parliament so long as he could avoid it, he yet resolved to inflict on those who had given him the deepest offence such punishment as should also serve as a warning to members of future Parliaments, whenever one should re-assemble. In defiance of the law, which secured freedom of speech to every Peer and every representative of the people, nine members were instantly committed to prison; and, though in the course of the summer the majority of them were released on making satisfactory submission, Eliot, with Holles and Valentine, the members who had borne the chief part in the assault on the Speaker, were prosecuted at the beginning of the next year, and sentenced to the payment of heavy fines; and, as Eliot would neither pay the fine nor acknowledge his offence, he was kept in uninterrupted confinement, to which his death, in less than three years afterwards, may probably be in great measure attributed. Worthy of admiration and of grateful recollection, as in many respects he was, still, as we have seen, many of the measures which he had urged on the House of Commons were, even in the judgment of those most favourable to him, incompatible with the respect due to the sovereign and with the authority which the Constitution conferred on him. He had given Charles what was probably still deeper offence by an invective against Buckingham, in which, shortly before that favourite's death, he had compared him to Sejanus, a parallel which, as Charles interpreted it, could only hold good if he himself resembled Tiberius. But the revenge which Charles took was beneath a king, as also in its lawless disregard of the privileges of Parliament, it must, we fear, be held to counterbalance the bigotry and violence of his victim and his fellow-sufferers.

In the interval between the prorogation and re-assembling of the Parliament, Charles had gained the active support of a counsellor whose rare wisdom and administrative powers had, till the Royal Assent was given to the Petition of Right, been commonly displayed in opposition. Wentworth had not, on his promotion to the Peerage, been at once admitted among the King's counsellors; but, in the course of the ensuing winter, he received the honourable appointment of the Presidency of the North, and at once began to display his great administrative powers in that office. We have

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already seen how vigorously and successfully Mr. Gardiner defends him from the charge of having been unfaithful to the principles with which he had set out. It is but a carrying out of his previous argument when he now represents him, not so much a champion of absolute monarchy against liberty, as 'a defender of order against disorder'—(iii. 42). In his admirable lectures on the History of France,[1] Sir James Stephen describes the 'political despotism which Richelieu sought to erect as not a despotism like that of Constantinople and Teheran, but a power which, being restrained by religion, by learning, and by public spirit, was to be exempted from all other restraints: a dynasty which, like a kind of subordinate providence, was to spread wide its aims for the guidance and shelter of the subject multitude, itself the while inhabiting a region too lofty to be ever darkened by the mists of human weakness or of human corruption.' Wentworth's views of the province of the monarchy, as they are painted by Mr. Gardiner, were not unlike those of the great Cardinal, and, whatever difference there was, may be said to have been in the Englishman's favour, inasmuch as there is in them a greater idea of reciprocity, and as they fully recognised the principle which Richelieu ignored, that, if his people owed much to the sovereign, he on his part owed no little to them. 'Princes,' as Wentworth said in his opening speech at York,

'are like indulgent nursing fathers to their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights, ought to be precious in their eyes, the branches of their government be for shadow, for habitation, the comfort of life. They repose safe and still under the protection of their sceptres. Subjects, on the other side, ought, with solicitous eyes of jealousy, to watch over the prerogatives of a Crown. The authority of a king is the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government, which contains each part in due relation to the whole, and which once shaken and infirmed, all the frame falls together into a confused heap of foundation and battlement, of strength and beauty. Furthermore, subjects must lay down their lives for the defence of kings freely, till those offer out of their store freely, like our best grounds, *qui majore ubertate gratiam quietis referre solent.* Verily there are those mutual intelligences of love and protection descending, and loyalty ascending, which should pass and be the entertainments between a king and his people.'

And his idea of the duty of Ministers is that 'their faithful servants must look equally on both, weave and twist these two together in all their counsels, study and labour to preserve each without diminishing or enlarging either; and by

[1] Lecture xx. vol. ii. p. 317.

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running in the worn, wonted channels, treading the ancient bounds, cut off early all disputes from betwixt them'—(iii. 41). It was thus he

'Taught power's due use to people and to kings;'[1]

and though these eloquent sentences undoubtedly contemplate far fewer limitations on the will of the monarch than are consistent with a modern idea of a free constitution, or indeed than were consistent with the ancient charters of the realm, had they not been read by the interpretation of a century and more of Tudor tyranny, yet it is quite evident that Wentworth was at least equally anxious for the welfare of the subject as for that of the king. As Mr. Gardiner comments on his speech, 'A king thoroughly well meaning and prudent, counsellors intelligent and patriotic, a people ever outstripping the government in its zeal to carry out the royal commands, such was Wentworth's vision of the commonwealth, which he hoped to see flourishing upon English soil.' The parallel between him and Richelieu struck him, as it had struck Stephen. But he gives the preference to our countryman, and boasts that 'England may well be proud of possessing in Wentworth a nobler statesman than Richelieu, of the type to which the great Cardinal belonged;' and he ascribes to him a large philanthropy as a ruling motive of his career. 'He was more solicitous for the internal welfare of his country than Richelieu was . . . . the prosperity of the poor, of the weak, of all who had none to help them, held a larger place in his imagination'—(iv. 331).

Unluckily, he was not the only, nor as yet the chief adviser of the King. Charles, though well-meaning, was not sagacious in his discernment of talent or character; and the adviser by whose counsels he was for the next few years principally swayed, so far as he was not his own guide to himself, was not gifted with any high political intelligence. Even while at York Wentworth was too far from the Court for his voice to be often heard; when, as soon happened, he was removed to Dublin, it was only at rare intervals that it could reach the royal ear. But Laud, who on Abbot's death, a year or two afterwards, was promoted to the Primacy, was always at hand; and there were not wanting reasons why he should be regarded by Charles as the more acceptable counsellor. 'Wentworth's attachment to him, though not without a romantic tinge, was political at bottom. Laud regarded him

[1] *Essay on Man*, iii. 289.

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with the warmest personal affection. Nor did Laud, like Wentworth, soar into regions into which Charles was incapable of following him'—(iii. 176). It might be added that Laud had never opposed him on any point; while Wentworth had on more questions than one resisted him stoutly; and, though his promotion was a proof that Charles had, more cordially than was his wont, forgiven the opposition, it was hardly to be wondered at if he could not as yet feel as complete confidence in his undeviating submission to his opinions and designs, as he might certainly reckon on from the Archbishop. Ranke regards it as a peculiarity in Charles's character, that at all times he 'bestowed his exclusive confidence on one person alone.'[1] But it may be doubted whether, if confidence be complete, it can be divided among many. At all events, the King's esteem and affection were at first monopolised by Laud; and it was probably owing to the Archbishop, who, with more sagacity than he always showed, soon began to recognise at once an associate and a master-spirit in the great Northern statesman, that Charles also gradually learnt to appreciate both his genius and his loyalty.

For the first few years after the dissolution in 1629, foreign affairs were those in which Charles took the closest interest. And in his conduct of them he scarcely asked advice, and would very rarely have brooked suggestions adverse to his wishes. We fear we must agree with Mr. Gardiner that it argues a great want of statesmanship in his designs that he seems to have been totally insensible to the difficulty of executing them; and that he not only expected his Ministers to be merely dutiful instruments in carrying them out, but that he looked for almost equal deference from the different foreign Powers whose co-operation he desired. His object was single enough, the recovery of the Palatinate for his brother-in-law; but never probably in the history of diplomacy was any one end pursued with such a variety of means. The student of the history of these times is bewildered with negotiations carried on, almost simultaneously, with Spain, with France, with Sweden, with Holland; to every one of which States Charles in one month or another proposes alliance against some of the others. One day he receives a French ambassador, the Marquis de Chateauneuf, whose mission, however, soon comes to nothing, partly because the shrewd Frenchman perceives the weakness of the English Government; partly, and perhaps more, because he ventures

[1] *History of England*, ii. 33.

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to recommend the King to summon a new Parliament. A week or two later the celebrated Rubens arrives in London in a semi-official capacity, as a confidential messenger from the Spanish Minister; but though no one could have been more acceptable than the great painter to a King who was one of the most discerning patrons of art that ever adorned a throne, his errand was equally bootless at the time; though at a later period a treaty of peace, though not of active alliance, was signed at Madrid, and the 'King of Spain promised to do his best for the restoration of the Palatinate'—(iii. 215). Charles, in his elation, 'ordered bonfires to be lighted in the streets of London;' but the Prince of Orange, with more acute foresight, warned Sir Henry Vane that 'neither the Upper nor the Lower Palatinate would ever be restored by treaty.' And in fact, though those who guided the Spanish councils for some time amused Charles with foreign hopes, they in reality held him and his power in slight esteem. The Spanish envoy in London, Necolalde, 'wrote home that Charles had but little courage and little money, and Olivares cordially agreed with Necolalde'—(iv. 81). At last his sister herself learnt to desist from expecting efficacious service from his support; and, as time wore on, his affairs at home began to make such calls on his attention, that he had little time or thought to spare for interference with foreign States.

These difficulties of his home government resolved themselves almost wholly into financial embarrassments, or into constitutional questions which arose out of them. The exchequer was soon exhausted, commerce and trade were languishing. Without fresh supplies of money the Government could not go on; and the only constitutional mode of obtaining supplies was that to which Charles had resolved not to have any present recourse, the convoking of a new Parliament. At such a crisis it was unfortunate for him that Noy, a shrewd but narrow-minded lawyer, who in the early Parliaments of the reign had been a follower of Wentworth, had followed him also in taking service under the Crown as Attorney-General. For he had at his finger's ends all the different modes of exacting money which had at any time been practised by former kings; while he was devoid of the statesmanlike prudence which might have warned him that laws or practices which had been disused for centuries were practically almost as much repealed by such disuse as by a formal vote of Parliament. So now, under his advice, and that of others like him, an old statute was exhumed which gave the King a right to summon every one who was possessed

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of an estate worth 40*l.* a year, to receive knighthood, and to impose heavy fines on any who might neglect to obey the summons. Still larger sums were procured by proceedings against noblemen who, by buildings or clearings, had transgressed the boundaries of different royal forests; though to find even a colour for such measures, it was necessary to declare the invalidity of a perambulation of the forests which had been made in the reign of Edward I., and had ever since been considered conclusive, and even to deny the authority of the Lord Treasurer, or of any one but the King himself, to authorise any transgression. Another expedient was to institute prosecutions in the Star Chamber against wealthy persons charged with every variety of offence; numbers of whom were convicted and sentenced to pay fines of an amount which, even at the present day, would be considered enormous, fines of 5,000*l.*, 8,000*l.*, and even 10,000*l.* No one practice of this part of the reign has more impressed modern readers with a greater idea of its tyranny. Yet, if Mr. Gardiner be correct, it was impolicy rather than severity which was demonstrated. The fines exasperated the victims without enriching the Treasury. For Mr. Gardiner is positive that they were never levied, 'nor even intended to be levied' (iii. 82), but were merely adjudged by the Courts as a sort of protest of their own against the practices complained of, and as a warning to the people not to provoke the Government.

Strange to say, these measures produced not only no resistance, but not even any general discontent. Even Tonnage and Poundage was paid in every county with scarcely any objection. Trade was reviving, and those engaged in commerce were 'indisposed to hold back from the pursuit of wealth for the sake of a political principle'—(iii. 206). 'Never, in spite of all that had occurred, had civil war appeared farther off than in the spring of 1633. Never did there seem to be a fairer prospect of overcoming the irritation that had prevailed for years before'—(iii. 322). Even Scotland was comparatively quiet, and Charles, who in 1633 paid his first visit to that country, was crowned at Holyrood amid bursts of 'genuine enthusiasm' on the part of the citizens of Edinburgh. But there were still materials for a conflagration beneath the treacherous crust; and, before the summer of the next year had come round, the fatal ingenuity of Noy had kindled the spark. As we have already seen, it was not the first time that a levy of ship-money had been contemplated as a device for raising money. Indeed, from the times of the Plantagenets it had been accounted the duty of the principal seaport towns to

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furnish ships to defend the kingdom against foreign enemies. It was thus that the greater part of the fleet had been raised which scattered the great Armada. In the same way ships had been supplied without demur or reluctance to Charles himself in the first year of his reign; and before his third Parliament met, Buckingham had suggested the demand of ship-money from every part of the kingdom, on the ground that the inland counties were as deeply interested as those on the coast in all that concerned the safety or welfare of the kingdom. The demand had seemed to the Council but a legitimate 'extension of the old principle' (ii. 197), but it had been so resolutely opposed by more than one lord-lieutenant that the project was for the time abandoned.

It may well seem strange that a scheme, in which so rash a Minister as Buckingham had not ventured to persist, should find fresh advocates after his death. But so it was. The idea of exacting the impost by an Order in Council was revived by Noy, and was pronounced legal by the Lord Keeper (Lord Coventry). But it had more defenders than the lawyers; the Earl of Manchester, as a Lord of the Treasury, maintained more positively than even Coventry the King's entire right to enforce the demand, not fearing, by a somewhat strange inference, to found his right in a great measure on the fact that the King had been also reduced to collect Tonnage and Poundage by prerogative, since it had not yet been granted by Parliament—(iv. 89). The Order was issued, the discontent was instant and general; yet for a moment it seemed doubtful whether it would lead to any active demonstration. The city of London did indeed present a petition of remonstrance, but the Lord Mayor was summoned before the Privy Council, and reprimanded so sharply 'for his coldness in the King's service,' that he promised to obey. 'There was a stormy meeting at the Common Council, which resulted in a resolution to submit to the King's orders'—(iv. 90). And, when so powerful a body as the merchants of London was overawed, it seemed hardly likely that any private individual would venture on an encounter from which they shrank. Yet men were found to dare even this. Eight years before, Richard Chambers, a London merchant, had refused payment of Tonnage and Poundage till it should be voted by Parliament, had been thrown into prison for his contumacy, and sentenced to a fine sixfold larger than the duties which had been demanded of him. But the punishment had not broken his spirit, and, taking his stand on his old principle that no tax could be lawfully demanded of the

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people which had not been granted by the people's representatives, he now resisted the collectors of ship-money, and in support of his resistance appealed to the Court of King's Bench. The decision was against him, on the ground that 'there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which might not be done by the one might be done by the other,' a sentence on which Mr. Gardiner truly remarks that 'it was hardly possible to render a worse service' to Charles than to proclaim openly from the Bench that Charles's rule was bound by no law'—(iv. 205). And, indeed, such a decision so explained was so far from settling the question that it rather invited a continuance of its agitation. Lord Saye and Sele, a Peer whose generally litigious spirit was further inflamed by the bitterest Puritan bigotry, and who had great influence in Oxfordshire, followed Chambers in his resistance; and when, at the end of the year, a third writ of demand for ship-money was issued, they were followed by one who, with singular good fortune for his fame, has had his name more identified with the resistance than either of his predecessors, and has come to be generally regarded as the national champion in the cause, John Hampden. Mr. Gardiner closes his fourth volume before the time when Hampden's case came to be argued, as it did before the whole Bench, postponing that part of his narrative to a future work. And we therefore may content ourselves here, especially as the issue is so universally known, with the briefest reference to the real views and objects of the great Buckinghamshire squire.

We shall probably not be doing either Chambers or Lord Say and Sele any injustice if we regard Hampden, as Burke did, as that one of the party who was actuated by the most statesmanlike perception of the real magnitude of the principle involved. He was far from being alone in his view; nor was it confined to that which was sometimes known as the country party. Mr. Gardiner tells us that the Earl of Danby, a courtier attached to Charles by the memory of favours received from James, but at the same time an honest and clear-sighted patriot, volunteered a remonstrance to the King against the course he was pursuing. 'He told him, that as an old servant of the Crown he could no longer refrain from representing to him the universal discontent of his subjects: the new levies of money were repugnant to the fundamental laws of England, and to those privileges which their ancestors and themselves had, till the present time, enjoyed. He had spoken to no one who was not ready to shed his blood for his Majesty, and he entreated him to reflect that the only

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way of giving satisfaction to his subjects was to summon Parliament'—(iv. 315). Such language bore the unmistakable stamp of sincerity, as well as of the most dutiful loyalty to the King as King. But in Charles's eyes the fidelity to the Crown which it promised was neutralised, and more than neutralised, by the advice contained in the last sentence: for to summon Parliament was the exact step which he was resolved not to take. He saw, and Hampden and his friend saw with equal clearness, that this was the real point at issue. The question whether he could levy a tax, call it Tonnage and Poundage, call it Ship-money, or whatever other name might be devised, by his single edict, was in fact a question whether there should ever again be a Parliament in England. If he could so raise one tax, he could so raise a hundred: if he could supply his necessities without the aid of Parliament for a single month he could do it, and could bequeath to his successors the power of doing it for ever, and Parliament would be but an obsolete institution, a name soon only to be understood or remembered by a few antiquaries. It was to prevent such a consummation that Chambers and Hampden were now striving; and the Parliament that is sitting at this day is the monument of the service that they rendered to their countrymen. If we required any evidence how inseparably our liberties are bound up with the existence of our free Parliament we have only to look at what was taking place at the same era in the neighbouring kingdom of France. There also an ambitious Minister was endeavouring to raise the authority of the sovereign above the law. He was opposed not by one or two country gentlemen and merchants, but by many of the most ancient and powerful of the nobles, by the Princes of the Royal Family, by no small party in the Church, and he had absolutely no support or aid from the King; who, though some partial historians have described him as not without ability, was at all events devoid of any kind of resolution or force of character, was destitute of any semblance of virtue, and was stained with cruelty and perfidy to the very lowest depth of baseness. Yet Richelieu succeeded to the full extent of his design, and, if we attribute his success in part to the general demoralisation of the whole kingdom, and especially of the higher classes which had been wrought by the unbroken profligacy which had stained both Court and Government for more than a century, a still greater share in it may be attributed to the circumstance that the beginning of his Ministerial career was contemporaneous with the extinction of the States-General. The

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people had long ceased to look up to their representatives as upholders of their liberties; and there was and is no other body in any country but such a national council, which ever can play such a part.

Mr. Gardiner does not carry his fourth volume beyond the summer of 1637. All important as are the events which he has hitherto described, those which will be the subject of the continuation of his work which we are promised are still more momentous. The continued exercise of that judicial candour with which he has hitherto analysed the actions and motives of both parties will be perhaps more difficult as the incidents to be discussed become more exciting, and the alternatives more awful. But in the same proportion it will also be still more valuable; since the prevailing disposition to increase the power of the masses renders it more important than ever that they should be rightly instructed as to the true nature of real liberty, the foundations on which it must rest, and the supports by which it can alone be preserved.

ART. IV.—THE POETRY OF DOUBT.—ARNOLD AND CLOUGH.

1. *Arnold's Poems: Narrative and Elegiac: Dramatic and Lyric.* (London: 1869.)
2. *Clough's Poems.* (London: 1869.)

IN the account of Julius Hare, prefixed to the *Guesses at Truth*, we are told that he made a special entry in some autobiographical memoranda as to the date when he first read Wordsworth. 'To him, as to so many others, that was an epoch in his life,' says his biographer; and we may add that the influence is to be traced in almost every line of his literary work. Again, every reader of J. S. Mill's autobiography will recollect his account of the prolonged melancholy which came over him when a young man. From this, he says, he was relieved chiefly by reading Wordsworth. These two instances are merely casual illustrations of the great influence which Wordsworth exerted on the minds of the generation immediately succeeding his own; and we have called attention to

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them now in order that we may have a standard whereby to compare the poets of our time with those of other periods. We have taken Wordsworth as perhaps the greatest instance in our own modern literature of a poet who was a definite teacher. But there are, of course, many similar instances. Byron had just as definite an influence over the minds of his contemporaries; he was an actual leader, if not of thought, at least of sentiment; and the Byronic tendency was plainly visible both in literature and in practice. And it is not only true of the beginning of this century, but in most periods poets have been leaders and teachers, with a definite 'gospel,' as Mr. Carlyle would call it, not so systematic, but quite as influential, as schemes of philosophy or morality. Of course there are many exceptions; there are many dramatic or purely artistic poets whose teaching is only indirect and vague; but, on the whole, it is not difficult to estimate the tendencies of the poetry of any period, inasmuch as those tendencies have been definite and patent. What a poet teaches is not to be found in his longer or more didactic poems only, for there it often misses its effect; it is generally more powerful in the purely lyrical pieces. Insight into Wordsworth's view of nature has been given with greater vividness by *Tintern Abbey*, or by '*Three Years she grew in Sun and Shower*,' than by the *Excursion*. The essential requisite is that the poet himself shall be so informed by some master truth that hardly an utterance of his shall fail to give some expression to it, and his purest poetry will convey it most fully.

Such being one, and surely the highest, of the poet's functions, we have to ask whether it is fulfilled by any of our contemporary poets. We feel that we must answer this question mainly in the negative. We have imitators of Mr. Tennyson, as he has informed us; echoes of Mr. Swinburne are everywhere audible; Mr. Browning's monologues have given rise to many uncouth travesties; but such imitations of popular writers do not imply that these poets have founded schools of thought, or that any one forms his opinions or controls his actions in accordance with their guidance. No doubt among our contemporary poets we can find those who can give expression to deep or lofty thoughts, but is there one whom we can call an original creator, one who can create an ideal, and by the power of his imagination or the universality of his expression can compel the minds of men to follow him in striving after it? The leaders who have really guided thought during our epoch have been, in England, great prose writers on morals or art, such as Mr. Carlyle or

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Mr. Ruskin, or great scientific thinkers like Mr. Darwin; we do not find a poet among the 'kings of modern thought.'

The question then arises, if, in our day, contemporary poetry does not lead the mind of the age, what function does it actually fulfil? The answer, in our judgment, is not far to seek; and we reply that it acts not so much as a guide, but as a reflection, of contemporary tendencies. This is not the highest function of the poet, but still it is a high calling, and one which, as regards the present age, so singularly incoherent and confused, so full of vague and inarticulate movements, is no light task. And as a matter of fact, this summing up and expression of these otherwise unexpressed strivings and tendencies is the very office which one of their number calls upon poets to fulfil:—

'Come, Poet, come!
A thousand labourers ply their task,
And what it tends to scarcely ask,
And trembling thinkers on the brink
Shiver, and know not how to think:
To tell the purport of their pain,
And what our silly joys contain;
In lasting lineaments pourtray
The substance of our shadowy day;
Our real and inner deeds rehearse,
And make our meaning clear in verse:
Come, Poet, come! for but in vain
We do the work or feel the pain,
And gather up the seeming gain,
Unless before the end thou come
To take, ere they are lost, their sum.'

(Clough, *Poems*, p. 471.)

This incoherence of modern thought is, perhaps, one of the reasons why our poetry is its reflection and not its guide. For a poet to lead the thought of any period it is necessary that the minds of men should be predisposed to go in certain definite directions, that the paths of possible progress should be broad and well-marked, that there should be a store of energy ready to be directed with overwhelming force into some one of these paths. To be a leader a poet must himself feel the overmastering impulse by which he shall compel men to follow him. If there be no such impulse how can he lead? If the paths do not lie broad and clear before him, but confused and faint, and too numerous to be rightly discerned, the sensitive mind will turn from them, and its poetry will be no guide, but a mere echo of the hesitation and bewilderment of those who doubt whither to advance. Such an echo is the poetry of our

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age. If there be one characteristic common to most of our leading poets, it is that of doubt, hesitation, questioning of all things. Though Blake wrote,

> 'If the sun and moon should doubt,
> They'd immediately go out'—

a thought which, in spite of its quaintness, expresses a great truth, yet this age has proved that poetry does not require such unhesitating certainty for its work, and a genuine music has been brought out of doubt and vagueness of belief.

We propose to examine the main characteristics of two of the poets of the day, in order to discover the peculiarity in their mode of echoing the confused murmurs of contemporary voices, and especially their treatment of the deeper questions which agitate modern literature. The two poets whom we shall discuss are not our leading poets, but we have selected them partly because they represent a certain large and important section, though only a section, of University thought and culture, and partly because of their position in regard to religion and faith.

Mr. Arnold is so keenly alive to the vagueness and confusion of modern thought—

> 'The hopeless tangle of our age,'

and the difficulty of obtaining a clear answer to the problems that haunt us, that we may almost say that his perception of this is the secret of his charm as a poet. He knows that the poet's work differs from the musician's and the artist's chiefly by reason of its complexity. In the *Epilogue to Lessing's 'Laocoön,'* he discusses the cause of the rarity of perfection in poetry compared to music or painting, and finds it in the fact that while painters have only to show one aspect,

> 'A moment's life of things that live,'

and musicians need only

> 'The feeling of the moment know'

and give it utterance, the poet has to mirror life's movement,

> 'The thread which binds it all in one,
> And not its separate parts alone.'

And as a poet, scanning life in order to discover this thread, he feels himself hopelessly baffled by the complexity of the modern world. Once he thinks

> 'The stream of life's majestic whole'

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flowed unbroken in one deep channel; now it is parted and scattered and wasted, and the poet's efforts to explore its course are mere 'misery and distress.'

Mr. Arnold's view, then, of the world is the view of one who feels himself in the turmoil and confusion of a crowd, who is unable to escape from it altogether, but is determined, as far as in him lies, to counteract the wasting and dispersion of his soul's powers. What he longs for is

> 'One mighty wave of thought and joy
> Lifting mankind amain.'

But this he knows is not to be felt yet in the present; he looks for it to come in the future. In the present we see only

> 'Blocks of the past, like icebergs high,
> Float on a rolling sea.
> Upon them ply the race of man
> All they before endeavoured;
> They come and go, they work and plan,
> And know not they are severed.'

Till the reunion, the consolidation of the new world out of the fragments of the old, man must endure. That is the great secret of Mr. Arnold's teaching—endurance. This teaching seems to him necessary because of the hopeless sadness of the age; there is no tone of hope or buoyancy in his finest poems. The world is sad, and the saddest thing is that so few see the sadness of it:—

> 'Ye slumber in your silent grave!
> The world, which for an idle day
> Grace to your mood of sadness gave,
> Long since hath flung her weeds away.
> The eternal trifler breaks your spell;
> But we—we learnt your love too well!
> There yet, perhaps, may dawn an age,
> More fortunate, alas! than we,
> Which without hardness will be sage,
> And gay without frivolity.
> Sons of the world, oh, haste those years;
> But, till they rise, allow our tears!'

Endurance being our duty, we ask, how can man attain to it? It is in Mr. Arnold's answer to this that we perceive the connexion between his prose and his poetry.

Few things are more remarkable, at first sight, than the great difference between Mr. Arnold in prose and Mr. Arnold in poetry. His poems are grave, or rather mournful; they have no irreverence, none of what some call 'delicate banter,'

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and others flippancy, no levity in the presence of great problems, and scarcely any bitterness: his prose, as we all know, is the very reverse. We prefer to think that his poetry expresses his mind more truly than his prose, and that we may estimate his tone of thought better by the *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*, than by *Friendship's Garland* or *Literature and Dogma*.

But on more careful inspection one sees that the difference is little more than one of form, though in the case of so genuine an artist difference of form involves more than a mere superficial variation of expression. Still, one who has patience to penetrate beyond the form of his writings can see that the answer given, whether in prose or in poetry, to the great questions which he raises, is substantially the same.

Mr. Arnold is known as the preacher of culture; of the duty, under all circumstances, of self-improvement; not with a view to worldly advancement, not as machinery, but as an end in itself. Our duty in life is to aim at perfecting our nature on all its sides, securing for ourselves 'spontaneity of consciousness,' so that above all things we should avoid becoming fixed and immovable in any of our notions or habits. About these we must let 'a stream of fresh thought play freely,' lest we incur that 'failure' which, to quote an extreme votary of culture, 'is to form habits.' Now whether Mr. Arnold's teaching be true or not we do not now attempt to decide; we wish only to point out that it is the teaching of his poetry as well as of his prose, though under a very different form. Whether culture be our duty or not, it is obviously a work that, at least primarily, concerns ourselves; a religion of culture has a tendency to become self-centred. And it is precisely this attribute of self-absorption that we find in Mr. Arnold's poetry. He is possessed with a feeling of the sadness, the vagueness, and incompleteness of our life as it is, and the only thing that we can do now is to endure, and endurance is only possible by self-dependence:—

> 'With joy the stars perform their shining,
> And the sea its long moon-silvered roll;
> Why?—self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
> All the fever of some differing soul.
>
> 'Bounded by themselves, and unregardful
> In what state God's other works may be,
> In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
> These attain the mighty life you see.'

With this conviction the whole problem of life becomes to

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the poet not any external truth, not any life or love without him, but the effort to 'possess his soul.' When, in a very beautiful poem, he would find some power in our life to correspond to the 'Palladium' which invisibly preserved Troy, he shows it to be the soul :—

> 'Still doth the soul, from its lone fastness high,
> Upon our life a ruling effluence send;
> And when it fails, fight as we will, we die,
> And while it lasts, we cannot wholly end.'

This is the remedy for all that we suffer, so far as there is a remedy at all. This formula, for so we may almost call it, Mr. Arnold would apply to all the conditions of our life. And we must notice how it enters into every part of his emotional or intellectual being. It colours his view of human love, of philanthropy, of the world's progress, of religion.

Self-absorption is dominant in his treatment of human love. The series of poems entitled *Switzerland*, which for the union of fine thought and delicate expression is almost unrivalled even among Mr. Arnold's writings, is the record of the struggle between the fascination of love and the soul which shrinks from love because it would be self-contained. The final separation which gains for the soul its bitter victory over the love that would have drawn it out of itself, is justified by the afterthought that isolation is not only a duty but a necessity ordained by God. The justification is a deep though partial truth, and is expressed in almost perfect language :—

> 'Yes! in the sea of life enisled,
> With echoing straits between us thrown,
> Dotting the shoreless watery wild,
> We mortal millions live alone.
> The islands feel the enclasping flow,
> And then their endless bounds they know.'

But does it not leave the impression that to the poet the soul's instinctive longing for solitude was the first feeling, and the discovery that—

> 'A God, a God their severance ruled'

was the result, not the cause, of that feeling?

The proud eminence of the soul in its solitude can be rudely disturbed by the passion of human love, but both in *Switzerland* and in *Faded Leaves* the effort is not so much to quell the disturbance by giving a free course to the passion and resting upon an unselfish love, but to forget, to

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efface the passion, and to preserve to the soul its calmness and self-possession. And there is singularly little about love in these poems. It would seem as if the very mention of a feeling which is essentially unselfish, at least in its first impulse, is foreign to the poet's purpose. Even when he appears to feel the influence of another soul close to his, as in *The Buried Life*, where he describes beautifully the peace of love—

> 'When a beloved hand is laid in ours,
> When, jaded with the rush and glare
> Of the interminable hours,
> Our eyes can in another's eyes read clear,
> When our world-deafened ear
> Is by the tones of a loved voice caressed,'

what is to him the fruit of this, the gain of love? Still self-knowledge and self-possession—

> 'The eye sinks inward, and the heart lies plain,
> And what we mean we say, and what we would, we know.'

Equally self-absorbed is Mr. Arnold when we might expect the 'enthusiasm of humanity' to be a reality to him. It must be owned that very little of this feeling is to be found here. There is at times a fine vision of the progress of mankind, the ultimate goal of perfection to which even now we are tending; but there is no enthusiasm in the tone, it is not to him an inspiring or a joyous theme. We must notice that Mr. Arnold is not a pessimist in the ordinary sense; he believes in progress, and, as we saw in *Obermann Once More*, he represents the new world as being even now formed from the fragments of the old. But this does not relieve his melancholy. It is belief, but not hope. What shall be in the future is not for him to share, for he is one of the past, and it is therefore no cause for rejoicing. He can endure present ills, not because he knows that they will end, but because nature and nature's works

> 'Seem to bear rather than rejoice.'

And if we would learn from nature we must not look onward so much as inward, and thus

> 'Yearn to the greatness of nature,
> Rally the good in the depths of thyself.'

The hope of a glorious future for the world gives him no joy because he feels so strongly the beauty and the charm of the past. He has not yet been caught up in the whirlwind of

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progress, he does not yet feel the glow of the rising sun, though he has an intellectual conviction that it will rise; and he is haunted by the recollection of what was, and cannot bear to see the world preparing to cast off the old emotions and faiths. Some of the most beautiful lines he ever wrote describe the calm after the 'epoch' has ended, before the new world breaks in with its hurry and rushing successes. These he compares to the Bacchanals breaking in upon the calm of the evening, and, called upon to admire the 'bright new age,' he can only answer—

'Ah, so the silence was!
So was the hush.'

He feels himself neither of the new nor of the old, and in the *Grande Chartreuse* he does not wish to share their faith with 'these, last of the people who believe,' but only to shed his tears with them.

'Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these, on earth I wait forlorn.
Their faith, my tears, the world deride;
I come to shed them at their side.'

He cannot throw himself forward into the brilliant future, nor can he feel himself at one with the past; his isolation is complete, he cannot find anything outside himself.

It is hardly necessary to ask whether Mr. Arnold's view of religion affords him a remedy for the sadness which he feels, or whether, here also, his prevailing self-absorption does not pursue him. For we know, from other sources, to what a thin abstraction he has reduced the object of religion, and even if the 'eternal that makes for righteousness' be 'not ourselves,' yet it is not likely that so impalpable an object could draw out of itself, a soul that resists the fascination of love and the contagious ardour of human progress. But we shall find that even *Literature and Dogma* is in advance of many of his poems in asserting the existing of something external to us, which we ought to worship.

The prevailing uncertainty and hesitation in religious belief affect him with sorrow; he looks back to the faith which 'vigorous teachers' forced him to resign, and mourns that he can no longer share it. But his sorrow arises from a different cause from that which makes many an earnest sceptic lament the clouds of doubt which darken heaven for him: to Mr. Arnold unbelief is sorrowful, not because it darkens the vision

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of God within us, and covers Truth with a cloud, but because it unfits the soul for action, or indeed for contemplation, because it makes us 'fluctuate idly without term or scope.' In *The Scholar Gipsy* he describes the paralysis of faith, as it might be called; and there is no word of that which faith reveals, and doubt hides from our eyes:—

'. . . . . we,
Light half-believers of our casual creeds,
Who never deeply felt, nor clearly will'd,
Whose insight never has borne fruit in deeds,
Whose vague resolves never have been fulfill'd,
For whom each year we see
Breeds new beginnings, disappointments new;
Who hesitate and falter life away,
And lose to-morrow the ground won to-day.'

These verses express well Mr. Arnold's complaint against the tendencies of our age. The vague rebuke of unbelief in the first line is diverted into a wail over the shattering effect of doubt on our own thoughts and actions; of all the charges brought against mankind in the stanza, we imagine Mr. Arnold lays most stress on the first, that 'we never deeply felt;' but none of them concern any one but ourselves, and there is no reference to a Being beyond us, nor even to the 'white Star of Truth,' which elsewhere he mentions.

But Mr. Arnold's chief statement of his philosophy of religion is in the fine poem entitled *Obermann Once More*, in which he describes the weariness and satiety of the Pagan world, the life-giving influence of Christianity poured upon it, and then the gradual waning of the faith which had given the life, and the hope of the new faith which is even now replacing it. But though here Mr. Arnold touches most closely upon the life of Christ, and the religion He founded, it is startling to find how little is said about Him, how much about our belief, and the feelings it inspired. He longs for religion, not because that in which religion trusts is true, but because religion is trust. He yearns for the ages of faith, because in them his 'ravished spirit' would also have been 'caught away,' and

'No thoughts that to the world belong
Had stood against the wave
Of love which set so deep and strong
From Christ's then open grave.'

The life of Christ is forgotten or passed over, not because Mr. Arnold does not believe in it, because we know that

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in a certain sense he does, but because to him the importance of religion lies not in its external reality, but its sensible effect on the soul. So, a few stanzas later, we find the fact and our belief in the fact inextricably confused :—

'And centuries came, and ran their course,
And unspent all that time
Still, still went forth that Child's dear force,
And still was at its prime.

'Ay, ages long endured His span
Of life, 'tis true received,
That gracious Child, that thorn-crowned Man!
He lived while we believed.

'While we believed, on earth He went,
And open stood His grave;
Men called from chamber, church, and tent,
And Christ was by to save.'

Here then the highest faculty of man, the divinest thing in him, is employed in casting shadows upon the ground, and falling down and worshipping them. The inspiration and fervour of prayer is justified, not by the fact that there is One to whom we call, whether He will answer us or no, but by our belief that there is such an One. The poet would fain galvanise himself into this belief, but cannot, for

'Now He is dead! Far hence He lies
In the lorn Syrian town,
And on His grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.'

What we would specially remark in this poem is not that Mr. Arnold takes little account of Christ's Person, for that is not surprising in one who cannot believe that Person to be Divine, but that he should long for faith in that very Person, and persuade himself that the whole force of Christianity was this imagined belief in what the 'the brooding East' had evolved from her own thought. It can only be explained by reference to that self-absorption which we have described as Mr. Arnold's special characteristic. The truth of religion matters not, so long as we can feel the religious emotion; when that is once passed, we must up and make to ourselves new gods which will afford us fresh emotions, and in their turn will pass and die. But the strangest thing is that the poet seems to fancy that this self-absorption, which in him leads to such results, is the teaching of Christ. The discovery of the East,

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that by which she converted the Western world, in fact, the secret of Christianity, he describes thus:—

> ' "Poor world," she cried, "so deep accurst!
> That runn'st from pole to pole
> To seek a draught to slake thy thirst—
> Go, seek it in thy soul;" '

or, as Mr. Arnold elsewhere expresses it, in words which by their very sound might have reminded him how contrary to Christ's real teaching they are,

> 'Resolve to be thyself! and know, that he
> Who finds himself, loses his misery.'

We do not mean to say that Mr. Arnold's religion is uniformly self-centred, for there are many passages which speak of a 'way divine,' of an 'unseen Power whose eye For ever doth accompany mankind,' of a 'Friend of man;' but habitual reference to such a Power is not the characteristic of his poetry. And even when he does dwell upon it it is more than doubtful whether his Pantheistic tendencies do not make him regard this Power as merely the sum of the individual souls of mankind:—

> '. . . . . we
> Myriads who live, who have lived,
> What are we all, but a mood,
> A single mood, of the life
> Of the Being in whom we exist,
> Who alone is all things in one?'

We may be wronging Mr. Arnold in this; but whether Pantheism or no, there are several passages in his poems which imply the loss of personality in death, and the re-absorption of soul into the one Spirit. Yet at other times, notably in the lines to his father's memory, the contrary is suggested.

We have quoted, perhaps, to excess from Mr. Arnold's poems. But the thoughts which we have attempted to analyse cannot be better expressed than in Mr. Arnold's own language. There is a vagueness about the matter, and a pellucid clearness about the form of these poems that render it almost necessary to employ little but the poet's own words in presenting his thought. The matter is the matter, cloudy, varying, and intangible, of nineteenth century speculation: the form is Greek in its exquisite lucidity and clearness. In reading these poems we are continually met by passages in which no word is superfluous, no phrase is jarring, but that

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which has to be expressed is expressed once for all. Such a stanza as

> 'But each day brings its petty dust
> Our soon-choked souls to fill,
> And we forget because we must,
> And not because we will,'

takes us back from the age of word-painting and novel combinations in language and rhythm, of superabundant epithets and darkened meaning, to the age of Pope, or of Gray, when language was studied and yet clear, artificial and yet simple. Not Mr. Tennyson's richness of detail, not Mr. Browning's rugged power, not Mr. Swinburne's astonishing volume of words can afford to the jaded minds of modern readers the exquisite pleasure which is given by Mr. Arnold's self-restrained purity of language. And if, to correspond to this, there is not the 'sad lucidity of soul' which he so much desires, and asserts that 'fate' has given to the poet, we may ascribe the want in great measure to the 'hopeless tangle of our age,' though partly, no doubt, it is due to the vague and unsatisfactory character of the self-possession to which he strives to attain.

We would contrast with Mr. Arnold's tone of thought, with his hopes, his sympathies, and his beliefs, not one of the more definitely Christian poets such as Mr. Tennyson or Mr. Browning, nor one whose irreligion is as definite, such as Mr. Swinburne; but one whom Mr. Arnold would, we suppose, claim as a sympathiser in thought, and who was, indeed, much in the same perplexity and doubt, his friend, Arthur Hugh Clough.

He was one of those whose whole life was coloured by the impressions received at Oxford during the stirring years 1837–42. Not one whose faith was raised and fortified by the discussions and the personal influences of the time, but one who, as he himself expressed it, was 'like a straw drawn up the draught of a chimney' and afterwards left floating in the air without much of definite guidance or impulse. On first reading Clough's poems we seem to be in an atmosphere of doubt and of little else. Two of his longer poems are entirely occupied with the vacillations of mind which beset those who are starting on life's journey, and can see little before them but an uncertain road and a lowering sky. To one of these he has prefixed the motto 'Il doutait de tout, même de l'amour;' while the name of the other, *Dipsychus*, expresses the state of division and wavering which seems to

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be the lot of 'feeble and restless youths born to inglorious days.' And the poet's characteristic humour, which is hardly absent from any of his poems, is not exactly a straightforward perception and enjoyment of the incongruities of life, with a consciousness all the while of the preponderating serious realities, but an irony, benevolent and natural, yet at times almost inscrutable, which makes the two sides of life seem inextricably confused. Most of his poems are concerned with the uprooting of old opinions, and share to the full the uncertainty that has invaded all provinces of thought; and his humorous irony tends to increase the appearance of utter confusion in which the world is lying. This causes the difficulty of really getting to the root of his meaning; he is not essentially dramatic like Mr. Browning, for he seldom hides himself behind the mask of another character; but the genial irony of his humour eludes at times any firm apprehension. Read such poems as the *Amours de Voyage*, and especially the section beginning

'Juxtaposition, in fine; and what is juxtaposition?'

or the song of the spirit in *Dipsychus*,

'There is no God, the wicked saith;'

or the verses headed 'Wen Gott betrügt, ist wohl betrogen,' and the difficulty of disentangling the lines, so to speak, of Clough's thought will be evident. The humour is apparent on the surface, but it is not so easy to discover how deep it goes.

Clough, then, seems to be essentially the poet of doubt; more so, at first sight, than Mr. Arnold himself. It pervades his poems, and we do not find that, like Mr. Arnold, he seeks a refuge in the calm strength and certainty of Nature, there to find the endurance so sorely needed; but he rather regards Nature as a background to the mixed and confused drama of human life, which it cannot explain nor greatly relieve. His poems are mostly of purely human interest; even those which are speculative derive their impulse from the bearing of speculation on life and duty; and to fly from mankind to seek a higher teaching or a calmer security in Nature would be foreign to Clough's instincts. Nature, indeed, is to him, as to Shakspeare or Chaucer (with whom Mr. Hutton has well compared him) an unfailing source of delight, but it is the childlike unreflecting delight of an earlier period, something of the same kind of feeling as that which he describes in the *Piper* of the reading-party, who—

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'Went, in his life and the sunshine rejoicing, to Nuneham and Godstowe;
What were the claims of degree to those of life and the sunshine?'

Life and the sunshine pervade Clough's poems, but he finds no deep lessons in the external beauty that he describes so well, nor does he dwell on Nature for its own sake, but rather as the setting and accompaniment of human action. He can with genuine truth feel that

'Life is beautiful, Eustace, entrancing, enchanting to look at;
As are the streets of a city we pace while the carriage is changing,
As a chamber filled in with harmonious exquisite pictures,'

but it is human life that he means, and the thought is inspired by what he sees in the streets of Rome, not in the solitudes of Nature. Still, the very unself-consciousness of his love of Nature makes the feeling all the healthier and happier; there is much of the breeziness of a Scotch moor, or of the open sea, in his poems. It is a strong contrast after Mr. Arnold's cool English scenery, the river bank with its lapping wavelets and the trailing wild-flowers washed by the waters, to come upon Clough's glimpses of the burns descending to the 'great still sea,' and to feel the keen air of the salt breezes. In his two finest lyrics the chief image is taken from the sea, in the boundless expanse of which he seems to get a special inspiration, while his verse often reminds one of the freedom and motion of the waves. But we do not turn to Clough for an insight into the hidden meanings of Nature, nor for a portrayal of the calm and easily overlooked beauties of the world, as we turn to Wordsworth or to Mr. Arnold. What then is the special interest of Clough as a poet?

We have said that he seems to be the poet of doubt, and in this he apparently resembles Mr. Arnold. But it is not only in their view of Nature that the two Oxford poets differ; it is impossible to read them without being struck by the essentially different way in which the same intellectual and spiritual facts come before them. And this is especially noticeable in regard to the absorbing question of the certainty of religious truth. Mr. Arnold, as we have seen, is chiefly interested in it as affecting his own consciousness, and regrets the old faiths, and has no very joyous expectation of the future, because he is self-centred. With Clough all this is changed. There is no restless longing for a rest, which is only attainable by means of a sort of stoical endurance, but a strong, buoyant, and somewhat proud confidence in a final truth, and a determination to abide its appearance. Mr.

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Arnold and Clough are both waiting for what the future shall bring forth; but, unlike the former, Clough waits for it in cheerful hope, not without sympathy for the past, but convinced that the ultimate manifestation will be vouchsafed to man in the future. Thus the different characteristics of the two poets are best illustrated by the differing modes in which they treat an almost identical subject. Both have written short poems on the subject of the final victory of good over evil, light over darkness, but the whole tone is entirely distinct. With Mr. Arnold the central idea is that of the individual soldier baffled and at last overcome in the struggle, and falling with a sort of sullen confidence in the final victory, which, however, seems to afford but little consolation in the prospect.

'Creep into thy narrow bed,
Creep, and let no more be said.
Vain thy onset! all stands fast!
Thou thyself must break at last.

'Let the long contention cease!
Geese are swans, and swans are geese.
Let them have it how they will!
Thou art tired; best be still.

'They out-talked thee, hissed thee, tore thee?
Better men fared thus before thee!
Fired their ringing shot and passed,
Hotly charged—and broke at last.

'Charge once more, then, and be dumb!
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body by the wall.'

In Clough's poem the individual, far from being the centre, is depicted as the only hindrance to the success of the whole cause; the strife is conceived as almost ended already, and the despondent fighter is rebuked:—

'Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

'If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

'For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,

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Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main,

'And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.'

Nothing can be finer than the two images by which he expresses the character of the struggle; the third stanza brings before us at once the whole scene of an incoming tide, with that peculiar sense of the vastness and openness of the sea which distinguishes Clough. The contrast of the whole with the bitter and sarcastic resignation of Mr. Arnold's poem; the different conceptions of the struggle itself; in the one a confused, smoke-enshrouded contest, but in the open field, in the other desperate charges against strongly-held forts; the buoyant hope of victory in the one, and the careless, hardly-mentioned belief in it in the other; all these points afford us some insight into the very distinct characteristics of the two sceptical poets. The difference goes beyond the mere superficial treatment of a subject in a few stanzas; it pervades all their poems. And the fundamental distinction that underlies this superficial unlikeness will, we think, be found to be that while it is doubtful whether Mr. Arnold really holds to, or is possessed by the idea of anything external to himself, in Clough's poems numberless passages express not only his unshaken trust in God, but the great influence which his trust has on all his nature, upon every thought and emotion. And this is the more remarkable, because he cannot define Him, or even conceive Him:—

'I will not prate of "thus" and "so,"
And be profane with "yes" and "no,"
Enough that in our soul and heart
Thou, whatsoe'er Thou may'st be, art.'

With a feeling which, to him at least, may have seemed to deserve in some measure our Lord's blessing on 'those who have not seen, and yet have believed,' he can exclaim—

'Be Thou but there—in soul and heart,
I will not ask to feel Thou art.'

It is evident that this attitude in regard to truth is very different from Mr. Arnold's emotional and subjective estimate of it. And it is an attitude which, though it must be called one of suspense, must still be distinguished from scepticism; for though Clough rejects all definitions of God that have

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yet been promulgated, he does not take pride in believing in an indefinite Being, whose only attribute is to be unknowable, but his faith is in a God whom hitherto man has been unable rightly to conceive, but who assuredly will reveal Himself to us; and till He does so, the poet can wait in patient confidence—

'No God, no Truth, receive it ne'er—
Believe it ne'er—O Man!
But turn not then to seek again
What first the ill began;
No God, it saith; ah, wait in faith
God's self-completing plan;
Receive it not, but leave it not,
And wait it out, O Man!'

The whole of this poem, the *New Sinai*, is well worth studying, as a development of Clough's religious philosophy. God, he says, has already rebuked idolatry and polytheism by the declaration 'I am One;' He will hereafter rebuke both the new idolatries and 'the atheistic systems dark,' which have, like 'baby-thoughts,' dogged the growing man. Our duty is to wait, not in a forced endurance, but in the belief that

'Some lofty part, than which the heart
Adopt no nobler can,
Thou shalt receive, thou shalt believe,
And thou shalt do, O Man!'

The human soul, then, with Clough, is not the centre of the universe, to which all truth must be brought, the object for which all truth exists, but rather one of the attendants at the shrine of truth, of small interest compared with the paramount claims of some Being external to us, who is Truth and Light. To this fact he clings, and here, diametrically opposed to Mr. Arnold, he finds relief from the confused turmoil of modern doubt and speculation:

'It fortifies my soul to know
That though I perish, Truth is so;
That, howsoe'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.'

If we bear in mind Clough's conviction that truth is something greater than his soul, and that there may be all the difference in the world between truth and his confused apprehension of it, we shall the better understand his relation to

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Christianity as a possible form of truth. Though he cannot accept the historical facts of the Gospel, yet he is in no hurry to turn away and seek for a new religion. He is earnest in pleading for a humbler attitude of mind, and his complaint against the world is not that its scepticism has perturbed his soul's calm, but that in its hurry and carelessness it may have passed by some essential truth, and therefore he adjures his brother-men to pause:—

'The souls of now two thousand years
Have laid up here their toils and fears,
And all the earnings of their pain—
Ah, yet consider it again.'

But though Clough's religious attitude is, at first sight, one of intellectual suspense, yet he does not hold truth to be perceptible to the intellect alone, or, at least, he is inclined to follow without reluctance the leadings of the emotions, even where the head cannot justify the conclusions of the heart. So in the wonderfully terse and thoughtful lines headed 'Through a glass darkly,' after suggesting as an alternative, which we know, from his whole tone of mind, he would have rejected with disdain, that we may

'for assurance sake,
Some arbitrary judgment take,
And wilfully pronounce it clear,
For this or that 'tis we are here;'

he declares that the hope which is given to us constrains in a manner our intellect:

'Ah yet, when all is thought and said,
The heart still overrules the head;
Still what we hope we must believe,
And what is given us receive;

'Must still believe, for still we hope
That in a world of larger scope,
What here is faithfully begun
Will be completed, not undone.

'My child, we still must think, when we
That ampler life together see,
Some true result will yet appear
Of what we are, together, here.'

The close of these verses leads us to a further result of Clough's firm trust in some external reality, namely, his longing for 'faithful' work upon earth, his belief that genuine labour in the cause of good will have its fruit, either here or

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elsewhere; and if not, why still it is work, and action is our duty. Even his hesitating heroes, who cannot for themselves decide on any course of action, can see the beauty of definite work, and he pronounces his decision for deeds done in behalf of something not ourselves, rather than for self-culture in words which he puts in the mouth of Dipsychus:—

> 'Ah, not for profit, not for fame,
> And not for pleasure's giddy dream,
> And not for piping empty reeds,
> And not for colouring idle dust;
> If live we positively must,
> God's name be blest for noble deeds.'

This, too, is the moral of the *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich;* that the beauty of life comes from its reality, that is, from the reality of the work which we can do on earth. But this is held without attacking culture in the one-sided way which is so common. What he rejects is the false culture which proceeds on the assumption that the object of life is to perfect oneself without regard to the work which has to be done. Some are meant for beauty, others for 'subduing the earth and their spirit,' and both should do their work. In spite of the longing for simplicity of life, in spite of the superficial flavour of Rousseau in this poem, it is obvious that Clough is far from rejecting either education or civilisation. The beauty of Elspie's nature could only be really seen by one who, like Philip, had 'the knowledge of self, and wisely instructed feeling.' The very form of the poem, the buoyant refinement which the irregular hexameters suggest, the free Scotch life with the accompaniment of academic study and speculation, combine to give us the impression of a mind subtle yet curiously simple, vigorous, though apparently distracted by speculative hesitation. And though the abundant humour of the poem makes it not easy to be sure how far Clough was speaking his own opinions through the mouths of his *dramatis personæ*, yet both in this and in his other two long poems, *Dipsychus* and *Amours de Voyage*, we can hardly doubt that the poet has himself experienced the difficulties and questionings which he depicts. And if this be so it is remarkable how Clough, through all this wavering and cloudiness, never really loses his stand on the firm earth. In most of his speculative poems he brings us back at the close to the solid reality of life and duty, which in the earlier part he has been refining away. He does not solve the problems, but he is certain that there is a solution; and it matters not much whether he individually has the solution or not:—

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'. . . And as limited beings
Scarcely can hope to attain upon earth to an Actual Abstract,
Leaving to God contemplation, to His hands knowledge confiding,
Sure that in us if it perish, in Him it abideth and dies not,
Let us in His sight accomplish our petty particular doings.'

So, confident of this, he can afford to lose himself, as it would seem, in the subtle speculations of his poems, such as those which he well describes in *The Questioning Spirit*, for they end with the thought

'I know not, I will do my duty.'

After apparently sharing fully in the doubts, and sympathising with them, he seldom fails, reverting to his secure standpoint, to rebuke the anxious intellect, and to point to that which, after all said, is unwavering and abiding. Take, for example, the fine conclusion of *The Stream of Life*:—

'O end to which our currents tend,
Inevitable sea,
To which we flow, what do we know,
What shall we guess of thee?

'A roar we hear upon thy shore,
As we our course fulfil;
Scarce we divine a sun will shine
And be above us still.'

Timid unbelief could hardly be more simply and forcibly rebuked; and yet by the very form of the rebuke, 'scarce we divine,' the poet shows that he enters into the feeling, that he sympathises with the mind which is confused by the roar of the waves, though at the same time he knows and must point out that the sun is 'above us still.' For a similar return from the uncertain quagmire of sceptical rationalism to the firm ground of hope and trust, take *Epi-Straussium*, in which he accepts the worst that criticism can do, and then points to the Sun of Truth which still illumines the building, even though it has risen too high for the 'pictured panes.'

The contrast between Clough and Mr. Arnold can be carried further than the broad differences as to truth and duty. In Mr. Arnold's view of human relations we find the inevitable hopelessness which we believe to be the result of the self-centred attitude of his mind:—

'. . . . . we leave behind—
As, chartered by some unknown Powers,
We stem across the sea by night—
The joys which were not for our use designed,
The friends to whom we had no natural right,
The homes that were not destined to be ours.'

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Clough, too, imagines separation of friends; he also represents life as a voyage; but what a difference in the tone! What a buoyant motion in the very measure, as of a great ship leaping forward before a strong wind!—

> 'But, O blithe breeze! and O great seas,
> Though ne'er, that earliest parting past,
> On your wide plain they join again,
> Together lead them home at last.
>
> 'One port, methought, alike they sought,
> One purpose hold where'er they fare,—
> O bounding breeze, O rushing seas!
> At last, at last unite them there!'

His thoughts instinctively turn, after he has felt the parting, to the final goal; the tone is that of joyful hope, while Mr. Arnold ends with calm sadness, looking at the present separation and loss, and at nothing beyond.

But perhaps the strongest contrast—and with this we will conclude—is to be found in their respective treatment of love. Mr. Arnold's we have seen; we have seen him resisting it, reluctantly giving way to the fascination, and wrenching his soul back to its loneliness once more. To Clough it is far more of an interest than it is to his fellow-poet. Many of his poems are occupied with the discussion of love in various aspects; and though this subject cannot escape from his subtle mind without undergoing, like all others, a process of refining away, yet generally in the end he reverts to an extremely simple, and, not conventional but, natural position; and at times raises the mingled selfishness and self-renunciation of love into a higher sphere by means of a lofty conception of duty, in the performance of which united lives are of more avail than solitary:—

> 'Yet in the eye of life's all-seeing sun
> We shall behold a something we have done,
> Shall of the work together we have wrought,
> Beyond our aspiration and our thought,
> Some not unworthy issue yet receive;
> For love is fellow-service, I believe.'

Here we will conclude our examination of the deeper characteristics of these two poets. We have refrained as much as possible from criticising, in the more technical sense; our office has been to explain and to analyse, not to judge. No doubt, analysis and explanation involve, to a certain extent, criticism also; but we have endeavoured to refrain, when dealing with men who are undoubtedly poets, and therefore

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have claims on our reverence, from that special function of modern criticism which consists in a fine perception of blemishes rather than beauties, which delights to tell its hearers not what the poet says, but what he does not say. As poetry, we will not criticise these writings; as containing schemes of life, we will only add, in conclusion, that Mr. Arnold stands self-condemned. From the general tone of his poems it is obvious that the sadness pervading the world remains in himself, in spite of the proud self-absorption which he extols as the remedy; and from one pathetic passage it would seem that he has at times a sense of the inconsistency between his professed object and his method, between the Pantheistic absorption into Nature at which he aims, and the studied self-culture and isolation in which he would live:—

> 'But mind—but thought—
> If these have been the master part of us,
> Where will *they* find their parent element?
> What will receive *them*, who will call *them* home?
> But we shall still be in them, and they in us—
> And we shall be the strangers of the world,
> And they will be our lords, as they are now;
> And keep us prisoners of our consciousness,
> And never let us clasp and feel the All
> But through their forms, and modes, and stifling veils.
> And we shall be unsatisfied as now;
> And we shall feel the agony of thirst,
> The ineffable longing for the life of life
> Baffled for ever; and still thought and mind
> Will hurry us with them on their homeless march,
> Over the unallied unopening earth,
> Over the unrecognising sea.'

Self-culture cannot give us a religion; not even the religion of Pantheism. And when we turn to Clough, we find that it is precisely in proportion as he feels himself able to cling to somewhat external to him that he is hopeful, energetic, and religious. Would it not therefore seem that, if these poets be representatives of our age, no teaching can satisfy it but that which will give it something external and objective wherein to rest; that no merely emotional, introspective religion will loose the chains which bind us, for they are the chains of self; but that now, as of old, it is only the Truth that can make us free?

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ART. V.—THE INFLUENCE OF SAVONAROLA IN ART.

1. *Sermoni e Prediche di Fra Girolamo Savonarola de' Predicatori.* (Prato, 1876–7.)
2. *Opus perutile de Divisione ac Utilitate omnium Scientiarum.* Fra GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA, Ord. Pred. (Venetiis, 1542.)
3. *Delle Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori.* GIORGIO VASARI.
4. *De l'Art Chrétien.* A. F. RIO.
5. *Girolamo Savonarola: His Life and Times.* By PASQUALE VILLARI. Translated from the Italian by LEONARD HORNER, F.R.S.
6. *The Makers of Florence.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. (1876.)

DURING so many ages Savonarola has been denounced as the foe to art and culture, the opponent of that representative of the Renaissance, Lorenzo de' Medici, that to many, the title of this paper may appear at first sight strange. Even this century, which more than any other has done justice to the great Dominican friar, has been unable altogether to divest itself of this preconceived idea, and we still occasionally hear Savonarola spoken of as the fanatic preacher to whom art was an accursed thing, and at whose bidding pictures and statues were indiscriminately thrust into the flames. Much of this erroneous impression doubtless arises from the fact that Vasari, whose biographies still constitute the chief material from which Italian art-history is derived, was himself a partisan of the Medici, and, therefore, the natural enemy of the Piagnoni, or mourners, as the followers of the Friar were contemptuously termed. Living in times immediately following those of Savonarola, Vasari saw in Fra Girolamo only the barbarian foe to the Renaissance, and accordingly his language in speaking of *the sect* is uniformly cold and bitter. Other writers followed in his steps, and thus the Friar of S. Marco was held up to posterity as a fanatic and iconoclast. The first to vindicate Savonarola, and show a just appreciation of his character and aims, was M. Rio, who, in his *Art Chrétien*, gave the world an eloquent panegyric of the Domi-

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nican reformer. Unfortunately, the ardour of this accomplished writer's enthusiasm carried him somewhat beyond the strict limits of truth. Not content with vindicating Savonarola from the charge of Puritanism, he asserted for him the position of a founder of a school of Christian painting as opposed to the pagan realism of the Renaissance, a claim which the testimony of facts is unable to support. Since then much has been written upon Savonarola. History and fiction have alike been busy with his name. The painstaking researches of Professor Villari first placed him in his true light before the world. And now Mrs. Oliphant, than whom no one has written better of the prophet of Florence, has shown a just appreciation of Savonarola's position with regard to art by devoting a chapter of her last work to the Piagnoni painters. It is only to be regretted that the scope of her work did not admit of a fuller consideration of the whole question.

For, although Savonarola was not the founder or restorer of the Christian art which in its earliest simplicity had belonged to a past age, he never by word or act sought to discourage the practice of art or banish anything that is beautiful out of life. This we think no one who has studied his sermons and writings fairly, can dispute, and if no other testimony were to be had, the very names of the artists who were his devoted followers should be enough to defend him from these charges. Yet further, not only did he recognise the place of art as a moral force in the world, but by the vigour of his words, by the reality of his whole life, he gave a fresh impulse to art in all its manifold branches, and left an abiding impression upon the painters and sculptors of his day.

The one great end of Savonarola's life, the motive which supplies the key to all, was the glory of God and the advancement of His Kingdom upon earth. It is this very single-mindedness which, Mrs. Oliphant has justly remarked, constitutes a difficulty in the eyes of his modern biographers. Nineteenth-century critics, with refined perceptions and love of complication, are puzzled with the simplicity of a character of which the ground-work is simply faith in the unseen. Lower motives must be found, or if not to be found, invented, to account for so powerful an influence. Yet it is this very singleness of purpose that can alone afford the true reading of his life. Without it we may discover indeed a grand and striking figure surrounded by the utmost picturesqueness of incident, but we shall fail to seize the real meaning, the completeness and unity of his marvellous character. 'My aims have been few and great,' he said, when his enemies tortured

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him again and again, and strove to lay bare the inmost recesses of his heart; and he never spoke a truer word. From the day when in Ferrara, among all the brilliant festivities of the court of the Estes, struck with a terrible sense of the utter vanity of life and the corruption of all around him, he fled to the cloister to seek in the profession of the Dominican Order what seemed the only means of saving his Church and country, the kingdom of God was never absent from his heart, and seldom from his lips. To restore Christian faith and practice in all its early simplicity and purity, became the purpose of his life, the goal to which all his efforts were directed.

Whether in the solitude of the cell, or the wider arena of the Duomo, this was the one point in which all his aims converged—'*Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness.*' To deliver Florence from the yoke of tyrants, to reform manners, even to realise that most splendid dream which has ever swelled the breast of man with longing, the foundation of a republic of Christian men governed by Christian principles, owning no master but Christ, these were high objects, dearer to him than life; and yet these came but second, for Christ and His glory were what he sought above all. So it was that he looked upon life. With this singleness of purpose, he regarded all the varied interests, the complex passions that make up other men's scheme of existence. Only so far as they led to Christ and hastened His kingdom, were they worth considering. If he treated of philosophy, it was to point out how faith, grounded upon the laws of reason, is the one supreme science that leads men up to the Beatific Vision; if he spoke of beauty it was only to remind his hearers of that unseen hidden One, Who is the source of all beauty, the end of all desire. '*Vuoi tu aver pace? Guarda solamente un solo e amalo, cioè Dio.*' 'Wouldst thou find peace? Look to One alone and love Him—that is God.' In these oft-repeated words we have the summary of his teaching and the explanation of his life.

But, because this was the absorbing passion of his soul, grasped and held fast with all the rare intensity of his nature, it would be wrong to infer that he was, therefore, blind or dull to the fair sights and pleasant voices that gladden the sadness of our earthly exile. Like all the finest spirits, Savonarola was keenly alive to outward impressions, to none more so than to those of painting, of poetry, and of music. In his father's house at Ferrara he had received a liberal education in all the learning of the day. It was in music and

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poetry, in playing on the lute in the loneliness of his chamber, in composing a dirge on the vanity of earthly things—*De ruinâ mundi* is the title of the poem—that his world-weariness found its first expression. And when, in the early days of his monastic life, he imposed upon himself the stern obligation of sacrificing whatever he loved best, Burlamacchi tells us that it cost him more than all to put away the illuminated missals and pictures of his choice. Still, however severe his rule might be towards himself, he never sought to banish art from the convent. It was his ambition to make the monastery a school of Christian art, and under his rule S. Marco, which had already been the home of more painters than one, became the workshop and meeting-place of the first artists of the day.

In his teaching there was nothing of narrow jealousy or cold exclusiveness. Whatever things were lovely, whatever of good report, found a place in his ideal republic. But it was with this reservation. Art must be kept to its first and highest use, to set forth God's truth, and to lead men to His Throne; and therefore art, like all else, must be reformed. Again and again he rebukes the painters of Florence for degrading their God-given art to base uses, not only allowing it to be infected by that paganism which under Lorenzo had overgrown the holiest things and crept into the most sacred places, but making it actually minister to sin by the subjects they represented.

In Savonarola's days the art of Giotto and Angelico, while advancing to technical perfection and recovering forgotten beauty of form from the study of the antique, was fast losing its early purity and devotional feeling. A fashion had sprung up of introducing the portraits of mistresses of men of note and other women of scandalous lives into altar-pieces and frescoes on the walls of churches, as saints and madonnas. The greatest painters sanctioned this practice by their example, as, for instance, in the choir of S. Maria Novello, we find Ginevra de' Benci, a celebrated beauty of Lorenzo's court, in Ghirlandajo's fresco of S. John the Baptist's birth. Profane and curious persons—they are Savonarola's own words—might be seen on feast-days crowding round some altar to recognise in a newly-uncovered madonna the features of some woman of notoriously evil fame; while the licence to which painters abandoned themselves in the oratories of private houses and palaces was even worse. Against this profanation of art Savonarola lifted up his voice repeatedly from the pulpit.

'We find young men going about,' he says, indignantly, in a Lenten sermon, 'saying to this person and to that—"She is a very Magdalene," or "He is a true S. John," or "She is an

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image of the Virgin," and then you place their portraits in our churches, to the great scandal of things divine. In this, you painters, you do much mischief; and if you knew, as well as I do, how great that mischief is, you would not be guilty of it.' And further: 'You set up all your vanities in the churches. Do you believe that the Virgin went about dressed as you represent her? I tell you that she went about clothed as a humble young woman.' The true use of art, he tells these painters of Florence again and again, is to be the handmaid of the Church, lending her aid to inculcate with fresh force the teaching of Christ. 'You see such and such a saint represented in that church, and you go and say, "I too will lead a good life, and become like unto him."'

With the women of his congregation he is yet more plain-spoken on the subject. Their idea of beauty is altogether false, mistaken. They imagine that by adorning themselves with gold and jewels, by seeking the help of rouge, powder of Cyprus, and the like, they increase their beauty. Savonarola can tell them this is all wrong.

'Ye women, who glory in your ornaments, your head-dresses, your hands, I tell you that you are all ugly! Would you see true beauty? Observe a devout person, man or woman, in whom the Spirit dwells: observe such an one, I say, while in the act of prayer, when the countenance is suffused with divine beauty, and the prayer is over. You will then see the beauty of God reflected in that face, and a countenance almost angelic. . . . The reason is this: the pure soul partakes of the beauty of God. We are told of the Virgin, that so great was her beauty men stood stupefied before her; and yet so great was the sanctity reflected from her, that in no one who gazed upon her ever entered an evil thought, but all held her in reverence. . . . Look at the sun and the stars—their beauty is in light; behold the spirits of the blessed—light constitutes their beauty; raise your thoughts to the Almighty—He is light and beauty itself! Therefore the beauty of man and woman is greater and more perfect the nearer it approaches to the primary beauty.'[1]

Savonarola sought to apply the same principle to the sister arts. Street-singing had always been popular in Florence, and in Lorenzo's time the *Canti Carnialeschi*, or Carnival songs, which the young men sang over their midnight orgies, had become of a pagan and often profligate character. To replace these by songs of a religious tendency he himself wrote sacred lauds, which the children of Florence, under the training of his assistant Fra Domenico, sang through the streets at carnival time in a procession numbering as many as ten

[1] Sermon xxviii, on Ezekiel, Lent, 1496.

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thousand. These lauds, with other *canzoni*, written mostly in Savonarola's younger days, have been collected and published in a volume by M. Audin di Rians, and although most of them make no pretension to beauty of form, occasionally the fervour of feeling breaks forth into flashes of true poetry. The 'Lauda al Crocifisso'—beginning 'Jesù, sommo conforto,' compares not unfavourably even with the hymns of Bernard, while there is grace as well as elevation of thought in lines such as the following:—

'Quando il soave e mio fido conforto,
Per la pietà della mia stanca vita,
Con la sua dolce citara fornita
Mi trae dall' onde al suo beato porto.'[1]

In these compositions Savonarola at once gave an example of the foremost use to which he would apply poetry, and denied the assertions of those who accused him of condemning all verse alike. For already, in his own lifetime, the strong expressions in which he denounced the licentious poets of the day in his sermons drew upon him the reproach—no mean one in Florence at that time—of being an enemy to poets and poetry.

So heavy did this charge appear to a learned friend of his, Ugolino Verino, that he wrote to Savonarola, urging him to defend himself in this respect, and it is to this appeal that we owe his treatise 'In Apology of Poetry,' contained in the larger work, *On the Utility of all the Sciences*, and which, taken as an expression of his sentiments with regard to æsthetics in general, is most interesting. There is a smile at the bare idea

[1] Another very characteristic specimen is the laud written for popular use the year the new Government was established by Savonarola's influence. We give the first two verses:—

'Viva, viva in nostro core
Cristo rè, duce e signore!
Ciascun purghi l'intelletto,
La memoria e volontade,
Del terrestre e vano affetto;
Arda tutto in caritade,
Contemplando la bontade
Di Jesù, rè di Fiorenza;
Con digiuni e penitenza
Si riformi dentro e fore.
Se volete Jesù regni
Per sua grazia in vostro core,
Tutti gli odii e pravi sdegni
Commutate in dolce amore;
Discacciando ogni rancore,
Ciascun prenda in se la pace;
Questo è quel che a Gesù piace
Sù nel Cielo e quì nel core.'

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of his ever having condemned poetry. 'It never entered into my mind to condemn the art of poetry, but its abuses. Many have calumniated me on that account, and the truth is I had made up my mind to pay no regard to the calumnies, but follow the saying which tells us not to answer a fool with his folly; but what Verino says has induced me to take up my pen.' After defining poetry and its uses, and pointing out the true poetry of the Scriptures, he proceeds to blame the poets of his own time for their servile imitation of the ancients, above all for returning to seek inspiration at the dried-up springs of a false and pedantic Hellenism, when a larger hope of which the old world knew nothing had dawned upon the horizon of man's vision. But although he severely reproves the use of licentious poetry which might contaminate the young, and reminds his hearers that their beloved Plato would have banished such poets, he can admire those of the ancients who wrote of great and noble actions. 'Such writers,' he says, 'turned poetry to good account, and I neither can nor ought to say one word against them.'

That Savonarola frequently used strong expressions with regard to pagan learning is doubtless true. He can scarcely contain himself in denouncing the fashion of filling sermons with long Greek and Latin quotations, and of bringing Plato to the front on every occasion, and occasionally in the heat of argument his zeal oversteps the bounds of temperance. But we must remember the state of Florence, of society, and of the Church at that time. Perhaps never since the last days of the Roman empire were faith and morals at a lower ebb. The material prosperity of the Florentines had increased enormously in the last three centuries; the luxury of the upper class of citizens had risen to an extravagant pitch, and all experience shows that a luxurious is always a sceptical age. When those who call themselves Christians live for the things of this world, and are content with a formal and hollow outward profession, earnest minds begin to doubt the truth of Christ's words. Love grown cold, faith is sure to die.

And then, upon this fifteenth century, the Renaissance had broken with all its dazzling heritage of past days, with the wonders of Greek form, with the long-lost treasures of ancient learning.

> 'No more, as once in sunny Avignon,
> The poet-scholar spreads the Homeric page
> And gazes sadly, like the deaf at song;
> For now the old epic voices ring again,
> And vibrate with the beat and melody
> Stirred by the warmth of old Ionian days.'

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All this had come to the children of that generation. Men turned to Greece and Rome to satisfy the yearning of their hearts, and found better consolation in honest paganism than in a false Christianity. Elegant scholarship was a fashion, nay, more—a bondage enslaving thought in the fetters of servile imitation. The collection of ancient manuscripts was held to be the highest occupation of a lifetime; Plato was the god of society; even in the cloister monks gave up the study of the Scriptures, because they feared to spoil their Latinity; and a Dominican of S. Marco could ask his Prior what was the use of recalling the words of ignorant fishermen like the Apostles. So entirely had paganism invaded all educated life, that it was thought necessary to receive a Pope with a procession of heathen deities. Worst of all, the most refined culture went everywhere hand in hand with the grossest licentiousness, and the highest places of the Church furnished the most fearful examples of corruption and profligacy.

It was to this that Savonarola came. All this he saw, daily, hourly, around him. 'I could not support the enormous wickedness of the people in Italy. Everywhere virtue is despised, vice in honour,' he wrote, when at twenty-two he left his father's house for the convent. Can we wonder if his generous soul bursts at times into fiery indignation as he looked upon a society penetrated to the core with paganism? 'Believe,' he cries, 'in the sufficiency of the word of God, in the knowledge of Christ, which can be attained without the help of all this vain learning. Let Homer, let Virgil be studied, by all means, but let not the Bible be thrown aside. Have your Plato if you will, but have Christ too.' Especially was he anxious that the Scriptures and Fathers should be taught in the schools, in order that the young might learn Christian truth as well as Greek and Latin; and we find him giving a foremost place to S. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*—that work which must have been to him as a foreshadowing of his own cherished dream, the setting up on earth of the ideal realm, the City of God, where Christ was King. The history of saints and martyrs should also be taught the young, that they might early learn to follow these great examples, he says, but above all the story of the life of Christ. Thus it is with each successive aspect of Savonarola's teaching, in politics, in art, in education; it is Christ he seeks as the aim and end of all. If he closed his eyes to anything of mortal beauty, it was because he feared its earth-born mists might dim the vision of the King; if he bade men turn away from Plato, it was because for Plato Christ had been forgotten.

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It is in this light that we must consider that one act which, more than any other, has brought reproach upon the head of Savonarola—the famous Bonfire of Vanities.

The story, in all its picturesqueness of incident, is familiar to most of us. We remember, almost as though we ourselves had seen them, the processions of white-robed children with red crosses and olive branches going from house to house all that carnival time, to ask for the *anathema* or *vanities*, and then that strange scene on the Piazza, when, on the last day of carnival, the great pyramids of vanities, including masks, rouge-pots, cards, immoral books and pictures, were erected and solemnly set fire to, in the presence of assembled multitudes. Much has been written concerning this supposed wanton destruction of valuable objects, and many a lamentation poured out over the precious manuscripts, the treasures of art and learning that perished in the flames. Friends and foes alike have helped to magnify its importance, but it is impossible to prove that anything of real value was lost, excepting, it may be, those early studies from pagan models which the young painter Baccio della Porta, with Lorenzo di Credi, and other devout *piagnoni* artists, flung into the flames. All Guicciardini tells us is that carnival dresses, most likely the chief part of the bonfire, dice, cards, sinful pictures and books, were burnt on that occasion. However this may be, it is easy to understand the motive on which Savonarola acted.

It is the general rule alike in the history of individuals and of nations, that when a great apostasy is followed by a revival of religion, the moment of conversion is signalised by some striking act, some violent wrench, as it were, by which the past is broken with and a proof of changed heart given. So in this case with Savonarola. He felt that a solemn protest against sin and paganism was necessary, some visible act by which Florence in turning to God might deliberately and publicly renounce the evil thing. That Savonarola gloried in the act is plain. Without doubt he triumphed in the thought that Florence had put away the outward signs of sin, as he poured out the fulness of his heart in the words of his own laud—'O sopra ogni città felice:'

'O city blessed above all others! Florence loved and chosen of Christ, city of God whence His splendour breaks to go forth into all worlds, to whose lilies pilgrims should come from afar!'

But even then a shadow of fear crossed his mind, a fear lest this revived earnestness should be merely external, and we find him telling the people in his next sermons that there

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had been a little too much shouting of *Viva Cristo!* and they must remember that to lead Christian lives was far better than all the singing and shouting and crowding to hear sermons.

While we speak of the Bonfire of Vanities, the head and front of all Savonarola's offending in the eyes of scholars and art-historians, it is only fair to recall that other act which should have earned him the eternal gratitude of all the students and lovers of antiquity. When in 1495 the property of the Medici was confiscated by the State upon Piero de' Medici's banishment, the library which Cosimo and Lorenzo had spared no pains or expense to collect was, by Savonarola's influence, purchased by the convent of S. Marco for the sum of 3,000 florins. The friar thus conferred a twofold benefit on the cause of learning by saving this noble collection of manuscripts from dispersion, and placing it in the convent library, the only one then open to the public in Italy; and thus it is to Savonarola that Florence owes the preservation within her walls of the Laurentian Library, still her boast and pride.

It is now time to turn from Savonarola's theories and teaching with regard to art and culture, to those distinguished men among his followers who by their lives and works bore the best witness to the 'faith of the friar.' When we come to estimate the forces that govern mankind, we find that ideas embodied in human action cannot fail to leave their stamp upon other men. The influence that a man acquires will be great in proportion to the greatness of the idea which inspires him, and the completeness with which he renders that idea in his life. We know Savonarola's lofty aim, we have seen his intensity, his high courage and stedfast resolution in pursuing it; and we cannot wonder that his influence on the men of his generation proved immense, almost unparalleled.

It is perhaps scarcely possible for us to realise the effect of those sermons of Savonarola during those eight years that he held the ear of the fickle Florentines. People got up in the middle of the night to get places for the sermon, and stood waiting in cold and wet at the cathedral doors, noble ladies came in from their country villas, men of all ranks and ages crowded to that vast Duomo, 'with as much jubilee and rejoicing,' says Burlamacchi, 'as if they were going to a wedding. Then the silence was great in the church, and though many thousand people were thus collected together, no sound was to be heard, not even a "hush," until the arrival of the children, who sang hymns with so much sweetness that heaven seemed to have opened. Thus they waited three or four hours till the *padre* entered the pulpit,

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and the attention of so great a mass of people, all with eyes and ears intent upon the preacher, was wonderful; they listened so, that when the sermon reached its end, it seemed to them that it had scarcely begun.'

But it was not only that people listened and heard Savonarola gladly; they obeyed his words. The change which he brought about in Florence excited the wonder of all contemporaries. The luxurious banqueting, the stone-throwing and revelry in the streets were given up; altars were erected at every corner on feast days, the shops were shut, and people flocked to church. Merchants and bankers restored ill-gotten gains, high-born women gave their jewels in alms and exchanged their costly dress for the simplest attire, the 'Veni Creator' and 'Ave Maris Stella' were heard in the streets instead of Lorenzo's profane and pagan songs, and in the midday hour of rest tradesmen might be seen studying their Bibles in their shops. 'Neither in our own age, nor in those of our fathers and grandfathers,' writes the cool clear-headed Guicciardini, certainly no *piagnone*, far less a fanatic, 'has an ecclesiastic enjoyed so great a degree of authority, in a city where other preachers of high repute were never listened to for more than two or three seasons.'[1] So great was the number of those who came to take the Dominican habit that S. Marco was unable to contain them, and the Government had to lend the convent the adjoining building of La Sapienza.

Not only young enthusiastic spirits, but men of mature age and great learning, canons of the cathedral, poets and Hellenists who had been friends of Lorenzo and members of his Academy, ended their days in S. Marco, at Savonarola's feet. The founder of the Academy himself, Marsilio Ficino, was one of the friar's hearers and admirers; Angelo Politian, the representative of Lorenzo's court, asked to be buried in Dominican garb and laid in S. Marco, where he sleeps side by side with the great scholar Pico della Mirandola. This prince, the Phœnix of his day, who united a noble and graceful presence with a marvellous erudition, was one of the first to discover Savonarola's merit, and after being instrumental in bringing him to Florence, remained his intimate friend till his own death in the year 1494, at the early age of thirty-two. But it is with the sculptors and painters of Florence who became followers of Savonarola that we have to do. These, more than any other class, responded to his awakening call, and among them we find many of his most devoted adherents.

[1] *Opere Inedite.*

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Foremost among them is one whose name can never be separated from that of Savonarola, the young painter Baccio della Porta—as he was called from the vicinity of his father's dwelling to the gate of San Pier Gattolini—better known by his monastic name of Fra Bartolommeo.

By birth the son of a muleteer, Baccio was early placed in the shop of Cosimo Rosselli, under whose teaching he rapidly outstripped his fellow-pupils. His gentle and amiable character won the affections of all, and in his master's shop he formed a friendship, which lasted to the end of his life, with another young artist, Mariotto Albertinelli. The two, we are told by Vasari, were 'as one body and one soul.' The friends, however, were of a very different order of mind, for while the careless pleasure-loving Mariotto preferred the Medici gardens and the gay company he found there, Baccio sought his inspiration in the silence of the Church of the Carmine, and studied the frescoes of Masaccio.

The same tastes which took him there would naturally prompt him to be one of the crowd which hung upon the lips of the eloquent Dominican, and we can easily understand the effect such a preacher's voice would have upon the impressionable nature of the young painter just entering into life. It came to him like a new revelation, telling him of a higher existence, undreamt of by the multitude, a great cause which demanded all the energies of his being, the consecration of his unfolding powers, a wide-reaching unending hope. Baccio heard and did not hesitate. Heart and soul he threw himself into the cause of Christ and the Frate to lead the ideal life which Savonarola held up in all its severity of perfection in the eyes of this corrupt and luxurious age. While Mariotto scoffed at monks and friars, Baccio became the devoted follower and intimate friend of the Friar of S. Marco. Almost the only one of his early works extant is a portrait of Savonarola, which, after being in the first place sent to Ferrara, was brought back to Florence, and lately passed from private hands into the convent of S. Marco, where it now remains in the cell that was once the Frate's. This fine portrait, probably the most faithful representation of Savonarola we possess, agrees exactly with contemporary descriptions. We have the powerful head, rugged in outline, but not without a certain grandeur, the piercing eyes gleaming from under the cowl with the same fire with which they flashed upon the listening multitudes in the vast cathedral, while below is the old inscription, but recently recovered from under the coat of paint which hid the words in days of perse-

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cution: '*Hieronymi Ferrariensis missi à Deo prophetæ effigies.*' We find Baccio present in all the chief scenes of the great revival. Foremost among other artists, he flung his early pagan studies into the Bonfire of Vanities at that memorable carnival, and on the fatal day when the convent was stormed, and the enemies of Savonarola triumphed, he was at S. Marco in the midst of the fighting.[1]

The terrible events which followed, the utter failure that seemed to close upon the cause he had held to be that of Christ, fell upon the young painter with crushing force. A sense of bitter despair overwhelmed him. With Savonarola's death it seemed as if all hope in life, all faith in man, had perished. For a time he struggled to paint on. In the remains of the 'Last Judgment' which the traveller still finds on the ruined walls of S. Maria Nuova, we see how in that dark hour Baccio clung with despairing grasp to those eternal realities first fully made clear to him by Savonarola, and which, now the master's voice was silenced, were all he had left to trust in. But the task was beyond his strength. Before the end of the year 1499, he threw up all his commissions, left the unfinished fresco at S. Maria Nuova to be completed by Albertinelli, and to the grief of all his friends took the vows of the Dominican Order at Prato.

During six years he lived in the seclusion of the cloister, finding rest and balm for his crushed spirit in the exercise of devotion within those very walls which his beloved master had hallowed with his presence, and without, so far as we know, a thought of returning to his easel. At the end of that time, however, a longing for the old art, perhaps first revived by his intercourse with Raphael, came over him; he again took up his brush, no longer to work for his own gain, but for the glory of God and the advantage of his community, and, with his old friend Mariotto as a partner, made the workshop of S. Marco famous. To this later period it is that all Fra Bartolommeo's chief works belong, and thus in ceaseless activity he spent the remainder of his life, until he died of a fever in 1517, and was buried in S. Marco, the home and centre of his dearest memories. To the last, the thought of Savonarola was with him, and we find him in his latter years,

[1] Vasari accuses Baccio of cowardice on this occasion, but it must be remembered that he bears no good-will to the *piagnoni*, and that many of his assertions have been proved to be groundless. If Baccio did not fight, it was only in obedience to the commands of Savonarola, who both ordered and implored his partisans to lay down their arms.

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when spending a few weeks in the country hospital of Pian di Mugnone, recalling the old passionate days to picture forth once more the features of the great Frate, this time as S. Pietro Martire, in the well-known Dominican mantle with the sign of martyrdom upon his brow.

Close around Fra Bartolommeo cluster a group of humbler names who shared in his devotion to Savonarola, and, like him, belonged to the Dominican Order. In the long list of Florentines who took the vows at S. Marco in Savonarola's lifetime, we find painters, sculptors, miniaturists in numbers. We will only mention Fra Eustachio, the gentle artist who loved the study of Dante and knew his poem by heart, Ambrogio della Robbia, the gifted inheritor of a name illustrious in art, to whom we owe a noble terra-cotta head of Savonarola, and Fra Benedetto, whose conversion was one of the most striking of all. As the miniature painter Bettuccio, he led a dissolute life, until one day a noble matron induced him to hear the friar, who was the talk of all Florence. From that moment the young man, smitten with remorse, knew no peace until he had thrown himself at the Frate's feet, and although for some time Savonarola would not admit him to the Dominican Order, and Bettuccio wavered between the paths of holiness and a return to his former life, he ultimately entered S. Marco, and under the name of Fra Benedetto proved one of the most zealous and faithful of the brethren. On the night of the attack, Fra Benedetto fought as an ardent defender of S. Marco, and drew upon himself a gentle rebuke for wearing arms from Savonarola. Afterwards he survived to beguile the hours of a cruel captivity and console himself for the loss of his dear master, in the composition of the poem, 'Cedrus Libani,' which still remains one of the most complete and authentic accounts of Savonarola and his convent.

From these artists of S. Marco we pass on to those who, while they retained their secular calling, were permanently impressed by the teaching of Savonarola. Chief among these is Lorenzo di Credi, with whose 'Holy Families' and circular pictures of the Nativity we are all familiar. The favourite pupil of Verrocchio, Credi grew up in his shop with Perugino and Lionardo da Vinci, and by his patient and laborious industry attained a high place among contemporary artists. His character is well expressed in the grave gentleness and simplicity of the kneeling madonnas so frequent in his works, and in the conscientious pains and finish bestowed upon every part of the picture, which made Vasari exclaim that 'such diligence was not more justifiable than the greatest neglect.'

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His natural piety and sincerity drew him early within the influence of the Friar of San Marco; 'he became,' says Vasari, 'very partial to the sect of Fra Girolamo, and always led a good and honest life.' Like Baccio della Porta, he laid his pagan studies on the pyre of the Bonfire of Vanities, and confined himself exclusively to the representation of sacred subjects. The high position he held in Florence as an experienced artist probably saved him from the persecution that befel most of the *piagnoni* in 1498. He survived the catastrophe of that Palm-Sunday almost forty years; but it is interesting to find that he still remained intimate with the principal *piagnoni*, and did not separate his lot from his old friends of S. Marco. Along with Corniol the engraver, another warm partisan of Savonarola, he witnessed the will of the architect Cronaca, and the last six years of his life were spent in honourable retirement in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, where Baccio della Porta painted his 'Last Judgment,' and in an apparently close connexion with the artists of S. Marco.

With regard to Credi's friend Lionardo, he had left Florence for Milan long before Savonarola commenced his preaching; but that once at least he must have returned there, and have been actually brought into contact with the friar, is proved by his presence at the meeting of architects called by Savonarola's influence to form plans for the erection of a hall capable of containing the Great Council he advocated in his scheme for a popular form of government. At this meeting, besides Lionardo, Michael Angelo, Baccio d'Agnolo, Giulano da S. Gallo, and Cronaca were all present, and the execution of the plans agreed upon was ultimately given to Cronaca, as much on account of his well-known friendship for Savonarola and interest in the popular cause, as for his skill as an architect. The real name of this distinguished architect and faithful follower of Savonarola was Simone Pollaiuolo. At an early age he went to Rome with his uncle, the architect Antonio Pollaiuolo, and on his return to Florence astonished all his companions with his stories of the wonders of the Eternal City, from which, says Vasari, he obtained the nickname of Cronaca. Still in the streets of Florence, churches and palaces, on the classic model which Cronaca loved, attest the talent and industry of the brave and honest man who was the first architect of his day. In the Via Tornabuoni his noble Palazzo Strozzi meets the eye, its massive walls of rough-hewn stone and beautiful ironwork standing out above the heap of blossoms, sheaves of lily of the valley, roses, narcissus, which the flower-girls sell on the stone bench beneath—

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'flowers,' says a writer of the day, 'that seem scarcely more evanescent than the crowd of men and women who have bloomed and passed, and gone into darkness while the old wall has stood fast, without getting so much as a wrinkle or line chiselled by age upon its rugged stones.'

On the hill of S. Miniato, too, embosomed in ancient cypresses, and looking down on the towers and bridges of Florence and fair Val d'Arno beyond, is the convent-church that Cronaca designed for the monks of S. Salvadore, and that Michael Angelo loved to call his '*bella villanella*.'

The Council Hall in the Old Palace which it was Cronaca's pride to rear, and whose admirable proportions excited Vasari's wonder as much as the extraordinary haste with which it was built, has unfortunately undergone too much alteration to be a fair test of his powers, but there is a strange poetic justice in the fact, to which Mrs. Oliphant draws our attention, that within its walls a greater council than that of Savonarola's calling—the first Italian Parliament—met four hundred years afterwards.

Cronaca lived till 1509, held in high reputation by all Florence, but not forgetful of his *piagnoni* friends or of the past in which he had played a prominent part. That devotion to Savonarola which had characterised his life, remained the distinguishing feature of his latter days. In proportion as the end drew near and the things of earth faded from his sight, the great realities of which the friar had spoken, and for which he had laid down his life, gained in clearness and stedfastness. 'In the last years of his life,' says Vasari, in his contemptuous way, 'there entered into his head so great a frensy for the Frate Girolamo Savonarola, that he could talk of nothing else but him, his words and actions.'

As architecture was represented at S. Marco by Cronaca, so Baccio di Montelupo figures among Savonarola's followers as the votary of sculpture. Converted by the preaching of the friar, like Fra Benedetto, from a life of pleasure and idleness, he became a zealous *piagnone*, and adorned S. Marco with crucifixes of his workmanship. A large one hung in the choir of the convent church in Vasari's days, and another which belonged to Savonarola may still be seen side by side with Fra Bartolommeo's portrait, in the cell where he lived. A more important work is the noble statue of S. John the Evangelist on the exterior of the church Or' San Michele, converted into its present form from a granary. After the death of Savonarola, Montelupo was too deeply implicated in the eyes of the *Arrabbiati* to escape persecution. He was

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forced to fly from Florence, and paid for his attachment to the Frate by years of exile. In April 1508, Fra Bartolommeo found him at Venice, and there the two artists renewed the friendship of old days, and while they together visited the art treasures of the sea-girt city, recalled that other *bell' ovile* where in brighter times they had both grown up in the shelter of S. Marco.

We must not forget the skilled engraver Giovanni delle Corniole, the friend of Cronaca, of Credi, and Sandro Botticelli, to whose hand we owe the likeness of Savonarola which is one of the finest of modern gems. It is now in the Uffizzi, and bears the inscription, '*Hieronymus Ferrariensis ord. Pred. propheta et martyr.*' Nor should we omit the miniaturists Monte di Giovanni and Gherardo. Brothers by birth and profession, they worked together for years in the illumination of the missals of the Duomo, and other books at S. Maria Nuova, of which hospital Gherardo was organist. Again and again in these works the portrait of Savonarola is introduced, especially by Monte di Giovanni, who, living till a great age, consoled himself for the triumph of the friar's enemies by reproducing the likeness of his beloved teacher in different disguises at every page, and when required to perpetuate the memory of Leo X.'s visit to Florence in the choir of the cathedral, dared to paint Savonarola's portrait in pontifical robes and mitre. They were employed on a more important task when in the days of Savonarola's greatness they worked on the mosaics of S. Zenobius' Chapel in the cathedral. On this occasion they were associated with no less a personage than Sandro Botticelli. It is perhaps not generally known that this last-named painter, the favourite of a modern school of thought which has sought its chief inspiration in that paganism against which Savonarola preached, was a zealous *piagnone* and devoted follower of the Friar of S. Marco, 'obstinately attached to that party.'[1]

Within the last few years a passion for Botticelli has seized hold of artistic circles. Those madonnas with drooping eyelids and tender melancholy, those angels quiring in their celestial harmonies, who still wear a touch of earthly sadness on their faces, as if even there they could not forget the sin and sorrow of mortals, appeal in their warm human sympathies to many who cannot rise to the heights of Perugino or Raphael's untroubled calm, and who stand unmoved before the all-heavenly dreams of Angelico. There is indeed about

[1] Vasari, *Life of Sandro Botticelli.*

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this man's pictures a fascination hard to describe. We gaze and gaze and wonder what this painter could have been whose art thus fathomed the weary mysteries of humanity, whose creations kindle a responsive thrill in so many breasts. Born in 1447, touching the days of Angelico on the one side, and of Savonarola on the other, Botticelli is at once the product and representative of the times of the Medici. Rich in all culture and knowledge, versed in classic lore, in the appreciation of Greek statuary and drapery, he embodies in his works the art of that splendid age. From Masaccio and Fra Lippi he had learnt the principles of perspective, while an early acquaintance with the goldsmith's shop had given him a love for the rich ornamentation which Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo first introduced into painting. In his choice of subjects he justifies the preference of Lorenzo, whose favourite artist he seems to have been, and shows that he knew how to please the taste of a society that had returned to paganism. The Venus with hanging tresses and roses falling about her, stepping from a shell on to the sea-shore, where quaint-patterned flowers open their blossoms at her feet, and zephyrs blow softly to welcome her; the birth of Spring hailed by Graces and Cupids; a story of Boccaccio or an ancient fable represented by Apelles—these are the themes he delights to celebrate, and mingle with the accustomed altar-pieces of saints and madonnas.

Sometimes his art must stoop lower, and as Court painter he is called upon to take the portrait of La bella Simonetta, the mistress of Julian Medici, or represent on the palace walls the effigies of the conspirators in the plot of the Pazzi. But to all alike he brings the same skill of hand and brain; upon all we find the impress of the same powerful but vehement and fantastic imagination.

Sandro's character, a curious mixture of eccentricity and kindliness, agrees well with his remaining works. As a boy, though highly gifted, he was so turbulent and averse to learning that his father, in despair of his ever studying, apprenticed him to a goldsmith friend of his, Botticello by name, upon which Sandro was seized with a sudden love for painting, for which he developed such taste that he was admitted into the workshop of Filippo Lippi, whose best pupil he speedily became. Through life he was violent in his likes and dislikes, wayward and fitful in temper. He had the greatest admiration for Dante, whose 'Commedia' he illustrated with engravings of fantastic design; and on one occasion he accused a friend of heresy before the priests because he had dared to speak pub-

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licly of the great poet when he himself was ignorant and illiterate. Yet he could be full of kindliness, especially to poorer and younger artists, and was, in his gay moods, a most pleasant companion, full of mirth and shrewd sayings. Michael Angelo we know loved him, and frequently wrote to him, and Lionardo honoured him with the name of friend. He delighted in practical jokes, and once horrified a young painter who had just sold a picture by secretly sticking red caps on to the heads of a group of angels in his work, who were thus transformed into the august members of the Signory of Florence, in the centre of which the Madonna presented a singular appearance.

Upon this strange character the preaching of Savonarola had a marvellous effect. Vasari cannot contain himself when he speaks of this degenerate painter becoming a *piagnone*, one of the despised sect of Fra Girolamo. To this cause he goes on to attribute the inaction of Botticelli's later years, 'the disorder of his affairs,' and poverty in which he spent his last days—a poverty so great that he would actually have died of hunger had it not been for the former munificence of Lorenzo and others who held him in honour. Probably Sandro threw himself into the great revival with his usual vehemence; and in the indignant language of Vasari we may read an exaggerated description of that simplicity of life in which so many Florentines carried out the teaching of Savonarola. As regards the inaction of his later days, the absence of dates makes it difficult to confute this statement; but many read the year 1511 in the Greek inscription on that masterpiece of Botticelli's—the 'Nativity, with Singing and Dancing Angels,' now in England,[1] and we know that he frequently devoted his art to the cause to which he had given heart and soul. Vasari mentions as his finest engraving—an art in which he especially excelled—the 'Triumph of the Faith of Savonarola,' and he was the first to paint sacred banners for use in the processions so frequent, as we know, in the friar's time. He also illustrated some of Savonarola's own writings: among them the great sermon preached on the Feast of All Souls, 1496; and it is said that in after years, between 1498 and his own death in 1515, he wrote a life of the martyred prophet and saint of God, of which, however, nothing further is known.

To all these illustrious names one more must be added, that of one greater than all, upon whose genius the word of

[1] In possession of Mr. Fuller Maitland.

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Savonarola left an ineffaceable impression. In Lorenzo's days Michael Angelo had grown up in the Medici gardens, and, while still a boy, was already famous. Then it was that he heard the great Dominican, and, having once heard him, never forgot the emotions of that moment. His own brother was one of those who, in the general enthusiasm, took the vows in S. Marco; and thus Michael Angelo was probably brought into closer contact with Savonarola. After Lorenzo's death, however, his son Piero knew little how to appreciate true merit, and was heard to say of Michael Angelo that he held him to be inferior to his Spanish groom, who could outrun a horse. The young artist was of too proud a nature to brook such language; and, disgusted with Piero's folly and vices, he left Florence for Rome, where he remained during the years of Savonarola's greatness and death. Although absent, he took a keen interest in the events that befel his country; and we find him, in 1497, writing to a brother in Florence: 'I derived great comfort from your letter, especially from what I hear of the acts of the saintly Fra Girolamo, who makes all Rome speak of him, where it is said that he is a pestilent heretic; therefore let him by all means come to Rome and preach here, where he will not fail to be worshipped also.'

Years afterwards, when all these hopes had been dashed, and the movement that was to regenerate Christendom had closed in tears and gloom, Michael Angelo still counted himself a *piagnone;* for we find him writing to a friend that he must employ a certain insignificant artist in the works of S. Lorenzo, lest he should be held as doing a wrong to his old friends the *piagnoni.* And when, in 1529, Florence threw off the yoke of the Medici, and declared herself a free republic, when the old cries were heard again, and the Gonfaloniere Niccolo Capponi harangued the Council in the words of Savonarola, proclaiming Christ to be King once more in Florence, then the old enthusiasm again awoke in Michael Angelo's breast, and on the heights of San Miniato he who was great as architect and sculptor, painter and poet, became an engineer to defend his country. That republic, alas! had but a brief existence. Again Pope and Emperor triumphed: the hated Medici returned, and Michael Angelo was bound to the conqueror's chariot-wheels, forced to bend his pride, and purchase a pardon by continuing his works in S. Lorenzo.

In those four 'ineffable types' of Dawn and Twilight, of Day and Night, which by a strange irony he placed on the tombs of the Medici, all the bitterness of his despair, the

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fierce agony of the struggle which tore that mighty heart, found expression. There we see what it cost him to see a tyrant reigning in that Florence which Savonarola had called the City of God, how profoundly his spirit grieved over the Night of oppression and shame which had sunk on Florence, and the Dawn which could never break for her again. He himself has given us the key to their meaning in those lines which he wrote under his Night, in the eyes of all Florence:

> 'Grato m'è il sonno, e'l più esser di sasso
> Mentre che il danno e la vergogna dura;
> Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura,
> Però non mi destar, deh! parla basso!'

Henceforth art was the only consolation left him, the only form in which he could attain to that ideal after which he had yearned. It is still the ardent disciple of Savonarola, with convictions only deepened by the lapse of time, that we find in the unparalleled grandeur of the frescoes of the Sistine, where the pomps and vanities of the world, the vices of the clergy are sternly denounced, and merciless demons drag the luxurious and selfish to endless death. And as the evening shadows deepened, and the long life drew slowly to its end, the thought of Savonarola was ever present with him. Vasari relates how this great man, 'who was also an excellent Christian, delighted in the study of the Scriptures, and the sermons of Savonarola, whom he had heard in his youth;' and Condivi speaks of the affection he bore to the memory of the friar, whose voice still seemed to ring in his ears.

The teaching of Savonarola thus still bore fruit more than sixty years after his death, and in that last sonnet to Vasari, the hand which poised the Dome of S. Peter's could write—

> Nè pinger, nè scolpir fia più che queti,
> L'animo volta a quell' amor divino,
> Ch'aperse a prender noi in croce le braccia:—

lines which contain the experience of a life of more than eighty years, gathered up, as it were, in the last sonnet he sent to Vasari. The bark had well-nigh reached the haven, the waves were almost passed, and Savonarola had been right after all. Neither painting nor sculpture without Christ could content the soul that yearned after God. As he lay dying, the last words he spoke to those who wept around him were: 'My friends, when you are dying, remember the sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Such was the work of Savonarola, such were the men who

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bore his words to the end of their lives, and carried down the '*faith of the friar*' to succeeding generations.

Because he failed, because that dream of a Christian republic proved too ideal for earth, let us not say that his work was vain. That God whom he had owned as a God whose way is in the deep waters, and whose footsteps are not known, watched over His servant's work, and out of his seeming failure, his suffering and death came forth the great results. It is not ours to tell how that revival of true religion in the Church for which Savonarola prayed came at last, how later ages have learnt to hold his name sacred for all time; it is only of a small part of his work that we have to speak.

By holding up a high ideal to that corrupt age, he opened new horizons to all its artists, and gave a new impulse to art in all its forms. Whether, then, we tread the cloister of S. Marco, where his memory meets us at every turn, or gaze upon the masterpieces of the Pitti and the Uffizzi, or the wonders of Michael Angelo's S. Peter's—let us remember the part Savonarola had in forming the men to whom we owe these glories of art, and feel that in them the fire of his enthusiasm, the ardour of his burning words, is living yet. He being dead, yet speaketh.

One word more. We have seen that with his unflinching severity, with all his stern condemnation of evil, Savonarola was no puritan fanatic, that in his teaching there was nothing antagonistic to art. Catholic in this, as in all else, it was his wish and endeavour that all culture, all art and knowledge, should be directed to their highest uses, and that Mother Church, 'Like the mild Virgin with the outstretched robe,' should fold to her bosom all that was fair and pure and good:—an endeavour which must be ours too, if in these days of ever-widening culture, the Church of this land is to hold her own against the forces which oppose her.

At the present time there is one respect in which the Church can especially further the cause of that art to which, if we believe some of its votaries, we are to look for the regeneration of our race. The problem which is constantly before all earnest advocates of culture, all at least who look beyond a merely selfish gratification of personal tastes, is how best to promote the best influences of art among all classes. This object the Church, more than any other influence, has it in her power to advance. Freely, largely, she gives. Not for the eyes of the high and wealthy alone are the splendours of her raiment spread—that vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours, wherewith she robes herself to go

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forth and meet her King. Her courts are open, her beauties are displayed to the poorest and meanest, with the same boundless royalty of gift.

To many an agricultural labourer whose horizon is bounded by the fields of his native village, to many a weary toiler who drags out a painful existence amid the smoke and blackness of our manufacturing towns, deprived of all that makes life bright, the only ray of beauty, the only pure idea of art they can ever have, must come from the church within whose walls they worship. That East window, whose storied panes tell the old familiar tale of the Crucified Lord, that altar-piece where they see Him risen or transfigured, that pealing organ, whose sweet melodies are often the only true music that ever reaches their ears, may be to them revelations of a higher world, gleams of a brighter day, associated with that one message which lifts their hearts above the hard realities of outward existence. Surely this, although a secondary, is a worthy aim to keep in view; surely it is no mistaken ambition which would lead us to fill those churches, which are the shrines of Truth, with those accessories of Art and Beauty which Truth alone can truly inspire, and through which Truth knows how to speak to all her children.

So, while we bring our best to God, offer upon His altars, as is our bounden duty, all that is rare and lovely, we shall have the joy of feeling that no home is so poor, no life so degraded, but that the light of beauty can penetrate its darkness and ignorance with blessed influence; so, too, insensibly, the thought of art blending with that worship which is man's highest privilege, may raise us to that moral serenity, that clearness of vision in things unseen, which is the end and object of true culture.

ART. VI—PREACHING AT THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Preaching at the Council of Trent. Monumentorum ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini potissimum illustrandam spectantium amplissima Collectio. Tomus I. Complectens Conciones. Prodit nunc primum studio ed opera JUDOCI LE PLAT. (Lovanii, MDCCLXXXI.)

IT is not a little mortifying to the students of Church history to learn, on the high authority of Professor Ranke, that an

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authentic history of the Council of Trent will never be undertaken. Its importance is almost immeasurable, and in proportion to the influence of its results over the hearts and convictions of millions have been the fierceness of the controversies which have surrounded it. Without inviting our readers to any discussion of the rival claims of Pallavicini and Paolo Sarpi, we propose to lay before them in a short compass some illustrations of the doctrine and condition of the Church of Rome at the period of the Council, derived from sources beyond all suspicion of unfavourable partisanship. About a century ago, Le Plat, Professor of Roman Law at the University of Louvain, published in seven large quarto volumes a collection of documents which might serve to illustrate the history of the Council; and to the first of these, which consists of sermons preached before the assembled Fathers, we are indebted for the substance of our article. To estimate rightly the value of the testimony these sermons afford, it must be remembered that the preachers were selected by the presiding legates, so that the more liberal party in the Council had but slight opportunity of being adequately represented in the pulpit; whilst a conscientious perusal of every line of these 700, often very dreary, pages enables us to affirm that in no single instance did a preacher venture to call in question the dark picture of the Church's condition as painted in many of these discourses.

The first Session of the Council was held on the third Sunday in Advent, December 13, 1545; and after high mass the Bishop of Bitonto ascended the pulpit. He began with a shriek of triumph, 'Rejoice in the Lord, my Fathers; rejoice in the Lord, my brethren; and again I say, rejoice all! Behold now is the accepted time! Behold now is the day of most certain and long-expected salvation!' All nature, animate and inanimate, seemed to the enthusiastic prelate to be exulting at the opening of the Council. For the oppression of the poor and for the sighing of the needy Church the Lord had at length awoke, and safety was at hand. He frequently mingles quaint applications of sacred words in strange bathos with the feeblest puns, as he foretells that the Church, which has been languishing for a century through lack of such a stay, will derive greater benefit from this synod than from that of flowery Florence or that of most constant Constance. Councils had appointed deacons, expounded creeds, refuted heretics, bound heretics (he might have added, and their authors) in bundles for the flames, reformed manners, quelled the Mussulman, reduced the civil power to

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due submission to ecclesiastical authority, anathematised monarchs, and even shed a greater lustre on the Papal tiara. Nay, such was their glory, that the creation of man and the confusion of tongues are described on the threshold of revelation as determined on in a Council of the undivided Trinity. After this prelude the Bishop pourtrayed the condition of priest and people in the darkest colours. The fine gold had become dim. The young children ask bread, and there is none to give it them. Within the pale of Christendom is corruption; without is terror through the Turks, and *the fault is all their own.* Let them not take offence at his plain speaking. Anon he returns to the hopes which the Council inspires. It has been summoned by a Pope whose fulsome adulation reaches its climax when Paul III. is termed a quasi-deity. It is presided over by Del Monte, whose eyes and heart are ever directed to the mountain which is Christ; by Politianus, who has long laboured to amend the policy of Christendom, and by Pole, who is rather an angel than an Anglican. The light of the Pope is come into the world, but men love darkness rather than light.

At the second Session, January 7, 1546, Martyranus, Bishop of S. Mark, delivered a tremendous philippic against the manners of the times. It reads like a page from one of the orations against Verres or the indictment against heathenism in the Epistle to the Romans. Cruelty was their delight, rapine their sport, bloodshed their amusement. Nor did he confine himself to generalities, but roundly asserted that the evil lives of the clergy underlay all the mischief. 'O pastors!' he cried; 'O cities set upon a hill, who ought to shine more brightly than the sun, we, by our example, have slain the sheep of the Lord!' Such plain speaking could not have been distasteful to the Presidents, as Martyranus was appointed to preach again on March 13, 1547, but he was then too hoarse to speak. Pallavicini says he also occupied the pulpit at a later date, but we have no copy of his sermon.

A special interest attaches to any sermons by the Dominican, Ambrose Catharin, not only on account of the important part which he filled as a theologian in the deliberations of the Council, but also because he was one of the most popular orators of the day; and we learn from Massarelli's private diary, he was requested by the President to preach every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. In a sermon on February 4, 1546, after speaking of the hopes and fears which the Council causes him, he reminds them of the Saviour's

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warning, 'Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee, that he might sift thee as wheat,' &c.

'I doubt not, O most holy Synod, all this applies to thee; for thou, according to the spiritual understanding of the text, art Peter, since he who bears the keys of Peter is included in you as your head. Beware of the sifter! Remember that he assailed the Apostolic Council, and by his sifting gained one of the twelve.' With a sudden change of the metaphor, he continued:—'The sieve is the most Sacred Body of our Lord, which was torn with scourges and pierced with nails and lance. That body signifies the Church, which has one Head, the Lord Jesus, whose vicar on earth is Paul III. He who is not under the Head is not in the Body; he who despises the vicar, despises also the Lord; he who is separated from Him, falls through the sieve, and now belongs not to Christ, but to Satan. Let each one, then, so arrange himself in the sieve, that he may not, through any effort of Satan, be cast out.'

Such strong affirmation, put so clearly and quaintly, might well be to the mind of the majority of the Council; nor was the taste of the age likely to disapprove the rest of the sermon, which thus allegorised the story of S. Peter's denial. The Church is now assailed by two maids and a man-servant. The first handmaid is the flesh, prone to the good things of this world; the second is ambition and pride, the nurse and mother of all heretics; and his hearers must take heed lest this maiden should mislead any of them to deny or withstand the Council. The man of fierce aspect may easily be recognised to mean the secular power.

The General of the Servites preached on April 8, 1546, a sermon, of which the first two-thirds might have been delivered in any orthodox Protestant pulpit, and which breathed the spirit of Augustinian theology; and it is not until he touches on the trials of the Church, and the contempt manifested of its authority, that his conservative spirit breaks out. Yet even then he gives wise and temperate advice, which, had it been followed, would have spared much discredit to the Council, and possibly much disunion to Christendom.

'Great as is doubtless the authority of the Council, let his hearers beware of those who would advise them to go too far; let them observe the true principle *ne quid nimis;* let them be on their guard lest they should vest with undue authority familiar forms of teaching, so that if they hear anything diverse in instruction but in no respect contrary to faith and good morals, they should madly exclaim, Heresy! Lutheran or Zwinglian dogma, drive it out; to the flames with it! Let them preserve the fitting dignity of a Council, and be content to define the fundamentals only of religion, faith, and morals,

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and leave minor questions to each one's liberty and free choice. That was the very worst kind of reform which desired amendment in others, neglected in itself. The bishops and clergy inveighed against others and omitted their own duties; the princes ruled oppressively and arbitrarily, and would not suffer their powers to be even touched; the people raged against the faults of their superiors and forgot their own; all were sharp-sighted as lynxes to others' failings, blind as worms to their own faults. Let the Fathers at so serious a crisis begin the reformation in their own persons, lest it should justly be said to them, "Physician, heal thyself."'

The reformation of clerical abuses was indeed sorely needed, but it was not so easy to determine how to effect it, or where to begin. Pluralities were so flagrant, and their inevitable consequences, the absence of even the bishops from their dioceses, was so universal, that the Cardinal-President Del Monte asserted that the progress of the Reformation was due to this one cause. Had the bishops been at their posts, heresy would not have found its way among their flocks. Yet how was a remedy to be applied, and what form was the decree to take by which it should be enjoined upon the Church? Nowhere were the scandals of patronage and nepotism so notorious as at the Court of Rome. Only ten years before this (in 1534) the reigning Pontiff, Clement VII., had given to his cousin, Cardinal Hypolite de' Medici, all the benefices which should fall vacant during six months throughout the whole Christian world. Moreover, the Papacy had already so completely swallowed up the episcopate, that a long and angry discussion arose whether residence was a duty enjoined by Divine or only by Papal authority. In either case the residence of the bishops could effect little so long as their authority was constantly overridden by Papal dispensations allowing monks to preach strange doctrines without leaving the bishops any power to silence them. Nor could many of the prelates live upon the scanty income of bishoprics which were often so reduced by pensions as to be almost worthless. Amidst the distractions and difficulties of such a position of affairs, we can imagine the Fathers listening with some impatience to a long and windy discourse on Ascension Day, which was concluded in terms which, if neither practicable nor palatable, are at least pithy enough in the original, which informs the Council it would effect a real triumph if it observed three things: 'Primum, si in vestros, ne dicam vos ipsos, non fueritis indulgentiores, sed cum æquitate severi. Secundum, si ea quæ decreveritis, servaveritis primi. Tertium, si maturaveritis.'

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Yet all the sermons preached before the Council during the pontificate of Paul III., and, indeed, during the whole long term of its existence, must yield in outspoken boldness of utterance to that delivered on February 27, 1547, by George de St. James. His subject was the 'Temptation,' and he very ingeniously turned it against the prevailing abuses of non-residence and dispensations.

'Those who serve the altar are specially set upon the pinnacle of the temple. Them the Lord of discipline and safety warns, lest, misled by the devil, induced by texts wrongly cited or misunderstood, or by *dispensations which profess to supply reasons and a sufficiency which they do not possess*, they should cast themselves down and be sorely crushed. Following the opinion of those who, from not distinguishing human from divine right, human from divine precepts, regard dispensors as sovereign, they esteem it certain that personal obligations can be performed by deputy, as if one could enter into and enjoy heaven by proxy; and making no distinction between a Christion and a cruel dispensation, they imagine whatever is allowed by the law of the Forum is permitted also by the law of heaven.'

Presently he treats of the remedies which all men are eagerly expecting, remedies which are all the more necessary since the devil has broken into the fold, and has taken good care that bishoprics, dignities, and fat benefices should be conferred, not on men of worth, learning, and probity, nor even on men of mature age, experience, and zeal, but on the unworthy and unlearned, nay, even on sciolists and boys. Priest and Levite alike had come down and looked upon the people of God, which lay despoiled, wounded, and half dead, and had passed by; and the people, sorely smitten, and seeing the avarice of the priest and the negligence of the Levite, had fallen into frensy and fury, and had begun, like men possessed, to trample all the mysteries of religion, to blaspheme, contradict, and profane Christ's divine sacraments, the apostolic traditions, the ceremonies of the Church, the decrees of sacred councils, the authority of pontiffs and bishops, the precepts of the Fathers, works of penitence, the monastic life, and, in fine, all good works, save a certain rash and feigned faith, the dream of one wretched Martin Luther, who, like another Jeroboam, had made God's Israel to sin. But the Saviour, the true Samaritan, who can save equally by many or by few, will bring healing and salvation through the Council, if it will only observe His precepts. But for this they must be 'the salt of the earth' before they can be 'the light of the world.' Reformation of character must come before definition of dogma. He enlarges on this point at

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length, and with all plainness of speech. It is beyond all dispute that the errors of this unhappy time have arisen through abuses, have increased through abuses, and are spread through almost all the Church through abuses; and unless the abuses are removed, what you may by your decrees condemn as heresies will hardly be put an end to, and most likely far more numerous and worse errors will arise.

We are obliged to pass some of the fanciful theories of Church hierarchy in which several preachers indulged, notably the derivation by more than one divine of the cardinalate as being conferred by our Blessed Lord on the two sons of Zebedee. We shall have occasion presently to remark how 'the privilege of Peter' was treated at this period by its staunchest supporters; and shall see that then, as now, it was invariably set forth with the calm assumption of the position which needed to be proved. Yet in the earlier years of the Council, as represented by these sermons, we trace a strong element of moderate doctrine, and a larger proportion (if the anachronism may be pardoned) of Jansenist to Jesuit theology. Despite the occasional fierceness of the preachers towards the Protestants, and which, we must remember, finds some palliation in the excesses of the Anabaptists, with whom, in the minds of many Catholics, all the seceders from Rome were probably identified, a high tone pervades most of the sermons preached before the removal of the Council to Bologna. The last discourse before that event which Le Plat has preserved was by Antonio Marinario, a Carmelite friar, on March 20, 1547, and asserts in careful and well-balanced statement the necessity of faith which should bring home to the heart the assurance of God's mercy, and of good works, to prove that faith is real and living.

It is not within our present purpose to enter upon the circumstances under which the Council was transferred to Bologna. The Pope and the Emperor were now at open variance, and the German prelates did not dare to leave Trent. Yet Rome, as usual, put on a bold front, and at the first Session at Bologna (April 21, 1547), although only thirty-four bishops were present, they assumed the full powers of the Council, and declared their removal 'instant, urgent, and legitimate.' On the same day Ambrose Catharin thus struck the keynote from the pulpit, after a rapid summary of the work of the Council, which he admitted had at first progressed very slowly; he declared there was no longer any reason why the Fathers should tarry at Trent for the sake of the Germans, since all—

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'*which had reference to them had been fully discussed* and concluded. If they allow this, the Council has already attained the result which it desired; but, if not,' he added loftily—'if any are so disposed as to contravene it, moved by either a contentious or a censorious spirit, let all such know that the Holy Synod cannot consistently with its own dignity admit anything so insolent, unheard of, and altogether preposterous; nay, it is altogether beyond its power, for it would not be lawful for it to change a single syllable of any sentence which has been determined, since, if there be any such a thing as faith in the world, it must indubitably be believed that not men, but that God's Holy Spirit promulgated its decrees.'

Such exaggerated pretensions, which admit of no qualification without peril to her whole position, have ever been the forte and the foible of Rome. They were doubtless agreeable to the audience to whom they were addressed, and seemed well suited to the occasion, especially as they were coupled with earnest exhortations to personal piety, and to a life worthy of the high ecclesiastical status of his hearers. The whole work of reformation, he added, 'centres in the choice of good pastors.' Mature age, sound doctrine, uprightness of conduct, the savour of godliness, and public testimony and evidence of all these, complete a holy choice. Let each one of you, then, try and prove himself before God, and see whether he can recognise so much in himself that he can say with Peter with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, 'Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee more than my possessions, more than my family, more than my life and soul.'

There is a blank of four years after this sermon in Le Plat, and we find at first a marked deterioration in the quality of the discourses pronounced in the earlier sessions of the Council under Julius III. At a full assembly of bishops gathered at the house of Cardinal Crescentius, one of the new Presidents, a brief address by Paul Passota was chiefly occupied with discussion of the spiritual meaning of the number two. This is traced through the two sexes, the necessary twofold character of every relation, the two great lights in the heavens, two tables of the law, two elements of mind and body, man's two eyes, ears, arms, and thighs (!), the two testaments, Peter's two swords, two disciples on their way to Emmaus, our Lord crucified between two thieves, two keys committed to Peter, two men in white at the sepulchre, two natures—human and divine. It were hard to conceive a more incongruous medley. The next preacher, the Archbishop of Sassari, was hardly superior, either in style or

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perspicacity. His sermon was in praise of the Eucharist, and his mind was evidently confused with the twofold meaning of our Lord's mystic body, as the food of His people and as the Church. Of that body, he asserts the Pope is the visible head, and the Blessed Virgin the neck! (a visible head, forsooth, joined to the body by an invisible neck.) The right eye was the twelve apostles, the left the seventy disciples. But soon the two eyes are the upper and lower orders of prelates; the tongue, the preachers; the ears, the people; and the heart, the priesthood. Nor was the thought more felicitous which prompted him to invite Germany to return to the communion of the Church of Rome, as to a banquet ready prepared, 'where we will satisfy your hunger with the food of the sacred body, and quench your thirst with the chalice of the Saviour's blood,' at the very moment when the Council was deciding not to allow the cup to the laity.

On New Year's day, 1552, Everhard Billicus, a Carmelite and theologian, from Cologne, preached at great length on the Circumcision. His sermon combines in curious juxtaposition striking and appropriate remarks upon the reasons why our Lord was born into so humble a condition, with strange and fantastic accommodation of texts of Scripture to the ruined condition of mankind. With a minuteness of detail about delicate points which is as foreign to modern as it was congenial to monastic taste, he unfolds the true meaning of circumcision, and proves from Leviticus and Deuteronomy that under the law it had a spiritual signification. The tone and style of the preacher greatly improve as he unfolds the deep prophetic import of Genesis xvii. 13—'My covenant shall be in your flesh, for an everlasting covenant,' which meets its fulfilment in Christ, the true flesh of Abraham; so that we, who are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones, were all circumcised in Him. It were long to tell with what legitimate ingenuity he drew a practical lesson from every item of the first establishment of this covenant; how it began with Abraham, who corresponded in rank with the hierarchy, then descended to his sons on a line with the clergy, then to his family, the Christian laity; how Abraham circumcised himself, to signify that the hierarchy must reform itself, no meaner hand must prune away its faults; how he did it on that same day, to show that recognition of the need for reformation must be followed by immediate performance. How the nature of the amputation, *circum, circum*, implied no sparing or superficial treatment; but one which embraced the entire circle of evil;

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how the instrument could only be found in God's word, as described in Hebrews iv. 12; and how the application of this trenchant remedy was the very purpose of the Synod's assembling. At great length he combats the notion that it will be enough for the Council to determine sound doctrine, without entering upon reformation of manners, and he traced to this cause the extinction of the Gospel in Africa and Asia.

One other of the sermons delivered during the second period of the Council's protracted existence is too characteristic to be passed over. It illustrates the Roman habit of exaggerating the importance of, and maintaining on untenable grounds, observances which are of great value in their proper place and when supported by valid reasons; whilst the strange misapplication of Scripture with which it closes is in full accord with many modern arguments in behalf of the Pope's authority. The day was Ash Wednesday, the preacher Adeodatus of Siena. After enlarging in his exordium upon the misery of man, whom 600 and more kinds of diseases assail, and no fewer mischances assault, and on whom, in consequence of his sin, penitence is incumbent, he proceeds to say that our Lord, in his rebuke to Chorazin and Bethsaida by adding, 'If the mighty works which have been done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes,' seems clearly enough (*diserte satis*) to have approved this ceremony of ashes! 'But I pray the dust before the wind, and the trodden-down clay of the streets—I mean the heretical innovators, who deride, bark at, and rise up against this pious sprinkling of the ashes, to hearken. For, if the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the ashes of the sacred palm branches, consecrated by the evangelical priesthood, through the word of God and prayer, and reverently received by the faithful, as the Church piously believes, and also so solemnly prays, sanctify, or at least avail for sanctification,' with more of like import. He urges the Council to complete its work in accordance with the earnest desire of the Pope Julius III., who is described as, 'episcoporum princeps, apostolorum heres, potestate Petrus, unctione vero Christus.' What manner of man he really was many of the audience knew well enough, for, as Cardinal del Monte, he had presided over the Council until the death of Paul III., and as pontiff he was chiefly distinguished for his love of ease, and his indulgence in remarks 'which sometimes mingled blushes with the smiles of his guest.' 'Let the heretics,' continued the preacher, 'acknowledge their true pastor,

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the Pope, to whom the keys have been given, and to whom the sheep have been entrusted. You indeed, also, O Fathers, are by divine right, door-keepers of heaven, and pastors of the flock; but he, in a degree much higher and more perfect, much more excellent and glorious, as *he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name* than his partners and consorts: He it is to whom whatsoever is not united, and on whom whatsoever does not depend, is undone (so teaches the Gospel), and does not belong to the unity of the building of the Church, beyond whose pale whosoever is found will perish in the deluge that shall come upon the world. Let all then be imbued with his doctrine, obey his commands, acquiesce in his precepts, for whose faith Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd, the Prince of Pastors, and the Bishop of our souls, prayed in a special manner, and *was heard on account of his fear.*'[1]

It was hardly to be expected that the Protestants would follow this counsel, as the Fathers themselves were very restive, and gave the Pope so much trouble that he gladly took advantage of the first pretext which offered itself to suspend the Council, and nine years elapsed before it reassembled. In the interval, no less than three Popes had passed away, and the state of Europe had been materially altered. The questions now brought before the Council had exclusive reference to the internal policy of the Church of Rome, as all hope of recovering the Protestants through its agency was abandoned. To determine the relations of the Pope with the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, and to establish such a system of discipline as should effectually maintain his supremacy over the whole Roman priesthood throughout the world, were the points to which its deliberations henceforth were confined. Nor did Pius IV. veil his pretensions to limit the Council to such subjects as it was agreeable to him should be discussed. No sooner were the prelates again gathered at Trent, than the presiding legate declared that by the terms of their commission they had the exclusive right to determine what matters should be submitted for deliberation. It was in vain that a minority of the bishops protested. A considerable number of the Fathers were entirely under the control of Pius IV., who complained openly of the expense he had to bear in maintaining them during their residence at Trent. But the prospect at first was so unfavourable to the hopes and aims of the Papacy, that the Pope and Cardinals were disturbed by the gloomiest appre-

[1] Heb. v. 7.

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hensions. The sermons of this period abound in allusions to contentions within the bosom of the Council. The Spanish, German, and French bishops were on one side, the Italians on the other; and fears were entertained of an open rupture. So early as March 1, 1562, the preacher, a Venetian Augustine friar, thus addressed the President:—

'It is your duty in this holy Council, most illustrious and most reverend legates of the Apostolic See, most especially in virtue of your office, to restrain all the Fathers of this sacred Synod in the bond of peace, and to allow nothing to be said or done which can diminish the Council's dignity or reputation, or to induce the hearts of those who are outside our pale to cleave more tenaciously to their errors.'

The dangers thus alluded to were clearly not averted for a long season, and more than one preacher reverts to them in terms of entreaty and almost of despair.

With no sparing hand did the preachers, and very specially the Spaniards, continue to lash the faults of the clergy. On the sixth Sunday in Lent, Juan Fonseca, theologian to the Archbishop of Granada, touched upon the sacredness of the priestly office, and the scandal caused by clerical disregard of its responsibilities. He quoted Psalm xli. 9 and Psalm lv. 12–14, in proof of his position, and added:—'For this reason, all the ministers of the Church, who formerly were venerated by all as fathers and gods, are now esteemed by many as the offscouring of the age, and are held in derision, "exigentibus nostris demeritis, exigentibus nostris peccatis."' His immediate successor, a Spaniard again, Peyra d'Andrada, declared on Easter Sunday: 'The enemies of the Christian name fight us with our own weapons, and derive their arguments from our vices, by the aid of which they draw a cloud over the purity of the Catholic Church, and endeavour to destroy its integrity.' The Protestants (he declared) draw most of the reasons they allege against us from a comparison of the lives of our priests with that of the Christians of the first ages, and they come very naturally to the conclusion that orthodoxy in doctrine is hardly likely to have been maintained where there is such glaring imperfection in morals. Subsequent preachers return again and again to the same theme. It was customary for a bishop to preach on the day on which a formal session was held, at which the decrees elaborated and prepared in the Congregations were solemnly promulgated, and at the twentieth session, held June 4, 1562, Ragazzo, Bishop of Nazianzum, was appointed to this office. His brief address is full of anxiety lest the Council should

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break up without accomplishing its task. Above all else, the reformation of the clergy was urgent and indispensable. They should aim at conforming their character to the standard enjoined by the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, so that they might be an example to all the faithful in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity. This was what all the Christian world expected from them, and the ambassadors of the sovereign powers were there to enforce its necessity. Yet, he added, despondingly enough, 'hitherto we have done next to nothing.'

Plain-spoken as were these utterances, there were others who dared to enter into more minute details. On the third Sunday after Trinity, Peter Morcatus employed language of unparalleled boldness :—

'I frequently hear many of you complaining that kings and princes seize unlawfully the property of the Church. I affirm that the fault is with yourselves. So long as you care more for the benefice than you do for its duties, so long as you are given to avarice, and do not minister God's word and sacraments without reward, according to our Lord's command, "freely ye have received, freely give," so long will those in power despise both you and your canons.'

Having further enlarged upon the avarice of the clergy, he next proceeds to attack the matter of their sermons. It is not without great injury to the whole Church that, instead of God's word, the interpreters of His law inculcate upon the people their own fancies and falsehoods, intermingling with them at times fictitious miracles: men like these they ought to expel, not merely from a single State, but from the entire universe. Such men were the dead flies in the ointment, which corrupted the sweetness of the word of God. Let the Fathers take heed, and that speedily, that no more scandals should arise from the existence of this abuse.

From this subject he turns back again to the personal character of the priesthood :—

'The Bishop of Coimbra had said that all abuses could be got rid of if only the two words, *non obstantibus*, with which Papal dispensations commenced, could be banished from the Church of God. But we must have in the Church of God a Pontiff who can be touched with the feelings of our infirmities : we must have a pastor who will feed us, and allure us, by the offer and the grant of indulgences, to prayer and fasting, to almsgiving and sacramental confession, by which we may be reconciled to God and man. But, in truth, the holy bishop did not wish these things to be done away with, but he spoke in condemnation of the lavish use of dispensations, whilst the Pope was meanwhile ill-advised or misinformed. I think it

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would be more advantageous to the Church if two words, not of human but of divine authority, were most carefully treasured up and observed, Freely give.'

He proceeds to say, that the greater number of the bishops (*plerique episcoporum*) made large incomes out of the highest censures of the Church, which were iniquitously employed on the most trifling grounds. The Apostle smote the incestuous person at Corinth, and some who were blasphemers and disobedient to God's word, with an anathema, but now the Church is filled with fornicators, blasphemers, and impugners of God's word, who are left in undisturbed repose, and an anathema is only employed against those who are too poor to pay even a small fee for its remission. Church censures, too, are inflicted for the most trifling causes, such as dog-stealing or other petty larceny. With grim humour, he adds, 'hitherto such things were allowable, but now, when we see what scandal to the Church the bishops cause by such abuse of them, it is imperative that you should consider with what wedge you can cleave this rugged knot.'

He goes on to assert that without consulting the bishop, or even his vicar, excommunication is frequently inflicted by their clerks (*à scribis*)—a race proverbially avaricious; who, in disregard of our Lord's command that, by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established, and of S. Paul's injunction first to assemble the church together, inflict excommunication, which is more serious than any other penalty, without any of the precautions which are adopted before a sentence of death, of scourging, or of exile.

Another point needing attention is the rapacity of the friends and relatives of dying prelates, who are so eager to build up a great estate at the expense of the Church, that they begin to pillage before the Apostolic Chamber can come and take what belongs to it; and even dukes, counts, and nobles, who would under no other circumstances be guilty of felony, plunder and carry off a bishop's treasures.

The Most Holy Father, Pius IV., had already set the example by reforming the Penitentiary, at least partially, and so had our Lord himself, by his cleansing of the Temple. Besides all this, there were priests without learning or usefulness, murderers and adulterers, who must be rooted up like the thorns and thistles of Hosea (x. 8) from the altars of the Lord. Nor must they any longer plead for delay, lest the day of vengeance should come upon them.

Towards the close of his sermon, Morcatus touched upon the much debated question of the residence of the bishops

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in their dioceses, and founded his arguments in its favour upon one of the strangest misapprehensions of a text we ever met with. Misled, apparently, by the ambiguity of the Vulgate in Exodus xxv. 22 (*Loquar ad te supra propitiatorium*), he took it to mean, 'I will speak to you as *you* sit upon the mercy-seat,' instead of 'I will speak to you from my seat above the mercy-seat,' and he argued from it as follows:—

'God therefore prescribes a place to Moses, as though He would not speak with him unless he sat between the two cherubim. This mercy-seat, on which Moses sits, represents the Church, outside which is neither salvation nor remission, nor propitiation for sins. The two cherubim are the two Testaments, &c. Therefore let the pastor reside in his church, for that is the place assigned to him by the command of the Lord: otherwise the Lord will not hold communion with him.'

It is no wonder that the discussion of the vexed question of residence excited the keenest anxiety at the Papal court. Not only was the authority of the Pope assailed in a vital point if the episcopate were to be regarded as held by direct tenure from our Lord Himself, instead of being first wholly centred in the Bishop of Rome, and thence delivered by him to those who should hold it as his delegates, but now a further assault was openly made upon his power and influence. If residence were of divine and universal obligation, the existence of a bishop without a diocese was arbitrary, anomalous, unwarrantable. Such a conclusion would at once annihilate the whole body of titular prelates and bishops *in partibus* who both at Trent and in our own day have been amongst the most valuable auxiliaries of the Papacy. In truth it was hard to say where the desire of reformation or innovation would stop. Bohemia and Hungary were demanding that the cup should be restored to the laity, and that the marriage of priests should be conceded, and their demand was supported by the urgent importunity of the Emperor's ambassadors. The presiding legates had to exert all their powers of conciliation to evade these embarrassing claims, and it had been arranged that the concession of the chalice should for the present be passed over in silence, when on the day on which the twenty-first session of the Council was held, Sbardellato, Bishop of Tininia, and orator of the lord prelates and clergy of Hungary, made it the entire subject of his sermon.

After such strong animadversions upon the chief Protestant theologians, of whom he mentioned Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Osiander, Bucer, and Swenckfeld by name, as might give full assurance of his own orthodoxy, he

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stated that so long as the fervour of early Christian love was maintained the cup had been accorded to all the faithful alike. He next explained the circumstances under which the laity had gradually been deprived of it, and then went on to urge, and even to promise its early restoration to those who desired it, in terms whose boldness was but thinly veiled under the guise of earnest importunity :—

'Oh, most illustrious Fathers, look upon your wandering children ; with eagerness and alacrity welcome them on their return, and embrace, cherish, and retain by every possible means those who are leaving you. Be not so much judges as fathers to them. Recall those who have fallen away from you with gentle words, stretch forth your hands, draw to you those who are returning. Expel all bitterness from your minds, lay aside all feeling of offence, cast away all anger. Set before you the Christ of pity, not the God of vengeance. Restore to the Christian world the inheritance which our Saviour so shortly before His death left us as a most ample and blessed legacy, marked out in the tables of his sacred testament. You see with what dissension, with what discord, with what hatred, the subject is debated. Where is your pity, where your charity, where your compassion for your children? Come and help to extinguish so vast and widespread a conflagration, lest the whole world, mainly through your fault, should appear to have been set on fire by this miserable flame. You will not be able fairly to face the matter until in pity for the folly of your children you have yielded to their infirmity, and quenched this incredible thirst of theirs by which they are tormented day and night. This cannot be until you have in no grudging spirit granted them that blood of Christ which they yearn for so eagerly with gaping mouths and thirsty lips.'

The determination of the majority to refuse all concession, did not restrain the preacher from uttering a weighty rebuke of their unconciliatory spirit. 'Christ would not have you so tenacious of your decision, that on account of this blood which He shed for all, there should be such sad and pernicious dissension ; nay, rather for this very cause He willed to shed His blood, and to undergo the most shameful death, namely, that we being mindful of His love towards us, might be united in heart and might live in the closest concord. Do not suppose that those who with such earnestness, with such eagerness, with such ardour, long and pray for the blood of Christ, will not regard it with the utmost reverence, will not remove from it every profanation.' Some pointed remarks upon the urgent need of residence, concluded a sermon which excited no small wrath in the legates, and in many more of the audience.

The address of the next speaker, recorded by Le Plat, is pitched in a very different key. After some appropriate

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observations on the Beatitudes and their striking contrast to ordinary notions of happiness, the priestly character, as the salt of the earth and the light of the world, was very ably worked out. The idea of sacerdotal responsibility being thus introduced gives occasion for a striking example of the cool assurance with which, under similar circumstances, Romish writers intermingle Holy Scripture and legend. 'S. Paul,' he observes, 'was oppressed with "the care of all the Churches;" on the shoulders of S. Peter there rested the immense weight of the whole Christian world, *yet he was inflamed with such love to Christ, that so vast a burden seemed light to him.*' He related the story of a philosopher who recommended his son not to preach, because if he spoke the truth he would have the people for his enemy; if falsehood, God. He reminded his hearers that they must be constant and firm in restraining the spirit of liberty in these dangerous days when evil men made evangelical truth serve as an occasion for sensuality: an oft-repeated accusation against the Protestants because they allowed the marriage of priests and monastic persons.

One form of licence many of the preachers indulged in freely enough. No ingenuity was too subtle, and no fiction too baseless, if only it would serve to prop up the theory of the infallibility and the universal supremacy of S. Peter. Three examples will serve to illustrate the manner in which this fundamental dogma of Rome was handled by some of its ablest advocates.

The first occurs in a sermon preached on S. John's Day, 1561, by Cæsar Ferrantius. His discourse commences with a *deprecatio benevolentiæ*, the usual form of exordium, but surpasses almost all in the extravagance of its adulation:—

'Many things deter me from speaking in this place and before men of such worth and rank. For if Daniel and Manuel, the father of Samson, could not bear the sight of angels, but were afraid, and trembled, and fell on their faces to the earth, it were much more fitting that I should fear to approach this place and your presence. For you are here in session as representing the whole world, and as filling the place of God, and you will judge not only the twelve tribes of Israel, but even almost (*etiam pene*, a strange qualification!) angels themselves.'

Then after deducing 'the privilege of Peter' from the thrice-repeated commission, 'Feed my sheep,' he offers the following comment upon S. Peter's inquiry about S. John and our Blessed Lord's reply to it:—

'He, who before his denial of Christ dared not ask which of the Apostles would betray Him, but delegated that task to S. John,

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now that the care of his brethren has been committed to him, himself questions the Master, whilst S. John is silent; and not only does not substitute another for himself, but even intervenes in John's behalf and repays his services, supposing that John desired, but did not dare, to ask for himself. . . . . The Lord repressed the excessive fervour of Peter. Do not imagine, He says, that I have disposed of you both in the same manner; nor does it pertain to you to know whether I will that he should remain here or elsewhere until I call him to Myself; but it is yours to preside over the whole world.'

It certainly required some ingenuity to extract a renewed assurance of universal authority from a simple rebuke for indiscreet, though natural, curiosity.

Our second illustration is taken from a sermon delivered two years later by Contreras, an Observantine, who filled the office of theologian to the Catholic King, Philip II. He drew a fanciful parallel between a General Council and the Transfiguration,

'at which (*i.e.* the Transfiguration) it was of the highest importance that Peter should be present in order that he might learn there that which he might be able to enjoin with pontifical authority—namely, how in future ages General Councils should be duly and rightly conducted. For there the Lord Christ presided in person, nor did He think it safe to entrust a matter of such vast importance to another. Himself summoned the other members, and by means of the Transfiguration revealed to them the glory of His truth and majesty. The subject of the discussion was not of personal, but of general interest, and the Fathers present (Moses and Elijah are, we presume, intended) treated it in a spirit of grave sincerity and ripe wisdom as they spake of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem.'

The part which Peter filled at this General Council is curiously explained as follows:—

'Since Peter, inasmuch as he was a man, represented the type of the ambitious and the greedy, he seems in that synod to look only to his own advantage, and incurred accordingly blame for some ignorance and ambition. But presently, being thrown on his face to the earth by the majesty of the Divine voice, by his very posture he confessed that he had erred very grievously.'

We conclude our notice of this branch of our subject with one more brief illustration of the airy audacity displayed so often when S. Peter's name is introduced. G. Cardillus Villipandus, of Segovia, selected the primacy of Peter as his subject on the festival of S. Peter and S. Paul, June 29, 1563. His text was 'Thou art Peter,' &c., and he founds upon it the usual arguments alleged by Roman Catholics in behalf of the fundamental article of their creed. All this is but natural, although we might fairly inquire his authority for the state-

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ment that Peter, 'neque modo honore et dignitate ceteros omnes, qui sunt in eadem (*i.e.* ecclesia) longo intervallo exsuperat et antecedit, *sed etiam facultatis regendi et gubernandi proram et puppim tenet.*" But such a flourish of rhetoric is trifling compared with the calm statement which shortly follows it, that in the Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem he stood alone as the author of the decision to dispense with the observance of the Mosaic ritual.

We meet with but a single direct reference to the exercise of its powers by the Inquisition, and that, as might be expected, by a Spaniard, John Baptist Burgos, of Valencia. He treated of the four principal remedies against heresy, and considered the most important of them all to be a vigilant scrutiny into the first appearance of any novel opinions. *Principiis obsta* was his motto:—

'By means of this vigilance (God be praised) the disturbances which certain factious persons had excited at Valladolid and Seville had been suppressed. In fact our sovereign lord, Philip, immediately after his return from Flanders into Spain, had displayed the greatest conceivable alacrity and earnestness against this growing pest of heresy. Whence it happened that those who were accused of any avowed heresy before the most righteous tribunal of the Inquisition were speedily either condemned to death and delivered to the flames, or by suffering the punishment of confiscation of their goods and other penalties met with merited retribution for their wickedness and impiety. Nor was the piety and devotion of so mighty a monarch content without deeming it becoming to his royal dignity to grace with his presence that most dread judgment on the day in which the sentence against the heretics of Valladolid was first executed; and so in the sight of almost all the princes of Spain and of the whole realm, he promised on oath perpetual obedience and fealty to the Holy Roman Church, even at the hazard of life and fortune.'

Yet some compassion might have been extended to the victims of the Inquisition even on the preacher's own showing, at least on the plea that their teachers had in many places shamefully neglected their duty. His third remedy against heresy is the more frequent use of preaching, provided only it be such as aims at the benefit of the audience, and not at the vain-glory of the preacher:—

'There are two things—O fathers, hear me, I pray you, the truth must be spoken—which extremely grieve and trouble me, and to which I counsel you, I pray you, I adjure you by the mercies of Jesus Christ, to apply a remedy. One is the fact that in some districts sermons are so rare that except on a Sunday in Lent—and would that even then they were delivered to any good purpose!—

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there is little or no preaching during the entire year. The other is the mournful truth that the craft of the devil has so gained over some preachers that they neglect to treat of points which are essential to the people's salvation, and apply all their powers to points of no practical utility, and which are more suitable to the schools than to the pulpit.'

The preacher, however, asserted that hitherto Spain had used this shield of preaching wherewith to protect herself against the infliction of any deadly wound by heretics or schismatics.

The general use of the pulpit by the Protestants, and their constant quotation both of Scripture and the Fathers in support of their opinions, excited no little astonishment amongst a few of the preachers at Trent. To most of them, indeed, all dissentients from the Church of Rome were shameless and abandoned criminals. They were a brood of vipers, the spawn of Satan, the locusts from the bottomless pit, the offspring and the fathers of lies, the incarnation of hypocrisy. The mention of Luther's name was commonly followed or preceded by numerous expletives—such as 'that beast of a Luther,' or 'pity that he did not perish in the thunderstorm which once frightened him so greatly, before he uttered the blasphemies for which he is now suffering unending torments.' The palm of vituperation must be awarded to the author of the following string of epithets applied to the monk of Wittenberg, who is said to be 'decucullatum, audacem, morionem, lascivum, procacem, sacrilegum, superbum, stultum, apostatam, denique hæreticum cinerumque hæresiarcharum, qui apud inferos delitescebant, suscitatorem'—a sentence which must have left the orator, as it does the reader, almost breathless.

We meet twice with a somewhat different estimate. One preacher professes to be well acquainted with the writings of the Reformers. The more he reads them the more is he convinced that the truth is with the Church of Rome. But as their authors are really not ill-versed in Patristic literature, nor altogether ignorant, he has come to the charitable conclusion that they do not believe their own doctrines. Unhappily they are committed, and they fear to lose their influence over the lower orders if they retract and confess their mistake. At a much later date in the history of the Council we have a more subtle theory worked out with considerable care. After a dark picture of the troubles of the time, which are said to be intensified by the fact that the heretics imitated very closely the conduct of the orthodox, the preacher sees in this a fulfilment of what had been fore-

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told by that vessel of election, S. Paul;[1] they are false apostles transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. We may accept his testimony to the conduct of the Reformed without admitting his explanation of it.

'They showed' (he says) 'a like spirit to that of the Catholics in their endeavours to sustain their doctrine by references (distorted, of course) to Scripture, in their zeal and energy to propagate their opinions, in the readiness with which they submitted to every kind of torture and persecution; imprisonment, stripes, torture, even death itself they are wont to bear with undaunted spirit, so that you would say that they mastered and surpassed Nature herself; for they voluntarily deliver themselves to the fires, they embrace the cross and the gallows, they testify to their joy by singing in the midst of the flames. Good God! how many myriads are there of heretics who desire to seem ambitious not only of undergoing, but of longing for, various kinds of torments, who, as though suffering for the faith of Christ, hasten to slaughter as to some exquisite banquet!'

In dwelling on his second mark of a true Church, viz. antiquity, he quotes Jerome's words to Origen—words which have a singular force in our own day, which has seen the definition of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of the Infallibility of the Pope. 'Tu quisquis es, novorum dogmatum assertor, quæso te, ut parcas Romanis auribus, parcas fidei quæ apostoli voce laudata est. Cur post quadringentos annos docere nos niteris, quod antea nescimus? Cur proferas in medium quod Petrus et Paulus edere noluerunt?'

There are some curious specimens of pulpit oratory amongst the later sermons in this collection. On Good Friday, 1563, the last year of the Council, Antoine Demochars, Doctor of the Sorbonne, began with the solemn words, 'I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified,' and straightway recounted a list of events which had occurred on a Friday—such as the creation of Eve, the fall of Adam, the Annunciation, and the Incarnation. He sees a symbol of the cross in the mode in which Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph, and evolves thirty maledictions from as many verses of the 109th Psalm to correspond with the thirty pieces of silver, the price of our Lord's betrayal. In so uncritical an age it was a pardonable fault that he quotes the spurious sibylline verses as being genuine prophecies which foretold the gall, and the vinegar, and the crown of thorns.

The preacher of the sermon which comes next, and which

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 13.

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was delivered on Whit Sunday, is not much happier in handling topics which might serve for edification and in avoiding scholastic subtleties. This orator saw foreshadowings of the doctrine of the Trinity in the primordial and poetic Chaos, Oceanus, Jovialis rigor; in the Pythagorean Monas, Dyas, Trias, &c., and so on through the elemental theories of the Stoic, Academic, and Peripatetic schools of thought. We resist the temptation to quote other eccentric passages, but his explanation of the mystic meaning of the word Pentecost is irresistible: 'In quinquagesimo die completio perfectissimi numeri quadrati, hoc est, septinarii in seipsum ducti designatur. Septies enim septem efficiunt quadraginta novem. Cujus tamen completio ad sequentem pertinet quinquagesimum, *addita monade, quæ presentis sæculi meta et futuri initium, perpetuitatem sub octavæ diei Dominicæ ratione continens, sic præsentia terminat, ut nos ad eterna intromittat.*'

The haste with which the proceedings of the Council were brought to a final conclusion prevented anything like a formal summary of its work in a closing sermon. There are evidences of this haste in remarks upon how little has been effected which occur in discourses delivered during the year 1563, and in the anxiety as to the final issue which fills the minds of the preachers to the last. It is beside our purpose to enter upon the motives which induced Pope Pius IV. and the bishops assembled at Trent equally to desire that the curtain should fall upon a drama which had been before the eyes of Europe for so long a period. We must content ourselves with a brief summary of our task and of the results which we have gathered from it.

The impression produced by a study of this bulky volume admits of being tersely stated. It is only reasonable to suppose that the ablest popular defenders of the Papacy were appointed to preach at Trent, and that the best of their sermons, as the most worthy of preservation, have been handed down in the scattered quarters from whence the diligence of Le Plat gathered them together. In our own presentation of them in the present article we have necessarily omitted much eloquent exhortation and much powerful statement of true doctrine; but except strong though unsupported assertion, these sermons contribute little to the cause they were designed to uphold. The prevailing topics constantly enlarged upon are—1, The Supremacy of Peter; and 2, The immorality and impiety of all dissent from the authority which professed to be derived from him. But perpetual insistance

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upon this dogma does not cause them to conceal the fact that almost incredible corruption prevailed within the bosom of that Church which claimed exclusive possession of the truth. So much is avowed in all candour from one end of this volume to the other.

It is therefore all the more astounding to mark, after the perusal of these sermons, how widely the result differed from the hopes and fears of the preachers. Upon the question of dogmatic teaching as determined at the Council of Trent, which was fated to build an impassable wall of separation between large masses of Christians, no fears seem to have crossed their minds. Despite the controversies which raged at times in the Congregations, and which the pages of Fra Paolo and others reveal to us, the Council presented an almost unruffled front to the outer world; and its apparent unanimity was held to be such irresistible proof of its divine inspiration that little apprehension was felt lest its decrees should fail to receive universal acceptance. The fear was, however, both widespread and justifiable that all its success in the elaboration of doctrine would be neutralised by its failure adequately to cope with existing abuses, inasmuch as the conflicting interests at stake prevented a precise and clear declaration by the voice of the Synod of the laws which should regulate many practical questions. But the result in this case, as in so many others, was contrary alike to probability and expectation. Its definition of dogma, so far from meeting general acceptance, only served to widen the separation between Romanist and Protestant; but a reformation of abuses did set in, and the days of the Borgias and Medicis were gone never to return. Of course, the abolition of many scandals was a gradual work, and some countries, and France pre-eminently, for a long season afterwards, presented startling instances of pluralities and other abuses. But, taken as a whole, the Church of Rome, from the days of the Council of Trent, no longer displayed the shameless corruption which had aroused the wrath and kindled the contempt of the age which preceded it. Apart from instances of individual misconduct, the Christian Churches of Europe, diverse in doctrine, were henceforth one in discipline; and the See of S. Peter may date from the damaging flood of light cast upon many of its usurpations, and from their unsparing condemnation by the voice of all Christian Europe, its renewed lease of an immense influence over the convictions and the destinies of millions of mankind.

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ART. VII.—THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

1. *Tracts for the Times, Advertisement, &c.* (Rivingtons, 1840.) Vol. I., for 1833–1834.
2. *A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the 'Tracts for the Times,' &c.* By Rev. WILLIAM PALMER. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843.)
3. *Republication of Tract 90, with Introduction.* By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.
4. *The Church in Baldwin's Gardens; or, History of the first Thirteen Years of the Church of S. Albans.* (T. T. Hayes.)
5. *Twenty-one Years in S. George's Mission.* Rev. C. F. LOWDER. (Rivingtons, 1877.)
6. *Constitution of the Guild of S. Alban the Martyr.* (1873.)

IT cannot be denied that at the present moment we are living in the midst of great excitement on matters pertaining to religion, and because of this excitement, and the hard words with which it is accompanied, those who are now for the first time involved in the great Church revival are apt to look with no small apprehension at the commotion in which they find themselves. There is the old fear of increasing divisions as they see one party threatening secession if it cannot succeed in driving out the other; there is the old cry of conspiracy to Romanise the Church; and there is the old bugbear of State aggression—which those who have witnessed the spiritual revival of the last fifty years, in the face of difficulties compared to which our present circumstances are easy indeed, should ere this have learnt to look upon with comparative calm.

We do not indeed desire to minimise, much less to ignore, any one of these several fears. Each and all of them has a real existence. But what we notice is that side by side with these old causes of fear for the Church of England, her spiritual life runs on in an ever-increasing stream. From the first work of building up as a sure foundation the old primitive faith to which our Reformers appealed, and upon which our Prayer-Book is based, we are now in the midst of the

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second portion of the great Tractarian movement, and, if first steps are the greatest steps in any undertaking, then we must be admitted to have gone far towards enlarging our borders and winning back to the Church those great portions of our people who, from past neglect or from direct persecution, have so long lived outside our pale, either among the ranks of our Nonconformists or among the great masses of our people who have in times past been included under the name of 'the alienated classes.'

It is well, at such a time, to look back upon the past and see what was the real position of things at the beginning of the Tractarian movement—what were the real principles at the root of it; how far these principles have progressed, to what they are really tending—and to gather from such a review some words of caution and many of encouragement.

It is curious to see with what fear the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, the Act of Catholic Emancipation, and the Reform Act were viewed as successive blows, each greater than the other, against the Established Church. It is not so much to be wondered at, for the intense and avowed animosity to the Church of the successful supporters of those measures, their exceeding exultation at their success, and the hopes (never to be realised) which they expressed of further mischief, were enough to have excited even greater fears among the beaten party. Mr. Palmer writes:—

'It was then that we felt ourselves assailed by enemies from without and from within, our prelates insulted and threatened by Ministers of State, clamours loud and long for the overthrow of the Church, Dissenters and Romanists triumphing in the prospect of its subversion, and assailing it with every epithet calculated to stimulate popular hatred.

'Nor was this the worst. The prevailing spirit of innovation had begun deeply to infect the Church itself.

'Pamphlets were in wide circulation recommending the abolition of the Creeds (at least in public worship), and especially urging the expulsion of the Athanasian Creed, the removal of all mention of the Blessed Trinity, of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, of the practice of absolution. In fact, there was not a single stone of the sacred edifice of the Church which was not examined, shaken, undermined, by a meddling curiosity.

'Such was our condition in the early summer of 1833. We knew not in what quarter to look for support.

'And what was worst of all, no principle in the public mind to which we could appeal—an utter ignorance of all rational grounds of attachment to the Church; an oblivion of its spiritual character as an institution not of man, but of God; the grossest Erastianism most

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widely prevalent, especially among all classes of politicians. There was enough in all this to appall the stoutest hearts, and those who can recall the feelings of those days will at once remember the deep depression into which the Church had fallen, and the gloomy forebodings which were universally prevalent.'

It is true we have not won all that we require; but no one can look upon this picture, and then turn his eyes to the very blackest view that can be taken of our present position, without thanking God and taking courage. The mode in which this state of things was proposed to be met by an association of Churchmen of all schools is clearly set forth in an address to Archbishop Howley; and as this declaration was practically the turning point of the popular movement against the Church Establishment, and as its sentiments lie at the root of the Church movement even at the present day, it may be well to give the address in full:—

'*To the Most Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England.*

'We, the undersigned clergy of England and Wales, are desirous of approaching your Grace with the expression of our veneration for the sacred office to which, by Divine Providence, you have been called, of our respect and affection for your personal character and virtues, and of our gratitude for the firmness and discretion which you have evinced in a season of peculiar difficulty and danger. At a time when events are daily passing before us which mark the growth of latitudinarian sentiments and the ignorance which prevails concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, we are especially anxious to lay before your Grace the assurance of our devoted adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church over which you preside, and of which we are ministers, and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable liturgy in which she has embodied in the language of ancient piety the orthodox and primitive faith. And while we most earnestly deprecate that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters, we are not the less solicitous to declare our firm conviction that, should anything, from the lapse of years or altered circumstances, require renewal or correction, your Grace and our other spiritual rulers may rely upon the cheerful co-operation and dutiful support of the clergy in carrying into effect any measures that may tend to revive the discipline of ancient times, to strengthen the connexion between bishops, clergy, and people, and to promote the purity, the efficiency, and the unity of the Church.'

This petition was signed by 7,000 of the clergy, and a similar address 'for the preservation of this our national Church in the integrity of her rights and privileges, and in her alliance with the State,' obtained 230,000 signatures from

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laymen—heads of families alone signing—and was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury in May 1834.

In the autumn of 1833 it was determined to bring out the *Tracts for the Times.* Again to quote from Mr. Palmer :—

'We thought it necessary to teach people that the duty of adhering to the Church of England rested on a basis somewhat higher than mere Acts of Parliament, or the patronage of the State, or individual fancy. We were anxious to impress on them that the Church was more than a merely human institution—that it had privileges, sacraments, a ministry ordained by Christ ; that it was a matter of the highest obligation to remain united to the Church.'

It must never be forgotten that this Tractarian movement itself was but a fresh development of that stream of spiritual life which was the strength of the great Evangelical movement at the latter end of the last century. But for this continuous witness to the need of a Saviour and the necessity of a true conversion, it is hard to understand how English religion should have escaped utter destruction under the crushing Erastianism of the Georgian era. Without such a fertilising stream to enrich the parched and withered pastures of our Sion, the beautiful music of the *Christian Year*, with all its simple yet mighty teaching, would have awakened no sympathetic chords, and the work of the early Tractarians in their endeavours to revive the full teaching of the Prayer-Book, with its appeal to primitive antiquity, would scarcely have had anything to appeal to. In like manner, it would have been impossible to bring the Gospel successfully and permanently home to the neglected masses of our people until the Church in all her members had become imbued with that primitive doctrine and practice to which our Reformers had appealed, and which it was the chief object of the Tractarian movement to revive amongst us.

This sure Catholic foundation was essential to prevent the Evangelical movement itself from drifting into a purely sectarian one ; and this alone provided the way for a fresh aggression upon the masses of our people without risk of losing the sure standpoints of the Catholic Faith.

Those who have lived through the first half of the Tractarian movement can remember with what dread we looked upon any the slightest transgression of Church order—opposing preaching in unconsecrated buildings or in the open air, opposing all unauthorised hymns or shortened services, from an instinctive feeling, arising from the revelations of the past, that it would be dangerous to permit them until the

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Church was fully imbued with the meaning of all Prayer-Book teaching, and had learnt to base all her work on the sure foundation of Catholic truth.

But, now that that teaching has been brought home to all, and that the One Offering has become the centre of all our ministrations, we are in a position to unite with our brethren of the Evangelical school in the work of special missions, in out-of-door preaching, and in the permission of duly organised lay ministrations without fear.

It will be well to make clear here that the tendency and first intention of the Tractarian movement was not only to restore primitive practice and teaching amongst us, but to enlarge materially the scope and action of our Church, and to restore primitive unity also. This is clearly seen in Mr. Palmer's narrative, p. 18; for he writes at a very early period :—

'One more result of our efforts, however, must not be passed over in silence. I can sincerely say that, if there was one object more than another which we should have been happy to realise, it was the *union of the Church.* Separated as we were from party feeling and associations, we only looked for the general good.

'How great, then, was our rejoicing to find that, in the course of our exertions, men of different theological schools were brought nearer together, were inspired with feelings of mutual respect and esteem, and were convinced that religion and religious truth were more widely extended than they had been accustomed to think. The wounds of the Church were every day healing with the balm of brotherly love.'

The long-forgotten Advertisement to the *Tracts for the Times*, written on All Saints' Day, 1834, distinctly verifies this position :—

'The Church of Christ was intended to cope with human nature in all its forms; and surely the gifts vouchsafed it are adequate for that gracious purpose. There are zealous sons and servants of her English branch who see with sorrow that she is defrauded of her full usefulness by particular theories and principles of the present age, which interfere with the execution of one portion of her commission; and, while they consider that the revival of this portion of truth is especially adapted to break up existing parties in the Church, and to form instead a bond of union between all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, they believe that nothing but these neglected doctrines faithfully preached will repress that extension of Popery, for which the ever-multiplying divisions of the religious world are too surely preparing the way.'

How nearly this end was attained those in the thick of the movement well know; how tares were sown among the

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wheat, and worldly animosities and jealousies and party spirit were brought in to hinder, and yet, in God's marvellous providence, to extend and further, the work, while deferring its full accomplishment to a later time, we well know also.

We have considered above the outward aspect of affairs as affecting the Established Church, and the remedies applied. It is necessary that we should shortly sketch the state of things then going on in many parishes within the Church which gave at that time too sure a mark for the scoffing satire of our opponents.

To take the actual history of one parish :—floating in the memory of the past comes the old-fashioned country vicar, who, starting from the school-grounds, which he considered his lawful heritage, poached on the neighbouring manors, whilst the Wesleyans visited his neglected flock. He always resided in his kitchen, and rewarded the young man who married the daughter of his housekeeper with the appointment of schoolmaster, for which office he cheerfully combined the knowledge of reading and writing with a love of gambling and of the ale-house. Then came a pluralist and non-resident, who sent curates, lazy and luxurious, pompous and idle, formal and of questionable antecedents, and finally one openly immoral; until a warm-hearted Evangelical, with earnest sermons, cottage lectures, and monthly Communions, took away the reproach, and did his best to build up a true religion in the parish.

But what a place he had to work in—a cold, damp church mouldy and ruinous, with a font under the gallery full of rubbish, a mean table for an altar, with a threadbare altar-cloth, though of red velvet, thus bearing witness to the Old Sarum colours ; box pews lined some with green, or red, or blue baize, according to the taste or liveries of the various squires. A few texts on the whitewashed walls, which could be read by small eyes from the bottom of the pew, helping to check the wandering thoughts which were always started anew by some incident, or look, among the occupants of the family pew. A gallery occupied by irreverent, noisy singers, with their own tunes to Tate and Brady, and a clerk who gave out from over the King's arms the amount of poor-rate to be levied in the parish. No frequent Communions, no baptisms in church, no saint's-day or daily services ; and yet we had and we valued our Prayer-Book in those days ; and beside many a solitary hearth, in many a grievously neglected parish, the faith was thus kept alive firm and true, and the way prepared for the full acceptance of that Prayer-Book

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teaching by which this past neglect was to be swept away. As to the Church at large, though there was much earnest work here and there, non-residence, and pluralities, and triennial confirmations had become a by-word and a disgrace.

Again we pause to ask, though we have not yet got all that we require to make our varying services acceptable to all classes of our people, who can look on this picture and the very worst that can be found at the present time without a feeling of devout thankfulness?

To meet this state of things within the Church, the work of the Tractarians was called forth—to make the services a real worship; to rebuild, as the outward type of renewed inward growth, the waste places of our Sion—*Donec templa refeceris*—to supplant Tate and Brady's parody of the psalms by hymns translated from the old service books, sanctified by the use of a catena of saints from Apostolic times, and joined to the songs of saints of a later period.

Surely it is not to be wondered at that in so vast a work some mistakes should have been made and many misunderstandings should have arisen. At first, as we have shown above, all earnest-minded men felt thankful for the movement, and at least gave it their tacit approval; but the Erastian and the idler looked with dread upon it, and eagerly seized on any mistakes to point at Catholic revival as a conspiracy to Romanise the Church. Hence party spirit was revived with all its old bitterness and intolerance. This, as it always does, stimulated zeal on the other side. The heated attack on one side resulting in an indiscriminating advocacy on the other. A desire for greater unity led on to an explaining away of the differences between us and Rome, against which the first leaders of the movement protested in vain. Many who from their early religious training had never realised the Church as a living reality, lost their balance and began the Roman secession, while others, notwithstanding the rapidity with which amendments were made, were unable to stand against the exposures of past neglect and unrealities which the unfolding of the real teaching of the Prayer-Book brought into more prominent contrast.

Against such men as these, whose misgivings were made apparent in the later numbers of the *British Critic*, Mr. Palmer, in his narrative, gives a hearty protest, and reveals a real tendency to Roman teaching at that period, compared with which our present fears in that direction are as nothing. Amidst all this, even after the publication of Tract 90, which was written in order to check the Romanising tendencies,

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Dr. Newman stood firm, until the bishops, whom we had been taught to reverence as the heads of the Church, in each diocese joined the popular cry, and charged so vehemently against Tract 90 as to drive Newman and others out of the Church—at first, at all events, sorely against their will. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all hindrances, the work prospered; services multiplied, churches in large numbers were built and repaired; the Colonial episcopate was laid upon a large and sound basis. The home bishops and clergy as one man rose to the importance of their spiritual duties, while the voluntary offerings of the clergy and laity made our richly endowed Church to take her place among the first of voluntary associations.

The Erastians were astonished at the amount of life exhibited by clergy and people in the Hampden and Gorham cases, and in the resolute demand for the restoration of the convocations of both provinces.

And now the time had come, our foundation having been made secure, for more direct and permanent efforts by home missionary work upon that rapidly rising portion of our people included under the designation of working man and artisan.

After the retrospect of past work, with all its trials and blessings, it is not to be wondered at that when we come to the history of this later portion of the great movement we should find ourselves launched at once into the very midst of the old controversies, the same desires to thrust one another out of the Church by narrowing instead of lengthening her borders, the same cry of conspiracy and of attempts to Romanise the Church. It is true that in working out the full meaning of the Prayer-Book in her services and ritual many have gone far beyond what the original Tractarians ever dreamt of, though they are professedly carrying out the same teaching; and though they stand up *ex animo* as the old Tractarians did for the Prayer-Book as they understand it in its truest literal and historical meaning. Very few of them, indeed, will be found to have any *arrière pensée* for the Church of Rome. It is true that, under the excitement of party rancour and persecution, there are some who openly advocate Disestablishment. And then, somewhere or other, we do not know exactly where or what it is, there is the mysterious Order of Corporate Reunion, which, according to its manifesto, accepts the Council of Trent as a starting-point, and therefore virtually abandons the position of the Anglican Church. But the real danger of Romanising is manifestly less than it was in the days of William Palmer's protest. It

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was possible at that time to imagine a reconciliation even with Rome on a fair basis, and men anxious for reunion were led to overstep the barrier and make the concessions all on one side. Now, since the promulgation of the Vatican Decrees, as has been so clearly pointed out by Dr. Pusey, the prospect of such a reconciliation is postponed for ages. The animosity of the Church of Rome towards the movement has become marked and bitter, and, however much opponents may desire to see our extreme Ritualists quietly transfer themselves to the ranks of the enemy, there is very little prospect indeed of such uncharitable desires being gratified.

Again, a comparison between the past and present condition of things will go far to mitigate the fear of Erastianism which is now so prominent in many minds. Five and forty years ago the State was triumphant with a new and popular representation, full of a desire for reform, and the Church, from its connexion with the Tory party, shared with it the odium of past abuses and of present defeat. Now, the Church has found those things that were supposed to be to her hurt were but a sure advance to renewed life and towards the enlargement of her influences among those who had been alienated from her. If her full and legitimate voice may yet be for a time impeded, her very vigour will render it impossible for the State really to hinder her work or to check her usefulness among the people.

Past experience also enables us to see, through the dust and mist of present controversy, a truer chance of union amongst ourselves than has been realised since the first beginning of the movement. Nevertheless there is no concealing the fact that, for the moment, the successful enlargement of the Church's borders—this opening of the door to the alienated masses, as revealed to us in the simple story of the *Twenty-one Years at S. Peter's Mission*—becomes, in the eyes of many, a byword and a reproach, a renewed cause of contention and strife, instead of being an incentive to that united action in brotherly love against a common enemy which it was designed to call forth and foster.

The account of S. Vincent de Paul's efforts at a revival of the Church in France called forth a similar desire among many of our own clergy, and the first direct attempt among the masses upon these lines had been successfully inaugurated at S. Barnabas, Pimlico, and a fresh movement was begun in the apparently hopeless district round the London docks, in a portion of the parish of S. George's in the East, soon to obtain unenviable notoriety as the scene of the surplice and vest-

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ments riots which were carried on even within the very church itself.

The lawlessness, immorality, and poverty of the district had become proverbial.

Dr. Liddon's sermon at the first anniversary very clearly points out the principle at the root of all their endeavours as 'the bringing to bear upon the masses the individualising spirit of the Church.'

'Although the Church throws herself upon the masses, she deals with each individual soul as if it alone were entitled to all her labour and all her love; never while the Church has comprehended her mission has she affected to win souls by general measures which ignore the individual needs of each. The soul of man is not a mere part of a machine, which moves because you set it in motion. It is a living force, a centre of undying life.'

Again,

'The Good Shepherd calleth His sheep by name. Individualising work is a matter not of taste, but of necessity. A religion which does not attempt this may succeed in adding to the stores of the understanding; it can never win the heart. It may cover the wounds of society, it can never bind and heal.'

And then he says of this mission:—

'It has not attempted the mere civilisation of the many; it has attempted the actual salvation of some.

'The S. George's clergy live in the centre of a dense population; they are always on the spot. They are ready to make the most of every opening, and to guard against each threatening danger. They are surrounding themselves with services, schools, reformatories. They are winning penitents and gathering in communicants. Their object is not only to diffuse an influence, but in the name and in the strength of Christ to save. Around them are those who have been saved, saved from lies, and prayerlessness and lust, and despair, and hell. Such, of course, may fall away and be lost, as may any Christian on this side the grave. But as it is, God "has called them to this state of salvation" by the entreaties, and toils, and sacraments of the S. George's mission clergy. He will call others.'

The following is an outline of the way in which the work has been carried on—

1. The mission priests live together, thus bringing the influence of religious association to bear on the sin and misery of this closely packed population.

2. An organised sisterhood takes charge of the girls and Sunday schools, superintends the penitentiary, visits the sick in their own homes, and follows them, if need be, into the poor-house or the hospital.

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3. There is a systematic teaching of the children by weekly catechising, attendance at the celebrations of the Holy Sacrament, with so earnest and careful a preparation of catechumens for confirmation that the majority so presented have generally continued constant and steadfast communicants.

4. Free use is made of confession and absolution, as a sure means of confirming the penitent and building him up in a more perfect knowledge of the love and power of the Atonement.

5. Guilds and confraternities are formed for the purpose of binding the communicants together, giving them simple work to do for Christ, and maintaining a voluntary discipline among them.

6. And, finally, the Church is free and open at all times, with a high ritual, which appears to be thoroughly appreciated by the mass of the people.

Thus armed, like a thoroughly well-manned and well-organised ambulance corps, they are ready at any time to bring their individualising influence to bear upon each member of the district, as bereavement or disease, or any sudden shock, comes, as God's call to each individual or family.

Thus the sudden death of some men in a sewer is made the opportunity for preaching out of doors to the survivors, and to the crowds assembled round the scene of the accident. The funeral of a loved curate or sister is similarly utilised. Visitations, such as in seasons of great distress from strikes or want of work, or of cholera (which, when it came with all the suddenness of an unexpected battle, called forth all their energies, but never called in vain), were blessed as occasions for increasing the influence of religion upon individuals under their various trials, and thus bringing home many souls unto God. So effectually has assistance been rendered that all have appreciated the power of the work and the self-denying power of the workers.

The effect on the rest of the district of the example of the communicants thus won to Christ is forcibly described in the following extract:—

'A faithful communicant is not only living for God's glory himself, but is influencing others also far more than he is aware; so that the religious power which the Church exerts in the parish and neighbourhood must not be measured merely by the numbers of our communicants or congregation, but is seen in the restraint which they exercise upon sin, and the encouragement which they afford to the cultivation of religion and virtue in those around them.'

Thus a leaven of Christianity has been brought to bear

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upon a district before wholly given up to sin and uncleanness, and an earnest and devoted love to God and His Church has been stirred up among classes before wholly alienated.

If we turn to the *Thirteen Years at Baldwin's Gardens* we see the same work equally blessed by apparently the same means. For the energetic incumbent of S. Alban's was chosen from his successful labours in S. Peter's district to inaugurate this equally important work; and whatever may be said in reference to his discretion as regards controverted points of ritual in his church, there can be no question as to the enormous moral and religious influence he has brought to bear upon his district and its inhabitants. Whenever the same means have been used, as at S. Barnabas, Oxford, or in other dense populations, the same result has been attained, insomuch that the Church artisan has become as great a reality as the Conservative working man, whose existence was for so long a time looked upon as an impossibility and a chimæra.

Such are the facts clearly revealed to us as the results of this later phase of the Tractarian movement, not as a casual success, but as the permanent and continuous results of many years of careful working.

There is no doubt the Church had become, from various causes in her past history, too much the Church of the then dominant classes and their more immediate dependents; and in deciding upon the hours and order and forms of the services their tastes and requirements have been mainly, if not exclusively, considered. There is no doubt that from similar causes in times past the Church had become too much the Church of a party or denomination, whose duty it was primarily to make war on all other denominations—Roman, or Wesleyan, or Independent, or Baptist—really on political though professedly on so-called religious grounds.

The sooner we get out of these narrow forms, and become more truly Catholic and all-embracing, the better for her usefulness as the Church of this great people. But the question before us is, how far these attempts to bring about such results may be fairly accepted as one among many means by which this desirable end may be attained. The popular cry at the present time sets it all aside as a deep-laid conspiracy to Romanise the Church. Is all this to be ignored as utterly incompatible with the teaching of the Reformed Church? or may we be permitted to rank it among the most successful efforts yet made to enlarge her borders, and to make her in very truth what she has ever professed to be, the Church of all the people?

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The question is a momentous one. The whole future of the Church of England depends upon the answer, and the consideration of it claims serious and impartial handling, uninfluenced by the passing craze of the moment or by any party feelings of favour or of prejudice.

We have already attempted to show that the Romanising influence at the present time is as nothing to the same influences within the Church movement in the years 1842–43, while the opposition of the Roman Catholics themselves is most bitter. This is manifest in any correspondence, or sermon, or public address, by Roman Catholic ruler or priest against this school—a pretty clear proof, disguise it as they may, that they do not wish it well—and it goes far to prove the truth of the rumour that many of the anonymous articles in the daily papers on *The Priest in Absolution*, and on *The Confessional as practised in the English Church*, were from Roman Catholic authors. It was, to say the least, singular that the teaching and advice of Cardinal Manning or Monsignor Capel on this subject should have been so uniformly applauded by the Protestant daily press. Again, in these districts there is very little opposition except among the Irish Roman Catholics. It was only on a Sunday in July 1877, that Mr. Lowder and two lay friends were pelted with stones by an Irish mob who had assembled with drum and fife to welcome the Cardinal at the laying the first stone of a Roman Catholic chapel. The feeling on that occasion of the Churchmen of the district, as personified by the people's churchwarden and his son, was as anti-Roman as the most uncompromising Protestant would desire. Let us, however, go a little more thoroughly into the matter, and consider in turn three of the most prominent of the means used in carrying out these successful efforts—1st, confession; 2nd, confraternities or guilds; 3rd, what is called high ritual, with the doctrines it embodies.

And first, as to confession. It may be well to see what Mr. Lowder says of it, and his plea on its behalf:—

'When the soul is touched with contrition, and anxious to make her peace with God, we recommend sacramental confession, and have reason to be most thankful that this has been our practice from the beginning. With the many instances we could adduce of God's blessing abundantly poured out, and constantly following this holy ordinance of the Church, we should have been unfaithful alike to our vows, and to the souls committed to us, if we ever allowed any outward opposition to wrest from our hands this powerful weapon against the enemy of souls.

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'When we see how all earnest denominations of Christians, such as the Wesleyans, and all who hold more or less with their views of conversion, feel the need of some ordinance answering to special confession, it is a matter of wonder that any who are acquainted with the difficulty of dealing with souls, especially in the most trying of all times, their reconciliation with their heavenly Father, should depreciate the help of confession; or that those who have experienced, as surely many have, how defective conversion often is, how unreal, deceptive and fitful, and at best, how imperfect in leading to the higher gifts of God's graces, should swell the popular cry against the blessed ordinances of confession and absolution.'

Now, we object at once to the party name of 'sacramental confession,' as unnecessary and certain to give offence and to create misunderstanding; but here, it may be remarked, there is nothing of the popular view of its importance as a means of priestly exaltation. It is put forward as having been found of much use in the early stages of the mission. And we may conclude that, if mainly confined to that, few would object to its use. In fact, under another name, both the Wesleyans and the great Evangelical party acknowledge the fact that there is little chance of true, permanent conversion without the speaking of soul to soul and careful training to keep the awakened conscience in the right faith without fear or wavering. Thus far we might go together; and few would think it wise, or in accordance with the teaching of our Church, to keep the convert, when fully confirmed in the faith, from a trust in his own individual responsibility, lest by an enforcement of systematic confession the act should become formal, or end in the casting of all responsibility on the advice of a spiritual guide.

All must allow that many abuses have followed the compulsory use of habitual confession in mediæval times, and none can make light of the danger of a large extension of the system in a Church which provides no safeguard either by a special education of the priesthood or by a formal recognition of duly qualified confessors. The fears, however, entertained by many of the direct abuses of the past, or of the indirect increase thus given to the power of the priesthood, are surely greatly exaggerated. The laity are no longer ignorant and uneducated; and with the departure of lay ignorance departs also the danger of priestly encroachment. With us, and more especially in the parishes of which we write, these very laity are taking a most active part in Church work, and by means of guilds form a strong body which, though prepared to work with the clergy, have no intention of being unduly domineered

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over by them. There is no doubt that the liberty so clearly provided by our Church to all her members requiring spiritual guidance, must be carefully preserved. In these days, when young people are in the habit of throwing off all parental control, such guidance may be often needed. It is humiliating to note how many, in their zeal against the supposed dangers, have complacently played into Roman Catholic hands, by allowing that they alone have the power of the keys, the possession of which is, whatever it may mean, a sure test of a true Church, and is authoritatively put forth by our own Church in that light both in her Ordination and other services.

The unseemly accusation that the introduction of the confessional is a conspiracy to undermine the morals of our youth, brings with it its own refutation to all those who have the privilege of personal acquaintance with the characters of the men thus grievously maligned. Those who heard Mr. Lowder's address to his people in answer to these bitter attacks, and the hearty reassuring cheers from old and young of both sexes, will not easily forget the depth and reality of feeling shown both by him and the flock who have known him so long.

The influence of guilds requires but a short notice, though the history of one Society supplies a warning, lest the unwise acts of a dominant section become virtually binding on all the members. The importance, however, of such associations as a means for at once supplying a voluntary discipline and an organisation of systematic work for communicants of all classes, cannot be too much exaggerated. And it would be most unwise to forego these advantages because of evils which, once revealed, can be guarded against, and which could soon be effectually remedied, like some other evils to which we may refer, so soon as Churchmen have learnt to work together in brotherly love, thus guiding and influencing one another instead of attempting forcibly to bend those who differ to their own special views. On this point we would refer our readers to the constitution of the guild of S. Alban, which as a purely lay guild has for some years united many hard-headed practical laymen in different parts of the kingdom in a manly defence of their bishops and clergy and of the Apostolic teaching of the Church.

The third important feature in the work is the prominent part which a significant ritual has taken in it. Mr. Lowder writes:—

'Surely those who know the trials and hardships of the working classes, the dreariness of their homes, the dark and cheerless sur-

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roundings of their work, and the few innocent pleasures which are within their reach, cannot deny them the gratification to be derived from the one bright spot in their neighbourhood. To many the Church is their only quiet retreat, the daily sacrifice or service the one happy occupation; all that they have to soothe and cheer them in the privations of a hard life. Nor ought the clergy themselves or the sisters to be lost sight of altogether, giving up, as they must, the comforts and recreations of ordinary life, and struggling, not only against the physical, but also against the spiritual and moral difficulties by which they are surrounded.

'Festival seasons duly observed; vestments, processions, lights, incense, choral services, flowers, pictures; music—grand, hearty, and inspiriting; the details of ceremonial carried out carefully and reverently;—these accessories of worship are the rightful claim of the clergy and people of such a church as S. Peter's; and they are appreciated by them. The people love and glory in their church. It is their home—it is God's—but it is also theirs—and they feel a just pride in its adornment and in the improvement of its services.'

And yet, notwithstanding this witness to its practical use, we are met again by the popular denunciation of it as essentially Roman.

From our present point of view we may at once put aside all questions of Church law, or of the binding character of various legal decisions, which have all been ably handled in previous articles of this Review, because, in considering the relation of the Church to this whole people, we can find no stand-point from which to deny to any one section of our people that form of service which experience has shown to be best adapted to their needs, provided always that it involves nothing antagonistic to the teaching of the Reformed Church. This, of course, is a matter for discussion; but this being granted, those who have found it useful have a fair ground for asking that, if at present it be not strictly legal, then it should be made so permissively. Two facts immediately confront us—(1st) that the courts of law have undoubtedly allowed the right to teach that very doctrine of a real presence which this ritual is specially designed to symbolise; (2nd) that the Lutheran Churches, especially in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, have always retained the significant part of that ritual, while clearly maintaining their original Protestant character; and, moreover, history shows us that our own Reformed Church held many of these things to be lawful, and it was not till the ranks of our Reformers had been increased by the accessions of some persecuted French Calvinists that our Church ceased to use them. These statements would go far to show that such forms of service cannot be reasonably

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objected to as being essentially anti-Protestant. All are agreed that no alteration of their accustomed services should be forced on unwilling congregations, just as no Churchman dreams of enforcing confession before the reception of the holy mysteries; but as we cannot, in making this latter protest, give up the inalienable right of all who are so moved to seek for spiritual guidance, so we have no right to charge disloyalty to the Church upon those who ask for such services as cannot be shown to be contrary to the faith of our Reformed Church.

Nevertheless a calm consideration of many late proceedings must pronounce emphatically against the way in which these innovations have been originally introduced, often in much ignorance of the old law of the Church and of the inapplicability of many obsolete customs to the rationale of our present mode of worship, and persevered in, in defiance of the decisions of the courts of law, which the accused had recognised by their appeal. The true security against such wanton extravagances is the counteracting influence of that mass of common sense which is to be found in abundance among the majority of that great party which has formed the stamina and backbone of the movement all along. For the present nothing has done more harm than the way in which the cooler judgment of the majority has been prevented from making itself felt, by the very violence of the unreasoning and unscrupulous spirit of persecution which has been evinced by opponents.

For, as Mr. Palmer forcibly puts it—

'we shrank from being made the instruments of party hate, from seeing our language perverted and distorted to ends the most remote from our intention, perhaps to the assault of truths which we held most dear and sacred, or to the destruction of brethren whose principal fault seemed to be indiscretion, and whose faults were more than balanced by their merits and their services.'

By working together in a spirit of brotherly love, we should correct each others' extravagances in a much more effectual way than by any system of narrowness and bigotry, which is a disgrace not only to Christianity, but to the spirit of the age in which we live. The time has come for higher aspirations. The Church of England, in her Prayer-Book and in her Articles, recognises the full breadth and largeness of her communion. Political considerations alone have induced her to contract her bounds by enforcing uniformity upon many who, holding the Church's creeds, are undoubtedly

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members of the universal Church of Christ. It is a time for comprehension rather than for fresh division. Our true work now, if we would make a sure stand against Roman aggression, is to become more and more the source of all religious teaching to this great people, meeting the various wants of all religious minds by varying but properly regulated services—in a word, by an enlargement of our borders on the basis of primitive Catholic truth. Thus should we best be carrying out to their true end the principles of the *Tracts for the Times*, which must eventually issue in the breaking up of existing parties in the Church and forming instead a bond of union between all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

ART. VIII.—THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

SINCE the publication of our last number a 'preliminary peace' (whatever that may mean) has been negotiated between Russia and Turkey, and not only so, but the strife of parties in our own land, which was raging for awhile with a vehemence scarcely inferior to that which animated the actual combatants on the Balkans or the Caucasus, has in great measure subsided. We may now, therefore, not unprofitably review the leading events of the conflict, and, so far as men who are neither soldiers nor diplomatists may, seek to inquire whether the warriors and, still more, the politicians of Europe may not derive from them some useful lessons or warnings. Of the causes of the war we will say as little as possible, touching, as such, only on facts which are indisputable. It was a war, then, in which obviously and avowedly the Russians took the initiative, and that in spite of the strongest protest from more than one Government, and especially from our own. It was a war, too, which had been preceded by not a few intrigues on the part of the Russians in the territories across their borders, and we believe that no Russian politician makes any secret of the connexion between these proceedings and the Bulgarian insurrection, upon which these protests were based.

What followed is known to all; the exasperation and panic of the Turkish authorities, and the inhuman atrocities

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by which they sought to restore submission to their power. However much men might feel the truth of what the Turks might allege regarding Russian interference, still the most strenuous upholders of the doctrine that the independence of the Porte was indispensable to the maintenance of the balance of power could not say a word in defence of their mode of action; and Lord Derby addressed to the Turkish Minister a reproof which, while in its calm dignity it was worthy of the representative of England, was yet so stern an expression of indignant censure as had probably never before been addressed from one Government to another except as a herald of war.

This denunciation was echoed by the whole nation, and, though scarcely with equal openness, by every Cabinet in Christendom. All Europe was of one mind as to the necessity of preventing a recurrence of such atrocities as had laid waste whole districts in Bulgaria; but the difference between Russia and other nations lay in this, that, while the latter trusted to peaceful means, to conferences and diplomatic representations, which were not the less likely to obtain a favourable hearing, that they showed some respect for the dignity and authority of the Sultan, Russia alone avowed a determination to enforce instant compliance with her demands at the point of the sword. As in 1853, she asserted a special right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan, though there were not wanting reasons for believing that the prelates of the Greek Church in the Turkish dominions were far from desiring her protection,[1]—a protection which was repulsive to the national church of independent Greece—while a second pretext for energetic action was found in her assumption of the character of the champion of humanity, an assumption not altogether in harmony with people's recollections of Poland, Sinope, and the more recent

[1] In his admirable account of Turkey in Europe (noticed towards the end of this number of the *C. Q. R.*), Col. James Baker relates that a few years ago some 'wealthy merchants from Philippopolis and other districts' endeavoured to establish schools, and 'to introduce the Bulgarian language and literature into the local schools and churches.' With this object, 'as there was an absence of Bulgarian printing presses in Turkey,' they imported from foreign countries a number of books; but 'no sooner were they landed than the Patriarch instantly hurried to the Porte and obtained the confiscation of all the Bibles and books, representing most artfully that these works, being in the Slavic language, were a proof of Bulgarian sympathy with Russia; and that their importation was but the first act of rebellion.'—(Chap. ii. p. 35). The whole chapter relates a number of instances of the share Russian intrigue had in causing the late outbreak.

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massacres of General Kauptmann on the Volga, or of the victims of both sexes who perish beneath the knout.

We need not dwell on the Conference which was held at Constantinople; on the Protocols which were drawn up; on the notes which were exchanged or rejected. It could serve no useful purpose now to revive the memory of controversies which have already become obsolete, of reproaches on one side and recriminations on the other. But it is impossible to omit the unexpected pledge on the part of Turkey of the willingness of her then Government to remove causes of complaint in every part of her dominions. In apparent abandonment of all the old principles of despotism, the Sultan promulgated a Constitution, the benefits of which were proclaimed as extending to all his provinces in Europe and Asia, and as conferring privileges hitherto undreamt of on all classes of his subjects, whatever might be their religion. And Europe beheld with astonishment a Parliament of representatives discussing with freedom of speech the condition of the empire and measures for the reform of abuses, the existence of which their government itself admitted and deplored. When, therefore, the Sultan rejected the summary demands put forth by the Western and Northern Powers at the Conference, he was not without a plausible plea for respite, on the ground that time should be given for his people themselves to deliberate on their own requirements; and that the very convocation of a Parliament with such powers should be taken as a pledge and proof that the old system of absolute despotism with all its concomitant evils was renounced. Appearances were on his side to plead that he had shown that a peaceful solution of the difficulties of his empire was possible, and that the Constitution which he had granted was, in fact, a conciliatory measure exceeding any that his severest critics had proposed. For this peaceful solution of the difficulties of the situation no opportunity was vouchsafed; and it is doubtful how far any respite could have been obtained for Turkey, when even Prince Bismarck, the statesman whose judgment weighed most with Russia, affirmed in the most distinct and positive manner that 'the Imperial Government could not have hindered the outbreak of the war.'[1] Accordingly, on April 24, Russia declared war, while striving to render the act less unpalatable to England, France, and Austria, by the assurance that she aimed at no extension of her territories; that she did not propose to conquer and

[1] See his reply to Herr Windthorst in the debate on Tuesday, Feb. 19.

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annex a single province of Turkey. She did not, indeed, bind herself to strip none of her own allies, if she should obtain any, of any portion of their lands. It would have seemed superfluous to repudiate the idea of aggrandisement at the expense of her friends.

No time was lost in taking the first steps to give effect to the declaration of war. On the same day that it was issued a Russian division of nearly 20,000 men crossed the Pruth and commenced its advance towards the Danube. But the rupture of peace had been for some weeks so clearly foreseen that it can hardly be said that the intelligence that it was actually broken produced any great additional excitement in England. Lord Derby, when he announced the fact in the House of Lords, did so in the briefest terms, regretting that our efforts to prevent it had been vain, but expressing his deep conviction that 'in endeavouring to maintain peace between the combatants we had been engaged in the solution of an insoluble problem.'[1] But to the Court of St. Petersburg itself he addressed a vigorous protest against its conduct, a protest which was certainly echoed by the general feeling of the English people. The *Times* for once did represent the public opinion when, in its article of the 25th, it set forth an indictment of the Russian policy which, while studiously moderate in language, was severe indeed in the charges which it made, and sustained by the clearest proof, that the Russian Government had first given just offence to Turkey by the 'covert aid' which it had given to insurrections, and had since, by the imperiousness of its menaces, sought to exasperate the whole Turkish people, and make concessions from them absolutely impossible. It was, as the writer truly declared, the threats of the Czar throughout the winter which were the real declaration of war, for they prevented Russia from accepting anything less than the complete submission of Turkey; and they so helped to inflame the pride and the fanaticism of the Turks that such a surrender might have cost the Sultan his throne, his Ministers their lives. Russia had acted as if she 'wished to cut off a way of retreat both from herself and her foe,' and by her conduct 'had forfeited any right to speak in the name of Europe.'

But if people had been so prepared for the outbreak of war between the two nations as in one point of view to receive the intelligence calmly, there was another aspect of the case which it was impossible to regard with equal indifference: the

[1] Speech of April 24.

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question whether any other nation would be involved in it, and especially whether we ourselves, to whom our vast commerce and our long-standing and complicated diplomatic relations gave a peculiar interest in Eastern politics, were in danger of being drawn into it. Here, however, the judgment of the Government coincided with that of the great majority of the people. It was one of those cases in which our duty and our interest fortunately led us in the same direction. Our interest was clearly peace; and our duty equally forbade us to range ourselves on the side of either antagonist. Lord Derby's indignant reproof of the cruelties practised by the Turks would have been mere hypocrisy if we had become the active allies of a Power capable of those atrocities. His equally vigorous protest against the conduct of Russia as needlessly and wantonly provoking and plunging into war, equally forbade our taking any part in a policy we so emphatically condemned. Accordingly we from the first announced our resolution to maintain an absolute neutrality between the combatants. And as, if we had embarked in the conflict, the other nations of Western Europe could hardly have failed to become involved in it also, so the proclamation of our wise and resolute determination enabled the other Governments to adhere to the same line of action with confidence. And the result has been the entire localisation (to use a word of recent coinage) of the war, and a limitation of its horrors to a comparatively small district.

Another question which was discussed in every company with scarcely inferior eagerness was what might be expected to be the result of the campaign; which way probabilities seemed to incline; would the Russians be able to crush the Turks, or would the Turks succeed in repelling their invasion? for it seemed certain that the Sultan's troops would confine their exertions to the defence of their own country. And on this point the opinions of those who were able to form a judgment may be said to have agreed more than on any other part of the subject. Those of our officers who had seen both armies in the war of 1854 entertained, so far as we could gather, little doubt that man for man the Turkish soldiery was the better; that 10,000 Turks well commanded would prove decidedly superior to an equal number of Russians. But they had little faith in Turkish generalship; equally little in the power of the Sultan's government to secure concert in their operations; while it seemed as if the systematic training which every Russian officer underwent could hardly fail to produce some commanders who, if not

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equal to Moltke, or even to MacMahon, would at least display professional skill which would more than counterbalance the physical superiority of the Turkish soldier. The Russians, too, would have a vast superiority in numbers. Turkish statistics are not very trustworthy, but the general calculation was that the subjects of the Czar must be something like threefold the number of those of the Sultan; and in the end numbers must prevail. The only advantages which the Turks had to countervail this superiority of military skill and numbers which was marshalled against them were the command of the sea, and the fact that, as fighting in their own country, they would be nearer their supplies. But, important as these considerations undoubtedly were, they were not generally regarded as redressing the balance. And, on the whole, the best that the most sanguine partisans of the Turks could venture to hope was that by the aid of the Danube, the Balkans, and their famous quadrilateral, they might be able to protract the contest till the winter set in; which, by compelling a cessation from military operations, might afford an opening for judicious mediation.

The result of the campaign has so far corresponded to these calculations that Russian numbers have eventually prevailed; but, during the first months of warfare, the Russian Government was so far from displaying any superiority of capacity in organisation or administration, the Russian generals were so far from surpassing their antagonists in either strategical or tactical skill, that in the majority of operations conducted during the summer and autumn the advantage was indisputably on the side of the Turks. So that the Czar himself began to despair of finishing the contest in a single campaign, and to make ostentatious preparations for establishing his army in winter-quarters in Bulgaria and Roumania, with the design of resuming operations on a larger scale in the spring of 1878. It is not improbable that he had trusted that the mere declaration of war, combined with the conviction that they could expect active support and assistance from no other nation, would alarm the Turks into submission to his demands. At all events he was so far from being in a condition to give instant effect to his declaration that two months elapsed before his armies reached the Danube, and it was on the Sultan's Asiatic territories that the storm of war first fell, though the Russian force in that quarter was not of any formidable magnitude; and though the Caucasian frontier was too remote from Constantinople for even the most complete success which might be achieved

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there to be expected greatly to shake the resolution of the Turkish Cabinet. In one respect, the war differed singularly from other wars, in the remarkable absence of any achievements on a great scale. No grand pitched battle was fought in either Europe or Asia, and the most important event in the whole campaign was the defence and capture of a single small town, of which the very name was previously unknown beyond its immediate neighbourhood.

The campaign in Asia began with all the dignity which could be imparted to it by the circumstance of being conducted by a Prince of the Imperial house. The Grand Duke Michael was Governor-General of the province of the Caucasus; and, in the very same week in which war was declared, he descended into the plains at the head of an army which, though not very numerous, was superior to that which the Turkish general, Mukhtar Pasha, could bring into the field, since many of Mukhtar's regiments had already been withdrawn from his command and transferred to Bulgaria, and those which were left him were scarcely sufficient to garrison the fortresses which the annals of the war of 1854 proved to be of great importance. His previous exploits afforded no great reason for placing confidence in the Pasha's military genius. In the preceding year, when commanding in Servia, he had been outgeneralled and defeated by Prince Nikita; but it was soon seen that he was fully equal to a contest with the Grand Duke. The Russian attack, as must have been foreseen, was first directed against the fortresses of Kars and Batoum. The glorious resistance which our own brave countryman, Sir Fenwick Williams, made at Kars in the Crimean war had given that fortress a reputation beyond its real strength, if, indeed, it may not be said that its apparent strength was a source of real weakness, since the garrison was scarcely sufficient to man the whole of the fortifications. The situation of Batoum on the coast rendered it, perhaps, even more important, and certainly in one point of view more defensible, inasmuch as Hobart Pasha's command of the sea enabled him at pleasure to introduce supplies, not only for the town itself, but for the entire district; and also to support it in case of attack, since his guns swept the approaches on either side. Till, therefore, the Russians in Europe crossed the Danube, it was on these fortresses and the district between them that the attention of military critics was concentrated; and there the operations of the two armies during May and June cannot be denied to have supported the prognostics of those who had contended that

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nothing but a great superiority of numbers would give the Russians the victory. The Grand Duke did, indeed, succeed in capturing Ardahan, a fortress of considerable strength; but the general belief was that the arms to which it yielded were the golden ones employed by Philip rather than the steel in greater favour with his more heroic son, and the corruptibility of Turkish officials is unfortunately so fully established that it cannot be said that the imputation is incredible. But it was soon seen that Hobart Pasha's support was well able to secure the safety of Batoum. Kars, which, as yet at all events, no one could be found base enough to betray, maintained its old reputation for strength; and Mukhtar Pasha, who seemed to have profited by the severe lesson which he had received from the Servian Prince, gave many proofs, not only of stubborn courage, but of well-directed activity. It was a belief, at least as old as Sir Sidney Smith's repulse of Napoleon at Acre, that Turkish valour needed the support and shelter of fortifications; that, if invincible behind ramparts, the Turks lacked the mingled dash and coolness which make an army formidable in the open field. But Mukhtar seemed resolved to show that this opinion did them injustice. He was not content with merely maintaining fortresses which were attacked, but boldly took the field and became himself the assailant. It is impossible to rely with absolute certainty on the accounts given of the numbers of the respective armies, but there seems no question that the Russians had a considerable superiority; yet the Pasha gained decisive advantage over them in two separate combats (we adopt the word by which Napier distinguished actions on a small from those on a large scale, since neither the action at Delibaba nor that at Zerwin are entitled to be regarded as great battles). He recaptured the important frontier fortress of Bayazid, driving out the Russian garrison, which had recently made itself master of it. He compelled the Grand Duke to raise the siege of Kars, and gradually established so complete a superiority over the invaders on the Caucasian border that before midsummer he was able to turn the tables on them, and to send one of his lieutenants, Ismail Pasha, to cross the frontier and to become the invader of Russian territory. It is doing the Kurds no great injustice to regard them as 'the humble servants of events,' and as prepared to attach themselves to the side which seemed likely to prove the strongest; and the earnestness with which some of their chiefs now espoused the Sultan's side, and co-operated with bodies of the Circassians, who de-

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scended on Soukum-kaleh, with the view of raising an insurrection against the Russian power in the Caucasus, may be taken as a proof of the confidence which these tribes now generally felt in the eventual triumph of the Turkish cause.

But the Russians were persevering; though their losses were probably much heavier than those of the Turks, they could better afford them; and before the end of the summer such strong reinforcements had been sent down to the Grand Duke that, by the first week in October, he was able to resume advance upon Kars with a force far greater than that with which he had formerly menaced it. Mukhtar Pasha was a brave man, indeed he was too brave. The campaign of 1855 had shown that Sir Fenwick Williams's system of operations was the best for the defence of that important position. He kept his troops within the fortress and the line of redoubts which covered it; and, in spite of his vast superiority in numbers, the Russian commander could make no progress till famine should come to his aid. But now Mukhtar resolved to meet his assailants in the open field, and, though he displayed brilliant gallantry, the result of the conflict which he invited proved the soundness of the English general's tactics.

On October 2 the two armies came in front of each other. Under the Grand Duke's orders were thirty-four battalions of infantry, ten regiments of cavalry, and twelve field batteries; while Mukhtar had scarcely more than half the Grand Duke's numbers. That under such circumstances he should have made the defence he did is an irresistible proof of the admirable quality of the Turkish soldier. Nor, if we were to grant that he was justified in fighting at all, could it be denied that he had himself shown no little judgment in the position which he had taken up. It occupied a short range of hills sloping gently to the north-west, and had been carefully entrenched; some earthworks, which had been hastily thrown up, being also armed with heavy siege guns of Krupp's best workmanship and of large calibre. The possession of these heights was the ostensible prize of the coming battle, but undoubtedly the Grand Duke reckoned that Kars itself was also staked upon the issue. Day had hardly dawned when one formidable column of twenty battalions, or nearly 25,000 men, if the regiments were of full strength (which, however, may be doubted), with fifty-six guns, advanced against the Turkish position on Yagni Tepe, the mortars covering their advance with an incessant stream of shells, which fell thickly among the Turkish entrench-

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ments. The Grand Duke's object, as it seemed, was to force his way between the Turkish army and the great fortress. And throughout the entire day the Russians, in attacks of columns, made desperate efforts to gain a footing on the Yagni hills. Both armies displayed brilliant gallantry and resolution. Mukhtar was well seconded by more than one of his lieutenants. One in particular, Hussein Avni Pasha, brought up his division from Vezinkui, and barred the road with impenetrable steadiness. The Russian infantry had rarely exhibited more stubborn energy. Time after time, in spite of all the disadvantages of mounting a hill under fire, did they force their way up at least half of the steep slope; but time after time were they driven down again by main strength, the Turks being manifestly the heavier and more powerful men, and adding to their ceaseless storm of musketry more than one charge with the bayonet. One Russian regiment with greater daring, or what for the moment seemed better fortune than their comrades, did succeed in reaching the conical summit of the hill; but it was only to be driven down again with greater slaughter. The battle raged without intermission the whole day. The Turkish batteries were well served, and the carnage in the Russian ranks was fearful.

Even night was not allowed to bring its respite to the combatants. The Turks had been looking forward with anxious calculation to the sunset, since it was their festival of the Ramazan, and, while daylight was visible, they might not prepare their food. But, though the Grand Duke probably knew nothing of their religious motives for desiring a rest, he was eager to prevent them from strengthening the works which he had already found so formidable; and, guided by a bright moon, his batteries played the greater part of the night with most effective precision on the line of entrenchments which crowned the Turkish heights.

At length the Russian gunners were exhausted, and for a brief space, scarcely exceeding two hours, the opposing armies gave themselves up to sleep. But with the first rays of the sun the Russian fire reopened with undiminished vigour. And again, under cover of the ceaseless cannonade, the Russian regiments pressed forward, like storming-parties at a breach, to force their way up the hill. Again the Turks resisted stoutly, but at last numbers prevailed. The Turks were gradually beaten back; some regiments, even in defeat, maintained their discipline and order, but in others the retreat presently became a rout, and before midday six thousand Russians had made good their ground on the summit of the

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well-contested Aladja Dagh. Yet even now Mukhtar did not desist from his exertions. He collected those battalions which, though beaten, were yet unbroken; round them he rallied the fugitives, to whom his example restored courage and order; and, hopeless as the effort seemed, he led on charge after charge to drive the Russians from the hill they had won. It did not seem more hopeless than it was. The victorious Russians had captured their guns, and now turned them against their former masters, sweeping every path of approach. And at last, though not till the afternoon was far spent, the gallant Pasha drew off his men, and acknowledged his defeat by the cessation of all attempts to retrieve it.

In acknowledgment of his previous achievements the Sultan had conferred on him the title of Ghazi, or the Invincible. To this Mukhtar could no longer lay claim; but, if the name might mean Indomitable also, he showed that he had as good a right to it as ever. He fell back; and, recovering his beaten troops, after a day he took up a new position which still barred the way to Kars. But he had no means of obtaining any further reinforcement, while several fresh regiments crossed the Caucasus and joined the Grand Duke, who, in less than a fortnight after his former victory, was able once more to advance against him in irresistible strength. On the 15th General Lagureff with one division turned his position by a circuitous march, while the Grand Duke himself attacked it in front. Cut in two, as it were, the Turkish army was utterly routed; several thousand prisoners and the greater part of Mukhtar's guns were the trophies of the victory, and, what was worse, the enemy had succeeded in their object of interposing between him and Kars. And a few days afterwards they took Kars itself, under circumstances so suspicious that its fall, like that of Ardahan, has generally been attributed to the corruption and treachery of one of the Pashas to whom its defence was entrusted.

Yet the loss of even this bulwark of Armenia did not shake the intrepid spirit of the Ghazi. When he found himself cut off from Kars he had fallen back in front of Erzeroum, which, as the capital of the province, was even more important, though far less defensible. If he could defend that for a few weeks he might hope that the winter would before long come to his aid. He availed himself of the difficulties of that mountainous district with admirable skill, making a stand wherever the ground enabled him to do so, and more than once repulsing his pursuers, who pressed upon him, with considerable loss. Though, unfortunately for the

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Turks, the winter, both in Armenia and Bulgaria, was far milder than usual, the snow did on more than one occasion seriously delay the Grand Duke's operations. And in spite of the crushing defeats which Mukhtar had sustained, and in spite of his inability to preserve Kars, he can hardly be denied to have closed the campaign with credit, since he covered Erzeroum to the last; and when, in January 1878, the armistice put an end to the war, Erzeroum was still untaken.

But no blows struck in Asia could be decisive of the contest. It was through Bulgaria alone that Constantinople could be approached; and it was in that province, therefore, that both the antagonists might be expected to make their principal efforts. Yet, strange to say, it was there that the commanders on both sides showed the most unaccountable want of skill and energy. Whether the Russians had really thought that the mere fact of their armies being put in motion would terrify the Turks into submission or not, they certainly had made no previous provision for either crossing the Danube or providing their army with the needful supplies while it remained in Roumania. Yet a host of 200,000 men, and it was no smaller number that was said to be collected round the standards, required long and careful preparation of appliances of all kinds. And the consequence was that, though they were aided beyond their expectations by the eagerness with which their alliance was now sought by the Prince of Roumania, who placed all his barracks, hospitals, and railways at their disposal, little dreaming of the mode in which they would eventually propose to recompense his friendly zeal, two months were suffered to elapse before the Russians reached the great river, and it was not till June 24 that their engineers began to put together their bridges of boats, and that the first regiments crossed the stream and established themselves on the enemy's soil.

Apathy and indolence, the combined results of their religious fatalism and of their deeply corrupting social system, are now so innate in the character of the Turks that the less surprise was caused by their inactivity; but military critics point out that the respite thus given them by the Russians, if turned to proper account by the Turkish generals, might have been so employed as to render the invasion impossible for the whole year. For, just as when the time came they made no attempt to hinder the passage of the Russians, so during May and the first half of June, when no opposition could possibly have been made to the passage of a Turkish

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division to the left bank of the river, where it might easily have routed all the Roumanian forces in the district, and destroyed the Bucharest railway, by which alone the Russian stores could be conveyed to the south, they allowed the precious opportunity thus unexpectedly offered to them to slip by unimproved. They did nothing. They did not even take any vigorous steps to prevent or impede the construction of the bridges; and before the end of the first week of July at least 100,000 Russians had crossed the river, without meeting any obstacle worth speaking of, from Galatz and Ibraila. Even the gunboats, on which foreigners had generally reckoned for giving the Turks the mastery of the whole river, proved utterly inefficient. It has been surmised that the gallant and skilful Hobart Pasha was hampered by the jealousy of some of the Ministers under whose orders he was placed. What is certain is, that some of the gunboats were destroyed by the Roumanian batteries; that one at least was blown up by a torpedo; and that it was only by an act of daring, in which skill and hardihood were admirably combined, that the brave Englishman succeeded in making his way down the stream and reaching the open sea, where his arrival was anxiously expected by the fleet.

At first the Russians might almost have flattered themselves that they were marching to an assured and easy conquest. On the 27th they occupied Sistova without resistance, and began to push out detachments into the heart of the province. By the middle of July they had achieved a success which for a moment seemed to promise an early termination of the campaign. Nikopol, on the Danube, had a grand name, the City of Victory; and it was regarded by the Turks as well able to justify its title. But no fortress can be formidable where the government is supine and incapable. The governor, Hassan Pasha, was not deficient in courage; but his garrison was too weak for the extent of the works, and it was so unprovided with ammunition that he was almost utterly powerless to molest the division with which General Krudener proceeded to invest the place; so that by July 12 it was entirely surrounded on the landward side, while on the northern bank of the river the Roumanians erected batteries which commanded the side that faced the Danube. Apparently, when the Turks reckoned on the power of their different fortresses to retard the advance of the enemy, they forgot to take into their calculation the vast increase of range which since the Crimean war had been given to artillery. It was the opinion expressed by more than one British officer that even the

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famous four, which made up the quadrilateral, would be found to be wholly defenceless against the new artillery of long range, unless they were surrounded with rings of fresh earthworks; and that such a degree of foresight could hardly be expected from the authorities which governed at Constantinople. Nor, indeed, could any such defences have kept back the Roumanian batteries from their own bank of the river. Under such circumstances it is creditable to the Turkish Pashas that they kept their assailants at bay for three days; but it was all that they could do. The Russians bombarded the town from the south and west. The Roumanians poured a ceaseless storm of shells across the Danube; and on the afternoon of the 16th Hassan could hold out no longer, but was compelled to surrender; 6,000 prisoners, forty guns, and large supplies of all kinds, except ammunition, becoming the prize of the conquerors.

The elation in the Russian camp was excessive. Other divisions, encouraged by this important success, pushed forward to the Balkans, regardless of the hindrances to their advance presented by the state of that part of Bulgaria, which is almost destitute of cross-roads, or side-roads, generally indispensable to the march of troops and the conveyance of supplies. In other respects, however, they found the condition of the country unexpectedly favourable. They, like the people of England, had been imbued with such accounts of the tyranny of the Turkish Government, and the consequent misery of the Turkish provinces, that they were wholly unprepared for the evidences of prosperity which met their eyes on all sides: well-planned, solid ranges of farm-buildings; rich crops of barley and maize; herds of fat, though small, cattle; and flocks of sheep which would have done no discredit to our own South Downs. Everything promised facilities for obtaining supplies, and the disposition of the inhabitants was hardly less in their favour. The comfort and security which the Bulgarians had evidently enjoyed under the rule of the Sultan had not entirely overcome their impatience of the Mussulman yoke; and the merciless cruelty with which the recent insurrection had been suppressed and chastised had diffused a general feeling of uneasiness and alarm, which had been carefully fostered by the Russian agents, who, indeed, had been the original stimulators of the insurrection. But the Bulgarians were hardly likely to estimate correctly the share which their invaders had had in producing the miseries which so many of them had suffered. They rather looked on them as present deliverers, and as such

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received them with cordiality, showing great willingness, and even eagerness, to furnish quarters and provisions. Thus aided, the Russians pushed on with a rapidity which took the Turkish Pashas wholly by surprise. They crossed the Balkans at more than one point; and one of their most enterprising commanders, General Gourko, took Kezanlik, a town of some importance on the southern side of the great chain, burnt another, Zeni Sahgra, and established himself in such force in the Shipka Pass that there seemed little prospect of the Turks being able to prevent the Russians from marching on Adrianople, which was understood to be only half fortified and very insufficiently garrisoned. In fact the achievements of the last fortnight seemed so decisive that already the politicians of Vienna began to predict the conclusion of the war, and to discuss the conditions on which the Czar might be expected to consent to a peace.

But while affairs were in this state, indeed in the very same week in which General Gourko made this formidable progress, the genius of one Turkish commander suddenly raised an obstacle in the path of the victorious enemy which utterly baffled all these calculations. The Russians were in possession of the whole of the right bank of the Danube between Widdin and Rustchuk; and as a Turkish general, Osman Pasha, was moving eastward from Widdin on a line a few miles to the south of the Russian position, on arriving at Plevna, a town a few miles south of Nikopol and on the high-road from Rustchuk to Sophia, he was struck by the advantages of its position, which to his keen eye seemed to offer facilities for making a stand such as were furnished by perhaps no other place in the district. Plevna itself was a small, open town; but a river covered one side of it, and it was nearly surrounded at a small distance by a chain of hills of moderate height, which it would be easy to fortify. Osman was not like the generality of his countrymen. The moment that he had decided on his plan he proceeded to carry it into execution with a rapidity which would have been laudable in a man of any nation, but which in a Turk was absolutely marvellous. He drew lines of entrenchments, threw up earthworks, armed them with a few guns he found in the town and with his own field batteries; and in three days had gone a great way towards creating a fortress. The news reached General Krudener, who saw the importance of checking the progress of the works, but miscalculated his means of doing so. Apparently, he believed that Osman's force did not exceed two or three regiments, and, on the strength of this estimate,

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he hastened to attack him with a force of 7,500 men. But, though he suspected it not, Osman had nearly three times that number. Nothing could have suited the Pasha better, as the repulse of an assault, when the works could not be supposed to be in any but a most imperfect state, would add threefold strength to them by the glory of the exploit. Krudener was utterly routed and forced to retreat with the loss of a third of his numbers; and Osman, greatly encouraged by the result of this first experiment of the value of his position, proceeded to strengthen his defences on every side, and to collect reinforcements for his garrison, till he had raised the latter to nearly 40,000 men, and had created such a mass of earthworks, redoubts, and batteries of all kinds as to be absolutely impregnable to all the exertions of the Russians, and to render the place safe from any enemy except famine.

From the day of General Krudener's repulse, the character of the war may be said to have been wholly changed, and the chief interest of the campaign centred in the little town which, though previously never dreamt of as a feature in the war, the genius of one man had suddenly turned into a first-class fortress. Operations did, indeed, continue in other quarters; but they were but little regarded in comparison. It must be added that they showed but little skill on either side. Even the imminent danger of their country had not been able to extinguish the jealousies which from time immemorial had distracted and weakened the councils of the Porte. It is impossible for outsiders to know with precision the truth of the statements which were continually bruited about; but it is certain that intrigues were as rife as ever in the palace; that Minister was being displaced by Minister; and that in the camp there was no concert between the generals, such as alone could lead to any desirable result. After more than one proof of incompetency, the commander-in-chief, Abdul Kerim, was recalled, and replaced by Mehemet Ali, a soldier of German extraction and training. But we may infer from the extreme caution of his movements, when energy would have found more than one opportunity of delivering an effective blow, that he could not rely on the co-operation of his subordinate officers; and one strong division was suffered to be gradually wasted away by Suleiman Pasha, who having, with shameful supineness, suffered General Gourko to fortify a position in the Shipka Pass, now seemed eager to repair his neglect by incessant attacks upon it, which, while they scarcely succeeded in causing the Russians

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anything more than annoyance, cost him far more men than his country could afford to lose.

Nor for the ensuing two or three months could it be said that the Russians did much better. Ten days after Krudener's repulse before Plevna, the Grand Duke Michael himself attacked the new fortress in far greater strength. But Osman, whose men, under his vigilant energy, showed remarkable readiness in the construction of earthworks and batteries, had by this time rendered the place absolutely unassailable, and the Grand Duke was repulsed with heavy loss. In despair the Russians proceeded to turn the siege into a blockade; and to draw lines of circumvallation around Plevna, and to occupy posts on the different roads which led to it, lest Mehemet Ali should advance with his whole force to relieve it. But, as we have said, the new commander-in-chief was a man in whom caution predominated. His head-quarters were on the Lom, and in the course of August he defeated the Russian division opposed to him in several actions on a small scale; but he seems to have thought himself not strong enough to venture on a pitched battle, or to force his way to Plevna. His inactivity had its natural effect in encouraging the Russians, who now looked upon Osman as left to his fate, and resolved to make a greater effort than ever against him, hoping by his capture to be able to bring the campaign to a conclusion before winter should render further operations impracticable.

The new attack was made with unusual parade and pomp on September 11. So little did the Grand Duke anticipate failure that he invited the Czar himself to witness the result, and erected a lofty platform from which Alexander was to see the triumphs of his troops, and then to descend and enter the captured fortress as a conqueror. They were selling the bear's skin a little too soon. A strong Roumanian division had joined the Russians, and showed themselves quite equal in courage and discipline to their new comrades. But they only knew their own numbers, which they expected to prove irresistible; and had entirely failed to estimate the strength of the position they were advancing against. For a moment matters seemed to be going well for them. The Russian general Skobeleff made himself master of three small redoubts, and the Roumanians forced their way into the great work known as the Gravitza redoubt. But both advantages proved equally delusive. Before mid-day on the 12th Skobeleff was expelled from the redoubts which he had captured, while that of Gravitza was found to be so completely com-

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manded by other batteries in its rear, which were totally unassailable, that it was rather a trap than a conquest; and the Roumanians paid a bitter price in the loss of several hundred men for their brief possession of a post which it was equally dangerous to hold and to retreat from.

The Czar had gained this alone from his visit, that his own eyes had seen proof that a change of tactics was required if Plevna was to cease being an obstacle to the progress of his armies. And in his distress he remembered the skilful engineer who, more than twenty years before, had enabled Sebastopol to keep at bay for the greater part of a year the combined armies of England and France. General Todleben was sent to the front, and under his experienced guidance the siege of Plevna speedily assumed a new character. He could appreciate better than the Grand Duke the strength of the place, and the judgment with which the different outworks, batteries, and redoubts had been made to support each other. But he could also estimate more correctly the circumstances in his favour, the facilities which the character of the country around, the position of the towns on the southern and eastern sides, and even the scarcity of roads, afforded for cutting off all communication between the fortress and the Turkish armies in the field. And he saw that though a direct assault could hardly succeed, a well-organised blockade could hardly fail. '*Place assise est place prise*,' is, perhaps, the oldest military proverb; and from the day that the arrangements were entrusted to Todleben, there was a general feeling that it was to receive a fresh exemplification. Plevna, as it was commonly said, would prove to be another Metz; and, indeed, there were solid reasons for anticipating that it was a place which must soon yield to a strong and vigilant blockade: for, as we have seen, it was not a large city, which even in time of peace contained large supplies, but a small rural town which, till it thus sprang into military importance, had never felt the necessity, nor probably, had the means of accumulating stores of any kind. What could be done Osman did; for a few weeks he made gallant sallies to meet convoys which came up to him from Sofia and Orchanie; but, stimulated by Todleben, the Russian and Roumanian generals gradually blocked up the approaches from these places. Early in November Gourko succeeded in placing a strong force upon the Sofia Road; and from that time no more convoys reached the beleaguered garrison. As the month advanced he drew the circle closer, taking Dubnik, Etropol, and other forts which might in some degree be re-

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garded as outposts of the great fortress; while Mehemet Ali, who had been exerting himself in vain to collect a force sufficient to enable him to give Gourko battle, felt himself at last compelled to renounce the attempt as hopeless. We need not dwell upon operations in other parts of the province, at Tirnova or Teliche; if Plevna could only hold out, any other successes which the Russians might achieve were useless; if Plevna fell, it may be almost said they would be superfluous. But it was clearly now only a question of time. It was suspected, by the beginning of December it was ascertained, that the garrison was starving. At last, on December 10, Osman decided that to hold Plevna longer could only lead to the destruction or captivity of his gallant garrison; and he resolved on a sally of the whole force, with the object of cutting his way through the besieging host, and joining Mehemet Ali. His plan was well conceived, but it is believed that it had been betrayed to the Roumanian commander by a deserter. It is certain that he found the besiegers prepared at all points to encounter him. A desperate conflict ensued; he himself fell severely wounded; and finally, after all the endeavours of his men to break through the hostile lines had been repulsed, and they fell back on the town, they found that, while they were fighting with one division of the besiegers in front, other detachments had passed behind them, and occupied the works from which they had sallied forth; that their retreat was cut off, and that nothing remained but unconditional surrender. The number of prisoners proved smaller than had been expected; Osman had not 30,000 men left; and those so weakened by famine and disease that it was wonderful how they had held out so long; even those who were most unfriendly to the Turks could not refuse the tribute of admiration and sympathy to their gallantry; and the Czar did honour to himself when he left Osman his sword as the best reward for his unavailing heroism.

There were still combats to be fought, and places to be taken, but in effect, every one regarded the fall of Plevna as decisive of the war. The Government of the Porte did, indeed, for a while maintain a bold face, and in the speech with which, three days afterwards, the Sultan opened the Turkish Parliament, after alluding in well-turned terms of praise to the zeal with which numbers 'of his Christian subjects had responded to his appeal for their participation in the defence of the country,' he proceeded to speak of the measures of internal reform which he was prepared to adopt, as if nothing which had happened had any tendency to weaken his

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authority. But this assumption of a confident air could deceive no one. If the Turkish Government pretended blindness to the consequences of the fall of Plevna, the Russians showed themselves fully alive to its importance. The Grand Duke instantly sent reinforcements to General Gourko to enable him to master the district between the Balkans and Constantinople. Soon the Turkish division which was still struggling with desperate tenacity in the Shipka Pass was surrounded. The weather was bad; the snow was deep; but with prodigious energy, such as the certainty of coming triumph can best engender, the Russians dragged artillery and ammunition up mountain paths, which even in summer cannot be ascended without toil and danger. And the first week of the new year saw them masters of the Shipka Pass also, with the whole of Suleiman's division for their prisoners. Now at last, the boldest of the Turkish generals and ministers saw that all hope of further resistance was gone. The Sultan implored the intervention of our Queen and other Sovereigns to procure peace, and himself solicited an armistice to give time for such negotiations as he hoped might terminate the struggle which his request itself confessed his inability to maintain. We need not dwell on the discussions which preceded the granting of the request, and during which the Russians steadily advanced towards Constantinople itself, till they came within sight of the city; nor on the subsequent and more important negotiations in which the Russians laid down the conditions on which alone they would grant peace, with the air of absolute conquerors, which indeed they were; but with respect to which they observed a silence so mysterious and strange as to give rise to the most sinister rumours respecting their designs, and to create a very general suspicion that they aimed at the seizure, or, at least, at the temporary occupation of Constantinople itself. To what extent, or whether at all the advance of the British fleet to the mouth of the Bosphorus, and the imposing display of our strength, though only for the purpose of affording protection in case of emergency to the British inhabitants of Constantinople, produced any modification of the terms originally proposed by the Russian plenipotentiaries, we shall probably never know. It is certain that when, on March 2, the treaty was signed, some of its articles seemed at first sight less severe than common rumour had reported them, though the comparative moderation with which they were for a moment credited, disappeared before a more rigorous scrutiny. The acceptance of the seals of the Foreign office by the

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Marquis of Salisbury imposed upon him the obligation of setting before the different Governments of Europe the view of the treaty taken by Her Majesty's Ministers; and, accordingly, at the beginning of the present month, he embodied them in a despatch equally distinguished for the judicial calmness of its tone and for the penetrating logic with which it laid bare the effect of the different stipulations on the position of Turkey and Russia themselves, on the one hand, and, on the other, on that of the rest of the nations of Europe, to whom the condition of the Ottoman Empire is a matter of common interest. With respect to Turkey, he showed that the terms imposed on her were such as not only at once almost to extinguish her political independence, but also that they are ingeniously framed so as to provide a plea for further coercion in the event of contingencies, which, to say the least, can not be deemed improbable; while, as to Russia, she is to gain even more than Turkey loses. The acquisition of Bessarabia and Batoum will render her dominant in the Black Sea and the districts bordering on it; while that of the fortresses in Kurdistan will place at the mercy of her narrow commercial system the extensive European trade with Persia, which now passes through Trebizonde.

Nor will her aggrandisement be confined to the acquisition of the fortresses, ports, and districts actually ceded to her. The province of new Bulgaria will indeed be nominally free, but practically will only exchange one master for another. It will rest with Russia to choose its ruler, to frame its administration, and even to control the first working of its institutions. While that considerable portion of its population which is Greek in race and sympathy, will be placed in a condition far worse, as one of more constant and permanent degradation, than even when it was exposed to the worst excesses of Turkish caprice. Nor are our own national interests entirely unaffected by some of the stipulations. It cannot, as Lord Salisbury expresses it, be otherwise than a matter of extreme solicitude to this country that the Government, which has the Power to close or to open the Straits which form the natural highway of nations between the Ægean Sea and the Euxine, should be so closely pressed by the political outposts of a greatly superior Power, that its independent action and even existence is almost impossible. Though any objection which, on this ground, we might advance to the treaty, would probably be based, not on any special and peculiar injury to ourselves, but on the general rights of all nations.

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On the moral character of the demand for Bessarabia, Lord Salisbury forbears to touch; though perhaps the whole treaty does not contain one more thoroughly characteristic of the inveterate appetite for territorial acquisition, which, ever since the days of Peter the Great, has marked the Russian Government. The manner in which the Czar had fulfilled similar professions at Khiva may prevent our feeling any great surprise at his demand of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, being the commentary on his original denial of a single project of self-aggrandisement. But the most absolute disbeliever in his moderation could hardly have been prepared for his claim of Bessarabia, and for the novel ingenuity displayed in the reward of a zealous and most indispensable ally by stripping him of an important and highly valued province. In the old fable which spoke of a giant and a dwarf carrying on a joint warfare against a common enemy, we do indeed read that most of the glory was reaped by the giant, and that most of the wounds fell to the share of the dwarf: but the ancient fabulist never conceived the idea of representing the dwarf's severest mutilations as inflicted by the giant himself. The invention of such a recompence for a friend was reserved for modern history, and a champion of humanity.

At the very commencement of the negotiations between the belligerents, it had been suggested by the Austrian Chancellor that, as all the principal Governments of Europe were parties to the Treaty of 1856, and were equally interested in seeing that the treaty now to be concluded should contain the elements of lasting stability and tranquillity, a Congress of the different nations should be assembled, which should examine the stipulations to be embodied in it in friendly discussion, and in a spirit of amicable compromise, and should, it might be hoped, eventually by their formal sanction confer on it a character of solidity and permanence. The proposal met with general concurrence; but, as the negotiations proceeded, the Russian Prime Minister advanced a pretension to make a distinction between the different articles of the Treaty, so as to separate those which, as he affirmed, concerned the late belligerents alone, from those in which the nations of Western Europe also were interested, indicating a resolution to submit the latter portion alone to the consideration of the Congress. And the principal object of Lord Salisbury's despatch is to show the absolute necessity, if the Congress is to meet at all, that every article of the treaty shall be within its competence to examine. To quote

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his own words: 'Every material stipulation which it contains involves a departure from the Treaty of 1856.' And from such a premiss it is an irresistible conclusion that every Power, which was a party to that treaty, must be consulted before it is set aside in a single article.

For a moment it was believed that the wide divergence of opinion between the Governments of Her Majesty and of the Czar would be fatal to the proposed Congress. But as this belief, or, shall we say, apprehension, keeps varying in strength from day to day, we cannot yet pronounce it absolutely certain that the Congress will take place, though individually we may think that it will. But a second opinion was also started, that the only alternative to a Congress was war; and that, if we did not meet Europe at Baden or Berlin, we must inevitably prepare to meet Russia on the field of battle. Doubtless there are grounds for such an apprehension, but there are even more for our hope that, Congress or no Congress, our Government will be able to preserve for us the blessings of peace. Undoubtedly, if Russia should refuse to meet us in Congress on terms of which every other State in Europe recognises the propriety, she may protract the general feeling of uneasiness and disquietude; but it does not follow from that that she will draw us into war. The fixed resolution of our Ministry to maintain peace at every price save that of honour, was avowed in the message in which Her Majesty lately announced to her Parliament her intention of calling out her reserve forces,—she had come to that resolution 'for the maintenance of peace.' And, so far as we can say, there is no fear that the determination announced with dignity, will not be adhered to with firmness; while there is, if possible, still less probability that Russia will wantonly, and for the mere gratification of diplomatic obstinacy, seek to engage in a fresh war, and with such an antagonist. Among the doubtful questions on which Europe in general expected the late war to throw light, and for the solution of which a party among ourselves was especially anxious, as believing it might affect the tranquillity of our Indian Empire, one of paramount importance was what were the conclusions to be drawn from it respecting the military strength of Russia, and how far her recent success against Turkey is to be regarded as an additional danger to British India. In neither point of view, neither as to the general strength of Russia, nor as to any possible danger from her to ourselves, have we ever been among the alarmists; and if we were not so before, the recent campaign, as we view it, is certainly not calculated to engender any

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increased uneasiness. On the contrary, it seems conclusively to prove that, though the rigour of her climate makes her very strong for self-defence, as an aggressive power she cannot be considered by any means in the first rank. Certainly it is nearly two centuries since Turkey has been considered a Power of the first class. In recent years her generals have not been credited with any high degree of professional skill; and, moreover, in the present instance she was far from presenting a solid united front of resistance to the invader. Disaffection to her rule had been widely spread in the province which in Europe was the seat of war; and, as we have seen, a large section of the Bulgarians was certainly inclined to greet the Russians as deliverers. Yet, though Russia was not relying solely on her own strength, but had secured the valuable alliance of Roumania, and though the attitude of Servia also caused no unimportant diversion in her favour, yet for the first six months of the campaign the balance of success was generally in favour of the Turks; and the victory which really decided the war was achieved by Roumanian arms. In Europe, then, we have nothing to fear from her. Nor in Asia can we think that her acquisition of a port in the Black Sea, and of two fortresses between the Caucasus and the Armenian frontier, can effectually facilitate any designs against British India, if she is insane enough to cherish such. She is far nearer India at Khiva than at Kars; but, restless as the Afghans still may be, those who know them best have the least fears of their joining any other Christian power against us. Their chiefs are too good judges which nation has the greatest resources; and the experience which previously subdued countries have had of Russian rule is not such as to tempt others to invite it. While to imagine that Russia would ever send a hostile force along the Euphrates to embark in the Persian Gulf is to suppose that a nation with scarcely a dozen men-of-war would select as the field for a struggle that on which above all others Britain is admitted to be invincible.

As we have said before, we cannot as yet venture positively to predict the abandonment by Russia of her objections to the Congress, though we have a strong conviction that she will ultimately yield to the general voice of Europe, which, with a rare approach to unanimity, has pronounced in favour of Lord Salisbury's arguments; and, still more, to her perception of her own interest, which is deeply concerned that the Treaty of San Stefano, into whatever form it may

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eventually be moulded, should be guaranteed by the general sanction of the other Great Powers. Still less will we presume to anticipate the character and extent of the modifications which may be suggested, pressed, and decided on. On those points, if the Congress should meet, we shall wait for its proceedings with great anxiety, but it will be the anxiety of curiosity rather than the solicitude of fear. On one point we have no doubt,—what will be the attitude taken up, and the language held by our ambassador. They will exhibit a singular independence; they will be those of a mediator, not of a litigant. We shall have no selfish objects to promote: nothing to gain, and but little to fear. Save the one question of the free navigation of the Straits for vessels of commerce we have no immediate interest at stake, and in that all the world's interest is the same. And it is absolutely impossible that any topic which can be discussed can affect our national honour. It will be for the interests and honour of others, and among them, of both the late belligerents, that we shall be vigilant. And in the consideration of those objects, whenever any topics are brought forward on which it is due to ourselves to make our voice heard, it will be heard with effect. Our attitude during the past year, however at one time misunderstood, must now be admitted to have been that of conscious strength. We felt that we could afford to be quiet because we are well prepared to encounter all changes or emergencies. But the moment that the successes of the conqueror, which he was seen to have achieved, and the further designs which he was suspected of meditating, suggested the barest possibility of any affront to our national dignity, or any injury or peril to our fellow-countrymen, we made an instant display of our power and resolution, before which all the danger, if any had really existed, instantly vanished. There has rarely been a more imposing exhibition on a small scale than the passage of our fleet up the narrow and intricate passage of the Dardanelles, through a storm of wind and snow which would have made the navigation of the most familiar waters uncertain and difficult; and the general approval with which that display of our power and determination was received at home, with the cordial support given to our Government by the Parliament, and the resolution to support it in steps even more vigorous if the necessity should unhappily arise, will not be forgotten in the coming Congress. It will give our voice greater effect than ever; and that it does so there is no nation but will have cause to rejoice, since that voice will be steadily lifted up in favour of

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peace. To preserve peace is always the first duty of the government of every nation. To preserve it while other countries are at war, and by preserving it oneself to lead to its re-establishment between others, is its greatest, because its purest, glory.

SHORT NOTICES.

Reply to the Short Notice in the 'Church Quarterly Review' *of January* 1878, *of an Enquiry whether the Success of the Evangelical Movement of the Eighteenth Century consisted chiefly in the Propagation of Dissent.* By the Bishop of LLANDAFF. (London : Rivingtons, 1878.)

AFTER a careful perusal of the Bishop of Llandaff's remarks upon our 'Notice,' we cannot but think that his chief objection to it is founded upon a misapprehension of his own, for which we cannot hold ourselves responsible. It seems to us that he has misunderstood a passage which he quotes not quite accurately from page 318 of our last number, that *the success of the Evangelical movement consisted chiefly in propagating Dissent.* To this he refers again and again, and appears to gather from our use of the word *success* or *succeeded*, (1) that we regarded the propagation of Dissent as the object for which the Evangelical Fathers worked, and (2) that this result, when brought about, was to them, in our view, a cause of self-glorification.

Now what we really said was, that while *working for the revival of true religion*, they *succeeded* chiefly in propagating Dissent, and we intended to contrast the object of their work with what we hold to have been its result. They succeeded, doubtless, to some extent in what they aimed at, but chiefly in something at which they did not aim. We are really sorry to have to trespass on our readers' patience in making this explanation, but the Bishop's evident misunderstanding of it renders it necessary. Dean Mansel makes a somewhat similar use of the word *succeeded* when he says[1]—

'Boethius wrote his *Commentaries* with the design of reconciling Aristotle and Plato—he *succeeded* only in contradicting himself.'

We should be surprised if the Bishop of Llandaff, or any one else, were to suppose from this that self-contradiction formed any part of Boethius' design, or that when attained it was a matter of satisfaction.

The Bishop then proceeds to qualify the first two (only) of those admissions which we noted in his former pamphlet : his chief remark being that if certain acts of Venn and others tended towards schism, this does not prove that the chief success of Evangelicalism was to propagate Dissent.

[1] *Artis Logicæ Rudimenta.* Aldrich. Edited by H. L. Mansel, B.D. Page 162, 3rd edition, 1856.

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We are quite aware of it. But if the Bishop admits, *first*, that the course adopted did encourage Dissent, and, *secondly*, that during the Evangelical ascendancy, Dissent flourished, surely he has, as our Short Notice said, conceded nearly all that the Article contended for. We gave many proofs. We could have given many more.

The Bishop mentions Walker of Truro—a case in which, if in any, we might have looked for better things, as his classes were more carefully ordered than was common; yet no sooner was he dead than 'a goodly number' of his followers fell away, founding a chapel in Truro, and giving an impetus to Dissent in S. Columb and elsewhere.[1] So lately as 1815, we gather from the *Life of Mr. Thorne*,[2] that a Mr. Evans, a strong Calvinist, curate of Shebbear, North Devon, who worked diligently in his parish, removed the handsome rood-screen from his church 'as a protest against symbolical, as distinguished from real worship,' and finding few clergy like-minded, called in the co-operation of Cradock Glascott, Lady Huntingdon's itinerant at Hatherleigh. Their combined exertions resulted in Mrs. Thorne's experiencing conversion. She sought Methodist companionship, and fell in with Mr. O'Bryan, an ex-Wesleyan, who was roaming about the country preaching on his own account. She gave her two sons to the Gospel, and officiated frequently herself. Mr. J. Thorne, an earnest and energetic man, may be regarded as the organizer of the sect now known as the Bible Christians, numbering some 21,000.

In April 1802, Wilberforce's correspondent[3] writes that in the large parish of Helmsley 'there are seldom twenty people at Church:'—

> 'Such is the declension among Dr. Conyers' old hearers, that there is not above one house in the town where family prayer is kept up. The fallen state of the town ought to warn congregations in the Established Church who are deprived of Evangelical pastors against the evil of Dissent. The Helmsley people, impatient with Dr. Conyers' successor, built a Dissenting meeting-house, and crowded it in shoals. After many vicissitudes of preachers and preaching, it is shut up, and the people go nowhere, contenting themselves with railing at formal ministers and blind guides.'

What do these results show?

On page 16 his lordship seems to mistake our drift. Our question was, not whether men should be passive in an age of coldness, but whether as Churchmen they ought not to have kept within Church lines. The Bishop assumes that the Evangelicals alone taught the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, or, at any rate, with few exceptions; but his own quotations show that others were up and doing. And we believe, to use the words of Stubbs, that—

[1] *Lady Huntingdon's Life*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 418.

[2] *Memoir of James Thorne of Shebbear.* Bible Christian Book Room, London, 1873.

[3] *Wilberforce Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 243.

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'It would be useless to attempt to enumerate all who, in what was called the High Church school of Anglicanism, deserved well of their own generation, and handed on the light to the next. The names of Bishops Butler, Wilson, Conybeare, Wake, Potter, Gibson, Berkeley, Lowth, are instances in point. Bingham, who died in 1723, and Waterland, who died in 1740, were men whose works are not likely to be superseded in ecclesiastical or doctrinal history. Dr. Johnson may perhaps be taken as a representative layman.'[1]

'Side by side with these were the rising Evangelical party. The views of this school are marked by a tendency to an exclusive subjectiveness in doctrine, and to a low estimate of the sacraments, as well as of the safeguards sought by the Church in discipline and liturgical ordinances. The doctrine of justification by faith alone was exalted by them into a position which it had never held authoritatively in the English Church.[2] And the atonement of our Lord was used rather as the watchword of a limited school than as the foundation of common Christianity. While there was no reason to suppose that these doctrines were held less firmly by the great body of Churchmen than by themselves, they alienated the sympathies of most moderate men by a sort of claim to be the sole depositaries of the truth. The result was a certain narrowness of mind and corresponding shallowness of theology.'[3]

We cannot but think the Bishop is unreasonable in considering that we prove nothing unless we prove that *all* the serious clergy approved the proceedings of their fellows. We know that there were exceptions; but surely it is out of the mouths of those who *were* the exceptions that we learn most conclusively both the nature and the extent of the evil.

Again we are truly sorry that our reading of the facts compels us to a different conclusion from that of Mr. Maclagan, on whom the bishop relies so strongly. And regarding the 157 registered sects, we cannot think we owe a debt, which can never be repaid, to those who were chiefly instrumental in calling them into being. But this only enhances our pleasure when we can agree with him. We assent heartily to his condemnation of the deadness of our services in times past, as also of 'the old superstition not yet exploded, which South quaintly describes as a belief that we could be pulled up to heaven by our ears.' We are quite at one with him in thinking that present circumstances demand irregular efforts, but 'in perfect loyalty to the Church system,' and also in his belief 'that few things

[1] Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* ed. Stubbs, 1863. Vol. iii. p. 603.

[2] Or, we may add, in the Church Catholic. On this let us quote Sir J. Stephen's *Evangelical Succession*, ed. of 1875, p. 439, where, after enumerating Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, and the chief of the Fathers, he says:—

'Whatever may be the truth or whatever the antiquity of the Lutheran doctrine of justification, Milner has not been able to prove that it held in the theological system of those Fathers of the Church the all-important work assigned to it by the great Reformer, Luther. That this polar star of our faith underwent a protracted and almost a total eclipse, is one of those strange and obstinate facts which the inquiries of Milner ascertained, and which his integrity has virtually acknowledged.'

[3] Stubbs' *Mosheim.* Ed. 1863. Vol. iii. p. 604.

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would help more to attach the people to the Church than a full and faithful adherence to the Church's system;' and, lastly, that 'had there been zeal enough in the Church to provide the means of grace and ministrations of the Church for our growing population, they would not have been driven to the formation of those habits of neglect [of religious worship], the uprooting of which is proverbially so difficult;' for Mr. Maclagan believes that not the Church only, but religion generally, has lost its hold on the masses.[1]

And this last quotation leads us on to the question which the Bishop asks repeatedly—why did not the Church party make greater exertions? Practically, this question was answered in the original article, which dwelt largely on the causes which led to the suppression of those exertions which it was making, and making with such marked success up to the time of Walpole's administration. We cannot repeat the details, but it should be added that, until after the death of the Pretender, in 1788, for a clergyman to be known as an energetic Churchman was to incur the suspicion of the Government, and probably persecution as a Jacobite. The door of preferment was absolutely closed to such men, so that they were only too thankful to be allowed to work quietly in their own parishes.[2] No influence of theirs would have induced the Government to repeal the acts which restricted Church-building, or the free action of the Church, and the obstinate refusal to sanction a Colonial Episcopate is a case in point. The men above named by Stubbs were not preferred because of their churchmanship, but because they were Whigs, and therefore expected to prove latitudinarians. Wake and Gibson had greatly aided the Government by their pens. Berkeley's Philosophy led to his promotion, and perhaps also some pity for a man whom the Government had caused to sacrifice his time, his money, and his library. Secker had been a Presbyterian preacher, Butler a Dis-

[1] See Essay X. in *The Church and the People* (1870), by W. D. Maclagan, M.A.

[2] For a singularly apposite description of the working of persistent discouragement, we cannot help quoting the following words of Bishop Wilberforce:—'The sight of such perpetual wrongs, endured by such as will endure them, produces a marvellous effect on the more generous-hearted of the young, who ought to furnish the next generation of clergy, and their early aspirations are weaned from the ministry of such a Church. When the highest abilities, the soundest learning and the heartiest loyalty are thus resolutely ostracised, there is first an enfeebling of the strength which should have been supplied by the resources withheld. The effect is the same as in the natural body, loss of tone, a general tendency to listness-ness and apathy. Nor is this all. On the men marked out for such unmerited exclusion, even on the most high-minded and patient, it works for evil. There is no legitimate room for exertion of talents, which, when not spent for the blessing of others, feed inwardly on the heart, nor is it possible to love, as they should have loved it, the community of which they are scarcely admitted to be loyal citizens. They may pray for the peace of Jerusalem, but it cannot be to them the Zion in which they have delighted with all the intensity of Christian ardour. It is a *dira noverca*, not a loving mother, for whom they are called on to labour.'—'The Church and her Bishops,' *Quarterly Review*, October 1863, p. 542.

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senter, known to Clarke. Of Horne, Jones remarks that he was preferred in spite of his merits, and then only when so feeble that he could scarce climb the steps of his palace. Wilson was a Churchman, but he owed his promotion, as did Hildesley, to the Earl of Derby. It was the responsibility of their office, and the Church system itself, which disciplined most of these men into becoming what they were; and if Wilson and Hildesley met all the growing needs of the growing population of Man, is it unreasonable to suppose that their English brethren would have done the like had their hands been free? Had the Evangelical Fathers worked in Church lines, strengthened instead of weakening the Bishops, can we doubt the result would have been different? When the Church party *did* begin to move, we must all admit that it did it to good effect, and that the hand of the spoiler has been stayed.

As to the question of morals, if the Bishop is not satisfied with the census paper, and the official return of applications for divorce, and the admissions of Evangelical writers, we must give up the hope of convincing him. But when he goes on to hold himself excused from defending the Church character of the Societies founded by the Evangelicals, we must be allowed to differ. The Church Missionary Society calls itself a Church society, and if this society represents the *churchmanship* of its founders, what must their laxity have been? Let our readers refer to the short pamphlet lately issued by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, entitled, 'Diocesan Organisation in India,' and contrast its spirit with that exhibited by the Church Missionary Society, as shown in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, pp. 48–51, for the year 1871.

As to the Bible Society, however much we may differ from it, we should be grieved indeed to misrepresent its actions. We asserted that Mr. Charles was an ex-clergyman and an itinerant preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists, that the version of Scripture issued under his superintendence was cancelled, and that in 1827 the Bible Society had no Welsh Bible. So far, we believe, the Bishop allows us to be correct. We abstained from specifying the nature of the errors which Charles had committed, not having examined the subject carefully. We feel, therefore, that we are in no way deserving of censure for the mere statement of a fact. The Bishop evidently has been reading the article in the *Quarterly Review* of July, 1827,[1] and this portion of his pamphlet is rather an answer to the charges made in that periodical than by us. The writer in the *Quarterly* does imply that the sense of Scripture was tampered with. The Bishop admits that a charge of 'altering the translation' was made, as also complaint 'that unwarrantable liberties were being taken.' But his lordship affirms the charge to be untrue. The cause of the withdrawal of this edition from circulation was, according to the Bishop, that Charles's spelling was incorrect. That the Bishop has quite convinced himself of the truth of his assertion we readily

[1] 'The Management of the British and Foreign Bible Society.'—*Quarterly Review*, June, 1827.

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credit. But, seeing that Charles is declared to be an able Welsh scholar, that he published in 1805 a Scripture dictionary, which in 1836 reached a third edition, we confess it taxes our credulity to the utmost to believe that with such a famine of the Word of God as then existed, an edition of the Scriptures was cancelled for the sole reason that certain words were misspelt which in a second edition could be remedied.

The Bishop, writing hastily, is in error in quoting the Reviewer as saying 'the Bible Society was so ordered as in an irreligious era to exclude the doctrines of the Church.' This was said of the British and Foreign School Society, quite a different thing. The Reviewer did represent the Bible Society as encouraging greater freedom of thought, and the Bishop objects to this phrase, though he can hardly deny that a Society so constituted must promote rationalism, and rationalism too often leads to infidelity. Our original article cited the case of a late Bishop of Salisbury, who withdrew from it because he found it impossible for a meeting of persons assembled to promote the circulation of God's Word, joining in worshipping Him in prayer; and the Rev. W. Phelan, in a tract, 'The Bible, not the Bible Society,' quotes the Rev. J. Owen as stating that it was the principle of the Society to admit Jews and Mohammedans. We cannot, therefore, deem our phrase inapplicable.

One word only in conclusion, and that in reference to the Bishop's strictures on the spirit and motive of our article of last October. The Bishop misconceives us totally if he imagines that one thought of bitterness, or one idea of detraction from the personal goodness or good intentions of those whose course we criticised, had entered our minds. It was the measures, not the men, the results, not the intentions, on which we remarked. We should have thought also that a *bishop* could scarce have failed to appreciate the obvious motive which underlay so much of what he criticises, namely, to enforce by an actual example the danger of attempting a reform by means which involve defective principles. All history shows that in such cases the reform is doubtful, that the ultimate Nemesis of the defective principle is sure. Even when at first the reform seems likely to succeed, its fruit is but frail and temporary, it fades and withers, and leaving only the resulting mischief in stubborn permanence. It was so with the mendicant orders which came to the rescue of the Latin Church, and which that Church is so often (mistakenly) lauded for its cleverness in turning to account. For the moment, indeed, they were of signal service, but their *principles* carried within them the seeds of future mischief, which a truer foresight—or what would have answered the same purpose, a more tenacious conscience—would have avoided. Can any one doubt that the ultimate evils of the mendicant orders far, far outweighed their immediate services? The lesson is not less wanted now, and that in more than one department of the spiritual and moral work of the Church of England. Happily, it is an age of zeal, but all the more need that those whose business is either to rule or to guide, should seek by every means in their power to instruct that zeal in the

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principles of that religion and that Church, whose shortcomings they seek to supply.

Studia Sacra. Commentaries on the Introductory Verses of S. John's Gospel, and on a Portion of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with other Theological Papers. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co.)

IF Churchmen welcome Mr. Keble's sermons, they will be specially glad to receive this fragment of a commentary, however brief, from his pen. It consists of a commentary on the *first fifteen* verses of the Gospel of S. John, of an admirable exposition of chapters i. to vi. of the Epistle to the Romans, and a useful analysis of S. Paul's Epistles. Besides this, we have a valuable *excursus* on the question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, in which, without adding much of his own, Mr. Keble has arranged in a systematic manner (1), the Scriptural evidence; and (2), *references* to the Patristic evidence bearing on the question, so far as relates to S. Augustine for the Latins, S. Athanasius, S. Cyril Alex, and S. Basil, for the Greeks. These latter his editor, Canon Norris, has transcribed at length and *translated*, so as to constitute the excursus and appendix together a useful handbook (to the extent of its purpose) of the controversy. Some 'Notes on the Greek Testament,' found in an interleaved Cambridge Testament, which was much used by Mr. Keble in his earlier years, have been added as an appendix. They extend over the first eleven chapters of S. Matthew's Gospel, and are avowedly meant to serve as a *specimen*. This *quasi* Commentary is, of course, pious, and occasionally suggestive, but does not, on the whole, seem to possess any specially marked character, and we think the editors have been well advised in not printing it *in toto*, as was originally projected. It is the more incumbent on us to say this, because they are early works being published posthumously. Unquestionably Mr. Keble's writings, early or late, would have considerable value for all readers; but the early work of not one man in a thousand would stand such a test; and besides, as the editors allow in their preface—

'Some who read this preface may think that whatever reasons lead us to withhold a portion should prevail against the publication of any of these posthumous papers, for none appear with his sanction.

'It is true, we have not his leave. It may be true that some portions of what is here given are quite unequal to his later writings. It is probable that, had he been asked to publish them before he left us, he would have declined'—(p. xiii.).

So we are glad that they have decided as they have. In the fragment of a commentary on S. John we have the fruit of his riper years, and are face to face with a very different kind of work. Probably there have been very few men the character of whose minds fitted them, as was the case with Mr. Keble, to enter into relation and *rapport* with the mind of the greatest of the Evangelists. In him the spiritual Gospel has found a spiritually-minded commentator of the rarest excellence, and the perusal of this fragment gives (to use the words

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of Dr. Pusey) 'a thought what the golden string might have been could he have brought himself to undertake it earlier.'

It will not be expected of us, therefore, that we should do anything in the way of criticism upon this voice from the grave of one in whom the whole Anglican Communion revered a saint. The very character of the commentary, which is exactly like that of the sermons, and singularly different from the critical character of modern writings, indisposes the reader from taking this course. But we will give a short extract :—

'"*In Him,*" in that which He vouchsafed to become at His Incarnation—was Life ; the Life of all creatures that have ever lived was due, in God's secret and eternal counsels, to that condescension of the Word. *And the Life was the Light of men* ; of all *men* especially, that Life was, is, and ever will be, the Light. The "Breath of Life breathed" into Adam's "nostrils," whereby he "became a living soul," caused him to be in the image of God, who "is Light," and in whom "is no darkness at all." "God saw all that He had made" in Adam, "and behold, it was very good." The Life that He had given him was Light, heavenly Light. The two at the beginning were blended into one, so entirely were man's physical and intellectual powers pervaded and imbued with "righteousness and true holiness." It was "the Life of God in the soul of man ;" and true Light, except so imparted, man never had nor could have any. What may seem to be such—call it wisdom, knowledge, understanding, invention, counsel, energy, largeness of heart, or by what name soever it may be known—is all a mere dream or worse, except so far as it comes from the Word which was in the beginning with God. For as the secret presence of that Word, and His communication of Himself has been the principle of *Life* to all that have lived, so, whatever real *Light* the children of men have at any time enjoyed, or in any measure, it has been only due to this same Divine Presence ; a spark, as it were, of the vital fire mysteriously abiding within them, struck out by His providential working according to the counsel of His own will. The *Light* of mankind has been, is, and ever will be, the manifestation of the *Life* within them of the Living and Life-giving Word. "With thee," says the Holy Ghost by the Prophet David, "is the Fountain of *Life* ; in Thy Light shall we see light."

It is the same process which is described in the parallel passage already referred to, the opening of S. John's first Epistle. Only there the beloved disciple traces it in a somewhat different order, backwards from the visible and tangible result to the absolute, eternal cause. "We have heard Him, we have seen Him with our eyes, we have looked upon Him, our hands have handled Him, who is the Word of Life ;" and having been so made acquainted with Him, we tell you from Him, "this is the message which we have heard of Him, and declare unto you, that God is Light and in Him is no darkness at all." Here, on the other hand, the Apostle sets out from the Fountain—what our Lord is in Himself—and traces creating and redeeming Love all the way down to the moment in which he (S. John himself) with others beheld His glory'—(p. 19).

The Via Media of the Anglican Church. Illustrated in Lectures, Letters, and Tracts written between 1830 and 1841. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, of the Oratory, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. (London : Pickering.)

IN a recent number we noticed the first volume of this republica-

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tion. We now remark briefly upon the second and somewhat miscellaneous volume, containing Mr. Newman's various tracts and pamphlets bearing more or less on the doctrines and *status* of the Anglican Church, published during the busy years from 1830 to 1845, the bustle and intellectual conflict of which was such as in all probability to predispose him to that comparative retirement from controversy which followed for a time the step which he took in 1845.

As illustrative of his course, we observe the attitudes in which we successively find him during those years. First we see him in 1830 coming forward as a patron of the Church Missionary Society, 'which I would fain see generally countenanced by the clergy,' and with proposals for its being 'legitimatised.' Then we have two dialogues on the *Via Media*, in which several things are clear, but not the meaning of the writer; for a more hesitating and involved attempt at definition we have seldom read. After this, the writer being as yet in his anti-Roman phase, follows a dissertation 'On the Mode of Conducting the Controversy with Rome' (No. 71 of the 'Tracts for the Times') which would to a considerable extent be tenable now. Dr. Newman, in his running fire of footnotes, hits trifling inaccuracies in outlying portions of the argument here and there, but as to its main positions, he has recourse to his unfailing argument—

'As to "points of faith," they accept them all on the *ground* that the infallible Church proposes them. If we doubt of some, why believe any? They all come on the same authority'—(p. 100).

Which is simply destructive of the power of spiritual discernment in those subjected to its sway. For if the faithful are just to swallow down with shut eyes whatever the spiritual tyranny calling itself 'infallible' offers to their acceptance, what place is possible for the growth of their spiritual judgment, or for their training in spiritual things? Then follow two letters on Holy Baptism and on the Eucharist, which show that he had reached the Anglican position on those subjects, but was as yet in strong antagonism to Rome.

In these letters there are premonitions of the famous Tract XC., which is here reprinted next in order, with the letter of the Four College Tutors, the resolution of the Hebdomadal Council, and Mr. Newman's letter to the Vice-Chancellor avowing the authorship. After this his letter to Dr. Jelf defending the Tract; and another in the same year (1841) to the Bishop of Oxford, 'readily submitting' to withdraw it in deference to the Bishop's wishes, and expressing

'my great sorrow that any writing of mine should be judged objectionable by your lordship, and of a disturbing tendency, and my hope that in what I write in future I shall be more successful in approving myself to your lordship.

'I have reminded your lordship of my willingness on a former occasion to submit myself to any wishes of your lordship, had you thought it advisable at that time to signify them'—(p. 384).

It is an example of the irony of events that these somewhat profuse expressions of loyalty and submission to an Anglican bishop are followed by the author's 'Retractation of anti-Catholic Statements,

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dated 'Littlemore, October 6, 1845,' as extracted from the advertisement of the Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, 'published by the author on his joining the Catholic Church.' Is it not an example of a mind which was *always in extremes?*

We lay down the volume with regret. Dr. Newman has the rare gift, as he showed in his 'Apologia,' of expressing his inmost moods of mind in fitting words, and of unveiling his most delicate mental processes with a simplicity which is the highest art. And so in these pages we have again been listening to an autobiography, or a fragment of one. The biographer of Dr. Newman will not want for materials.

S. P. N. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini: De Recta Fide ad Imperatorem, De Incarnatione Unigeniti Dialogus, De Recta Fide ad Principissas, De Recta Fide ad Augustas, Quod unus Christus Dialogus, Apologeticus ad Imperatorem. Edidit post AUBERTUM, PHILIPPUS EDWARDUS PUSEY, A.M. (Oxonii: Jac. Parker Soc.que.)

THESE treatises form parts of the fifth and sixth volumes of the great edition of S. Cyril, by Aubert, in seven volumes folio, which is, indeed, the only complete critical edition existing, so far as we are aware. Three treatises on the subject of the Incarnation, a dialogue on the same subject, and an apologetic address to the Emperor Theodosius II., explaining the course he had pursued at the Council of Ephesus, make up the volume of selections which Mr. Pusey has here presented to learned readers. It is characteristic of the time that the second and third of these tracts should be addressed to the little knot of ladies who then swayed the destinies of the Roman world; the first to Arcadia and Marina, younger sisters of the Empress Pulcheria; the second to Pulcheria and the accomplished Athenais, or Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius. The last was addressed to the Emperor himself, and was occasioned by a report spread by Cyril's enemies, that he was endeavouring to divide the Imperial family in opinion, in order to secure a party to himself. This was too much in accordance with the tactics of the age to be inherently absurd; but at all events, S. Cyril was able to appeal to the evident fact that he had addressed them in no improper or unbecoming manner, and that his only purpose in contending as he had done at the Council, was not to gain any private advantage for himself, but to promote the glory of God, and to guard the integrity of the Catholic faith.

The value of these writings is not high from a literary point of view. But they form one of the great sources from whence we obtain exact information respecting the heresies of that period. We learn in many cases the precise statements of Nestorius, Manes, Cerinthus, Photinus, and other heresiarchs; and their copious citations both from the Old and New Testaments render them a valuable authority for the text as it then existed. Mr. Pusey is doing an acceptable service to the Church by reissuing these little-known tracts in the handsome and convenient form of the volume before us. We trust it is to be regarded simply as an instalment.

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Chapters of Early English Church History. By WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. (Clarendon Press.)

THIS work, the author tells us, is 'an expansion of lectures delivered to my class, while we had Bede's *History* before us, with a view to the Theological Final School.' We can only say that the undergraduates before whom they were read were much to be envied; and that the lectures, in their matured form, provide such a sketch of the beginnings of Church history among our English forefathers such as is nowhere else to be found; and will prove as acceptable to a wider circle of readers as we doubt not they have already proved to the smaller. The author, with his characteristic courtesy, acknowledges great obligations to the late Mr. Haddan and Professor Stubbs. Certainly from that peculiarly *national* school of historians, of which the latter is so distinguished an exemplar, he has drawn a pattern of patient industry and unswerving fidelity to facts, of which his own book is a striking instance. The thick array of notes at the foot of every page shows how much ground has been gone over in the composition of the history; and the result is a work of abiding value, and a permanent addition to the library.

The very first steps of the Gospel in Britain are so enveloped in doubt, the extant accounts so almost mythical in character, that it is with more regret than surprise we find them cavalierly negatived by the present author. The theory that S. Paul once landed to preach the Gospel is dismissed in a word as a 'pious fancy,' nor does the Eastern origin of British Christianity fare much better. He sees, however, no reason to doubt the 'historic reality' of the martyrdom of the British Protomartyr, S. Alban. The grotesque mistake which turned the martyr's *amphibalus*, or large mantle, into the name of a man, his companion in martyrdom, he passes by with a word.

On the whole, he appears to us to be more in harmony with Saxon than with British Christianity. He vindicates, however, the essential Catholicity of the singular arrangement by which the primacy of the Northern sees belonged to one who was no bishop—the presbyter-abbot of Iona. We do not know what Canon Bright's authority may be for styling this Northern Church the Church of Alba, a term which strikes us as unusual.

Perhaps the most brilliant of all the sketches is that of the life of Wilfrid. It has an abundance of detail and a dramatic completeness which contrasts strongly with the conventional terms and the poverty of incident with which most of his contemporaries are recorded. He reminds us of no one so much as the great prelate-statesman or statesman-prelate three centuries after, in whom Wilfrid's love of appeals to Rome seemed to have revived again, and with results even more unhappy—we mean S. Thomas à Becket. We can hardly speak too highly of the care and particularity with which every part of his life is set in the fullest light and fitted into its place. About Wilfrid himself his biographer is enthusiastic; and although forced, as an English Churchman acquainted with Rome's later usurpations, to dislike

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his persistent appeals to Rome, he admits much substantial justice in Wilfrid's protests themselves. He sums up the matter very fairly:—

'Not so thought the great body of English clergy and laity at this time. They stood, indeed, in different degrees of obligation to the Roman Church. She was directly the mother-Church to Kent and also to Wessex, and indirectly to East-Anglia; in a limited sense, considering the retreat of Paulinus, to Northumbria; in a technical but ineffective sense, considering the failure of Mellitus, to Essex including London; in no sense at all, to wide-spreading Mercia. In so far as the several dioceses had been welded together in subordination to Canterbury, they were debtors through Canterbury to its spiritual parent; and they had all concurred in accepting Theodore as a special gift from the hands of Rome. They all, though probably not all with equal definiteness of conception, acknowledged in Rome a peculiar pre-eminence, a special heritage of Apostolic grace; to all of them the See of Peter was a title of august and sacred import, and they were too simple to analyse its significance or to test its grounds. But, with all this, they had not, as a body, in 678, any clear notion that gratitude or reverence could bind them to recognise a systematic interference on Rome's part in their domestic Church matters, by virtue of which any national Church decision might at any time be nullified by a court of appeal sitting far beyond the Alps. The aversion to "outlandish" authority, keen and strong in the insular mind even through the later Middle Ages, was now, in Northumbria, even scornfully incredulous as to any practical exercise of such authority; and, as far as we know, Benedict Biscop, with all that enthusiasm for Roman sanctities which repeated visits to Rome had fostered, never thought, on his return from the fifth of those visits, or afterwards, of taking Wilfrid's part in this quarrel'—(p. 287).

The account of another great English bishop, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, seems to us somewhat meagre. But the character of Augustine is finely sketched; and the slowly progressive character of the establishment of Christianity in the island under Augustine and his immediate helpers and successors is made very clear. The frequent retrogressions too, which were incidents in its early history, are recorded, and will teach a useful lesson to those who are impatient with the slow rate of advance made by our own missions in this age.

On the whole, we cannot doubt that this able sketch of the *origines* of our Church will take the place of all others for the period which it embraces, and with the special class of students for whom it is intended.

History of the Church of England, from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction. By RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M.A., Vicar of Hayton. Vol. I., Henry VIII., A.D. 1529–1537. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)

THE Roman view of the Reformation regards it as simply a wicked revolt of the State of England against the authority of the Apostolic See, which was acquiesced in by the English Church. The Protestant looks upon it as a visible interposition of the Divine Providence in human things; he thinks its aims wholly good, and its actors the saints and heroes of the age in which they lived.

Between these two views there lies a third, which we may call the

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Anglican. To an adherent of this middle term between two extremes the Reformation is a thing requiring neither to be unreservedly approved nor altogether deplored. He allows a justifiable reason for the movement, though not approving all that the Reformers said or did; and the general result is that the Reformation owes them less than it is the fashion, with friends and enemies alkie, to declare; in a word, that the movement produced the leaders, and not the leaders the movement. They had the shaping of it in details, and in details it bears the marks of their hands to this day; but the great lines on which it was to move were settled beforehand, and were not their doing. The men of Henry the Eighth's time did not even settle the question whether there should be a Reformation or no. The King and his courtiers and his Commons may have provoked the immediate explosion, but it was an explosion which they had not prepared, and of which the combustible materials had been accumulating for ages. A reconstruction of ecclesiastical affairs was, in fact, due about that time, and would certainly have come somehow and somewhen—whether or no Henry had married his brother's widow and then a good while after came to see, or think he saw,

'The Gospel light first dawn from Bullen's eyes.'

We are but indicating the view named above, and will not here pursue it farther. But it appears to us to be substantially the view maintained in the work before us, of which the first volume is but an instalment, comprehending the events of only eight years. They were eight very important years nevertheless; for during these took place the king's divorce, the Act of Submission of the clergy, the abolition of appeals to Rome, the deaths of More and Fisher, and the suppression of the monasteries, with a host of subsidiary and attendant events which would have been of first-rate importance in quieter times, but which, in the crash of still vaster interests, passed almost unregarded.

The great ideas which govern the present author's conception of the English Reformation, so far as they can be gathered from this part of his work, are two:—

1. He considers that a Reformation was needed, but that it might very well have been carried by the Church herself; and that from a Reformation it became well-nigh a destruction, by its being taken out of the hands of the clergy.

'The study of the English Reformation, not pursued without considerable labour, has led me to the conclusion that at the time of the abolition of the Papal jurisdiction a reformation was needed in many things: but that it was carried out on the whole by bad instruments, and attended by great calamities. The Church was taken out of the hands of the clergy, to be managed by the laity. The king and the temporal estates overruled the spirituality. If the Church had been left to her proper officers to be reformed, and the needful compulsion given to them which it was always in the power of the king and temporality to apply, the state of the nation would have been better at this day. I shall endeavour in the course of my work to follow out the difficult question of the relation of the clergy to the reformatory movement—an important

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question, to which the general answer is, that while the management of the Church in discipline and the temporalities may be said to have been taken from the clergy, and taken far more absolutely than seems generally thought, the reformation of doctrine was left to them in great measure; and yet by no means always left to them in their collective capacity, to their convocations or synods, to the Church representative, or assembly of the spirituality, but, in many important instances, assigned to certain of them sitting in commissions. A long chapter in the history of the Church of England is opened from the time of the abolition of the Papal authority; and the most comprehensive title of this would be, Of the Church of England under Formularies of Faith and Acts for the Uniformity of Religion'—(p. 7).

2. Such a thrusting aside of the constitutional authorities of the Church, and such widespread spoliation of Church property, became possible by an extraordinary combination of dangerous circumstances, and specially by the character of the king himself. The power of the Crown had hitherto repressed the latent forces of the Revolution; but when, on the contrary, the sovereign encouraged them, and even put himself at their head, successful resistance was impossible:—

'The ancient nobility had perished in the civil wars. Their place was being filled by a swarm of political adventurers, many of whom were among the worst men in the kingdom. New creations of nobility continued throughout the sixteenth century. These new men nearly all ranged themselves on the side of the party of innovation. At the head of all was a king who was more completely the man of the times than any person in his realm. A man of force without grandeur; of great ability, but not of lofty intellect: punctilious, and yet unscrupulous: centred in himself: greedy and profuse: cunning rather than sagacious: of fearful passions and intolerable pride, but destitute of ambition in the nobler sense of the word: a character of degraded magnificence. Such a king was no safe guardian of the rights of the realm. The only quality which preserved him from being a mere revolutionist was his cautious love of acting under constitutional and legal forms. A tremendous revolution in property—a revolution of the rich against the poor—was carried on in the latter years of Henry the Eighth; and was continued after his death by men whom he set up: but it was carried on, almost without exception, under some form of constitutional or legal procedure. That such a king was on the throne was the circumstance above all others which brought on the Reformation. The usual elements of disturbance were at work; but they might have been overruled, as they had been hitherto, but for Henry and his personal character and history. The laity had always been more or less opposed to the claims of the clergy: the patrimony of the Church had always been sapped by the avarice both of laymen, and not less of ecclesiastics and religious societies: proposals far more revolutionary, as regarded the endowments of the Church, than any that were carried at the Reformation had been made to the King of England in open Parliament a hundred years before: and the corruption of the clergy and the religious orders had been the theme of the satire of men who were themselves under no religious obligations, and owned no master but their will, for two centuries. But the King of England had hitherto stood in the gate to protect the one party from the other, and to preserve the rights of all. Now he lent the sanctity of the crown to an enormous devastation; and the elements which might have been controlled became uncontrollable. They raged: they gathered so much

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voice and volume, as to have led to the common notion that they were now evoked by something rotten in the state of things which had not been in existence before, or had now at length overpassed all endurance. Whereas the waters had always been behind the floodgates, but he who letted them was not hitherto out of the way'—(p. 4).

The fault of this view is that it is too *insular*. The author does not take sufficient account of the great wave of religious disturbance which was then passing over the mind of Europe, and in which England shared to the full. What he says is true enough as far as it goes; but what he apparently fails to see is, that these causes which he truly enumerates, would have been altogether inadequate to bring about the result, unless the popular mind had been long and extensively prepared for them beforehand. The attack upon Church doctrines and Church property produced, as it was, something approaching to civil war more than once. Can any one doubt that if it had been begun, say a century earlier, by Henry VI. or Edward IV., it would have cost the assailant his crown, if not his life?

The Renaissance had, in fact, cut the ground from under belief to a considerable extent. And what the Renaissance did among the more cultured classes, the doctrines of Wickliffe, smouldering secretly under the surface, and betraying themselves only by the occasional surprise of a secret conventicle or the seizure of some prohibited books, had long been doing for the masses of the poor.

When, however, the author comes to describe the events by which in England itself the alteration was effected, this air of inadequacy leaves his work. He relates with great minuteness how the plot thickened from the Parliament of 1529 onwards, and how the king's advance towards the spoliation of Church property, at first hesitating and slow, became open, undisguised, and rapid, as soon as he found that he had the nation, or a sufficient part of it, at his back, and could command the willing assent of the House of Commons to whatever he pleased, as long as he asked nothing that touched themselves. Indeed, this part of Mr. Dixon's history is one long able arraignment of the violence, the hypocrisy, and the greed of Henry VIII. It might have been written as a 'counterblast' to Mr. J. A. Froude's often fulsome panegyric of the same monarch; and we think that few readers will doubt which of these portraits, each of them, perhaps, somewhat biassed, is nearer to the truth of history.

Very striking also is the narrative given in Chapter II. of the struggle between the king and the clergy in Convocation, the Præmunire, and the Act of Submission, in which the king was acknowledged (with the famous qualifying words) to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England. The author has an accurate and instinctive appreciation of what would be the feeling of a body of clergymen, which does much to increase the beauty and fidelity of the narrative. Of the entire incident, which most assuredly does no discredit to the English clergy, who were first most perfidiously entrapped into a Præmunire, and then crushed by superior force, he says:—

'The history of the conflict has not been preserved with exact accuracy amid the fame of the victory; and the glory of the conqueror has

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been doubled by the singular process of detracting from the firmness and skill of his adversaries. But strict inquiry will teach us in great part to reverse the popular representations, and will make it apparent that the resistance of the defeated party was by no means ingorious; that the triumph of the victor, as far at least as words went, was not so complete as it is generally supposed; and that though the fruits of victory passed to the stronger, the honours of the day remained with the weaker of the combatants.

. . . . . .

'The clergy, who had granted away their money without difficulty, hesitated to acknowledge the supremacy in the new terms proposed. This is that mind of the clergy which seems inconceivable to some of the writers of English history. They were the official guardians of the Church; they knew the Church to be passing through a great crisis; and it seemed to them that if there were any necessity now to make a formal acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, it should be made in more moderate terms. It is owned, however, even by their avowed enemies that it was to their credit, whether they were right or wrong, that their resistance began upon points touching their position, not their purses'—(pp. 57, 64).

Not less interesting is his narrative of the suppression of the monasteries, and he shows cause (which we cannot now go into) for believing that much of the long black list of accusations against the 'religious' of that day has grown by inference and inuendo, and is not based on reliable statements. The historical foundation for such accusations is proved to grow smaller and smaller as we approach the times in which they belong; and, for many of the worst, there was never, as far as appears, any foundation at all.

This work, then, is on the whole well worth attention and perusal. The writer's considerable acquaintance with the facts, and accurate conceptions of those facts, quite encourage us to believe that we shall have in it, when completed, a work of real historical value, which will, in many ways, correct current misconceptions of things and people; while the writer's vigorous sarcasm, and power, and liveliness of style possess a charm of their own, which every reader will appreciate.

On the Relations between England and Rome during the earlier portion of the Reign of Henry III. By HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, B.D., Editor of the 'Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris.' (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)

INTO this pamphlet of some seventy pages Mr. Luard has compressed the results of much research, and has placed before us curious facts and tersely expressed comments, which possess a very real value and interest for the student of the history of the Church and of the history of England. Our limits compel us to content ourselves with only a brief notice (1) of a few of the facts, and (2) of a few of the inferences either expressed or implied by our author.

1. The period embraced is A.D. 1216–1235. This is only, as Mr. Luard's title reminds us, a portion of the prolonged reign of Henry. (All the *thirds*, save Richard, were a long time on the throne

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of England.) But there were two Bishops of Rome, Honorius III., elected in A.D. 1216, and his successor, Gregory IX., elected in A.D. 1227.

Certainly the facts here succinctly stated convey a vivid impression of the activity and energy of the Court and Church of Rome under Honorius III. Nothing seems too large, and nothing too trivial for notice. The French prelates who owe feudal obedience to Henry III. are bidden to haste to England that they may support his claim to the throne. The Archbishop of Dublin receives permission to reduce the monks in his province to a better state of discipline. The chapter of York is to restore the church of Bramham to the prior and canons of St. Oswald's, Nostell.[1] The dowry of Queen Berengaria, widow of Richard I., must be secured for her. Archbishop Gray, of York, is requested to confer a prebend on Roffrid, clerk to the Bishop of Ostia. The same archbishop is forbidden to carry his cross *erect* within the province of Canterbury. A commission, consisting of the Primate of the Southern Province (Langton), the Bishop of Lichfield, and the abbot of Fountains, is to examine the claims for canonization made on behalf of Hugh, late Bishop of Lincoln. The extortions carried on by Jews are inquired into. Isabella, the King's mother, is to desist from molesting her son. The Cistercians in England need not travel more than two days' journey from their monastery in any matter of legal trial. The barons, who decline (in A.D. 1224) to recognise the fact that King Henry is now of age, are threatened by Langton with excommunication. The Pope interferes on behalf of a great villain, Fawkes de Breauté. The pantheising treatise of Scotus Erigena *De Divisione Naturæ* is to be burnt, wherever it can be found. The Bishop of Salisbury (de Poore) is translated, in 1226, to Durham by a kind of compromise between the Pope and the Prior and Canons of Durham. Thus far we are concerned with Pope Honorius. Under Gregory IX., the Archbishop of Canterbury is directed to allay the discontent caused by the promotion of foreigners in England. Englishmen ought not to grumble on this score, since there is no acceptance of persons with God. In 1235, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, is summoned to Rome, to aid the Pope against the Romans by his wealth and by his military skill. 'Gregory knew,' says Paris, 'that the Bishop had plenty of money, or, if not, that there was plenty in Winchester diocese, and the Pope preferred that the Bishop should spend his treasure in his service rather than in that of any other.'

2. We have tried to emulate the fairness of Mr. Luard by selecting cases of interference which wear an unfavourable complexion, as well as those which tended to the benefit of the realm. On the whole, however, few impartial students of history can doubt but that the Papacy of the thirteenth century, though at times mistaken, and unduly meddlesome, was doing a good and righteous work for England, and one which no other power then existent could discharge.

The view of Mr. Luard has been truly described as somewhat

[1] We presume Nostell Priory, in Yorkshire, now the seat of a great county family, the Winns.

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more favourable to the Roman Pontiff than that of the average of English annalists of our day. But this is no reason for not giving him a hearing. Those who would refuse it would have refused it thirty or forty years ago to Hurter, Vogt, Palgrave, Arnold, and above all to Guizot, when they stepped forward to plead for a reversal of the narrow, spiteful, and untenable verdict delivered by the sceptics of the eighteenth century. Any interval of difference between Mr. Luard and the writers we have named must be slight indeed when compared with the gulf that severs them from the school of Hume and Mably and Voltaire.

Nevertheless we own that we are not quite prepared to take a further step with Mr. Luard, though we are quite as little inclined to go back in company with one whom many of us regard as a most over-rated personage, the late Bishop Thirlwall. A word as regards the past and the present is all that we can get set down to indicate our shade of difference. Mr. Luard speaks in terms of warm eulogy of Stephen Langton, and of the debt we owe to Innocent III. for giving England such a noble Primate. Most just; but then is not Milman right, for once at least, in representing as part of the merit of Langton his grand spirit of independence? Langton 'remembered not only that he was an Archbishop, but that he was an Englishman, and a noble of England. He had asserted with the Pope the liberties of the Church against the King; he asserted the liberties of England against the same King, though supported by the Pope.' Is there, we sorrowfully ask, a glimmer of any such feeling on the part of modern Roman prelates in England? Could we, who see a Cardinal Manning anxious to crush the liberties of Italy, trust him for a single day with a cause involving the liberties of England? Dr. Newman might possibly try to conciliate both points (the cause of the tiara and that of national freedom), but then Dr. Newman is no cardinal, nor archbishop, no, nor a bishop, nor even a *Monsignore*! Better days may be in store. Mr. Dale, the eminent Nonconformist minister, said on the gathering of the Vatican Council, 'Let us pray not *against* Rome, but for Rome;' and so, too, we would pray (as in fact we do pray in the Litany), that 'it may please God to govern His holy Church universal in the right way;' and hope that He may raise up a ruler to the largest communion in Christendom, who may cherish towards us sentiments like those of Urban VIII. rather than those of Pio Nono.

[As the concluding sentence of this notice may be thought to have been penned with special reference to the decease of Pius IX. and the election of Leo XIII., we think it right to say that the MS. reached us in January last, though too late for our issue of that quarter.—Ed. *C. Q. R.*]

Lectures on Mediæval Church History. Being the Substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of the Order of S. Patrick. (Macmillan and Co.)

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH has here re-edited and published certain

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Courses of Lectures delivered many years ago at Queen's College. Those who have a similar auditory in view, cannot do better than put this book into their hands. And there is no attempt at making its subjects too easy, for the author clearly avows his conviction, in which we entirely agree, that 'there is no need to break the bread of knowledge smaller for young women than young men.'

As to the Lectures, they are intended as an introduction to the study, and they form a very good one. The plan is that each lecture shall give a notion of a school or of a period, and it is but mere justice to say that it is carried out with wonderful success, and the book is one which few readers will lay down unfinished. The highly allusive nature of the style, too, is singularly provocative of further study, and must doubtless have stimulated the curiosity of some of those who heard them, and so have been the occasion of a good deal of healthy self-discipline. On the other hand, a careless or ill-prepared reader would find much in these pages that was unintelligible. And the lecturer's exquisitely balanced and philosophical style would perhaps rarely be appreciated as it deserves by readers to whom force and directness are the first of merits. But they are valuable lectures and especially so with reference to the Scholastics and the Mystics. We do not know any book suitable to be used in education, which covers exactly the same ground; and the Archbishop has done a service to the young of the upper and middle classes by giving it to the world.

The Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi. By SAMUEL KETTLEWELL, M.A., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Leeds. (London: Rivingtons.)

IN secular literature it is rare to find a book which has created an impression and come down to posterity, and has yet remained anonymous. On the side of readers gratitude and curiosity come into play; on the side of writers vanity and love of fame. Cicero observes that philosophers, who had written treatises on the contempt of glory, took care to inscribe their names upon the parchments. Occasional exceptions, such as fragments of Greek and of Scottish poetry, or the *Letters of Junius*, rather establish than disprove the general rule. But when we turn to sacred literature the case is somewhat altered. The authorship of several books of the Bible is either unknown or a matter of dispute; as, for instance, the Books of Chronicles and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Nor is this feature confined to the Jewish or the Christian canon. The writers of the earliest books held sacred by the Hindoos are unknown, and there is much difficulty in deciding how far Zoroaster was the author, how far only the editor of the Zendavesta.

It is singular that there should be a like uncertainty respecting the authorship of that work which, next to the Bible, has for many centuries been, of all religious books, the most popular in Western Christendom. The *De Imitatione Christi* has been again and again translated into every European tongue; but, whether the tradition

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which assigns it to Thomas à Kempis is correct or not, is still, in some measure, a question *sub judice.*

The volume before us is a disquisition on this subject, but its author has not unnaturally been led on to consider other points; such as the general excellence of the book, and the possibility of its author being a precursor of the Reformation. We can only bestow a few words on each head.

1. Mr. Kettlewell contends that one of the claimants (or rather one of those for whom the *De Imitatione* is claimed), Gersen of Vercelli, must be put out of court as a phantom, or, at any rate, as a man whose existence has yet to be proved. Here he seems to have a strong case. The Chancellor Gerson is, of course, no phantom, but a very real man, whose claims have been much advocated on the Continent, and who has recently received in England the support of Dr. Farrar. Mr. Kettlewell's seventeenth chapter supplies solid grounds, both from reason and authority, for the rejection of Gerson, though we do not feel so confidently as our author does on the particular points at issue upon this head between him and the Canon of Westminster. When we come to the positive evidence on behalf of Thomas à Kempis, Mr. Kettlewell chiefly follows the *Scutum Kempense* of Eusebius Amort, a work to which he most fully acknowledges his obligations. The external evidence is first adduced, and then attention is called to a really curious and interesting feature (which will probably be new to many of our readers as it certainly was to us), namely, the similarity of the rhythmical flow of many parts of the *De Imitatione* to that traceable in acknowledged writings of à Kempis. This seems to us the strongest part in Mr. Kettlewell's case on behalf of his client. We must, in fairness, say that many of the other traits of resemblance adduced in chapter xxvi. of this work would not greatly move us, if they stood simply by themselves. But Mr. Kettlewell may urge that they do not stand by themselves, but must be regarded in the light of so much subsidiary evidence.

2. On the defence of the character of the book as against a certain class of censors, we are entirely with our author. If, for example, the *De Imitatione* be charged with omission of the duties incumbent on a Christian man considered as a citizen, its author would have replied that he did not profess to treat of that aspect of our religion, but that the man who cherished the graces which he is here recommended, *Deo favente*, to cultivate, would prove to be not only a good brother within a monastery, but also a good husband, father, and citizen, if his vocation lay outside the convent walls. Next to the love of God *ought* to come the love of our own souls; and the really religious man will prove truly philanthropic, because he will learn to consider both tables of the law, and to look upon acts of love towards man as stepping-stones towards the love of God. But we will not attempt to add one to the many admirable eulogies so deservedly pronounced upon the *De Imitatione Christi.* Several are wisely cited in the book before us.[1]

[1] Mr. Kettlewell should correct, with all speed, the singular *lapsus* (at p. 20) of calling Leibnitz a *French* author. No doubt he wrote a great

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3. On the third point Mr. Kettlewell does not convince us. Of course, all the really spiritually-minded men of the middle ages did, both in life and morals, utter and enact a protest against practical corruptions, such as Lingard says, with only too much truth, must always exist 'in old and wealthy establishments.' Hence the fondness of Martin Luther for the works of Tauler, of S. Bernard, nay even of that extremely Roman Catholic writer, Bonaventure. But a great part of Mr. Kettlewell's argument might, in our judgment, be employed to prove that numbers of undoubted Romanists (we do not use the word opprobriously) were Reformers before the Reformation. Look at S. Anselm. How little there is in his *Monologium*, in his *Cur Deus Homo*, nay, even in his *Meditationes*, to which the keenest ultra-Protestant can object. And yet we know that S. Anselm was, in action, a firm supporter of the Papacy; indeed, much more so (perhaps in consequence of the fury of William Rufus) than Lanfranc, Grossetête, and many others whom we might name.

Further study of history will, we suspect, lead Mr. Kettlewell to modify a good many of his *obiter dicta*. His natural veneration for the pastor under whom he first served, the late Dean of Chichester, may possibly render him too apt to accept all the rulings laid down in Dr. Hook's writings as absolutely final. But Dr. Hook would, we believe, have questioned the correctness of many of the assumptions in this volume. Fuller acquaintance with such lives as those of S. Louis of France, and with such works as those of S. Thomas Aquinas, will surely convince Mr. Kettlewell that a very real and fervid love of the Saviour of mankind might co-exist with a sincere belief that the persecution of heretics was a duty. These, however, are problems of psychology, on which we have no space to enter. If our impressions concerning them do not entirely coincide with those of our author, we are none the less grateful to him for having produced a very interesting volume, on a subject on which no other work in the English language supplies so much valuable information in so good a tone. The research employed in producing it has evidently been a labour of love, and such labours seldom fail to display merits peculiarly their own.

Eternal Hope. Five Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey, November and December, 1877. By the Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Canon of Westminster. (Macmillan and Co., 1878.)

Canon Farrar's object in his Sermons on *Eternal Hope* is to substitute for the literal expectation of everlasting torment a belief which he maintains to be more primitive, Scriptural, and Catholic than either the modern Roman doctrine of Purgatory, or the two theories of Restorationism and Conditional Immortality, of the recent supporters of which opinions he nevertheless speaks with

deal in French, but so did Sismondi, Heine, Horace Walpole, and many more. It will hardly be safe for our author to travel in Germany until he restores to her the greatest genius she possessed at the date when Leibnitz flourished.

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much respect and sympathy. The volume will attract readers by the publicity of the controversy which followed the delivery of the Sermons; and their interest will be retained and kept up by the author's evident sincerity of purpose, and by the rapid rush of his impetuous rhetoric. But the arguments will scarcely convince any one who is not predisposed to conviction, and the lines of the reasoning are not drawn with sufficient steadiness and clearness to make the book, as it stands, a permanent addition to the literature of this solemn subject. Canon Farrar dwells with his usual emphatic energy on the more awful aspects of the common creed, so far as it teaches that physical torments of inconceivable terror are to be finally allotted at death to the majority of mankind, and are to be borne through an absolutely endless duration. He declares himself, however, unable to avail himself of the escape which is offered by either of the two theories named above, on the ground that neither can claim an uncontradicted support from Holy Scripture, and that the doctrine of partial annihilation, in particular, does not commend itself to the enlightened conscience. At the same time he repudiates the accretions which have gathered round the doctrine of Purgatory as a legacy from mediæval theology. Nor can he rest satisfied, like Bishop Martensen, and perhaps Bishop Thirlwall, with the admission 'that alike universal restoration and never-ending torments are unequivocally taught in Scripture, and that therefore in Scripture, as in life, there are insoluble antinomies' (p. 225). Admitting in their utmost force the arguments on which these several theories are grounded, he believes that he has found repose in a creed more 'ancient and noble' than any of them; the belief that opportunities falling short of Purgatorial fire will be extended to mankind after the death of the body, whereby the lingering imperfections of our present characters may be amended, and the stains of sin may be finally washed out, and the soul may be thus fitted for the Beatific Vision:—

'It was a deep misfortune to the Church that, while rejecting Purgatory, the reformers did not distinguish it from the widespread ancient, reasonable, and, I had almost said, necessary, belief in some condition in which—by what means we know not, whether by the *pœna sensûs* or only the *pœna damni*—imperfect souls who die in a state unfit for heaven may yet have perfected in them until the day of Christ that good work of God which has been in this world begun' (Preface, p. xix).

'It seems to me that if many passages of Scripture be taken *quite literally*, universal restoration is unequivocally taught, just as, if many passages be taken quite literally, the final annihilation of the wicked is taught; but that *endless torments are nowhere clearly taught*—the passages which appear to teach that doctrine being obviously figurative or historically misunderstood. If the decision be made to turn *solely on the literal* meaning of Scripture, I have no hesitation whatever in declaring my strong conviction that the universalist and annihilist theories have far more evidence of this sort for them than the popular view. It may be asked, Why then am I unable to adopt the universalist opinion? The answer is simple. It is because one or two passages—though far more than their due significance seems to have been attributed to them—seem to make it unwise to speak dogmatically on a matter which God has not clearly revealed. Comparing Scripture with Scripture, limiting Scrip-

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ture by Scripture, and judging of Scripture—as we are encouraged and taught to do—by that spirit of man which is the candle of the Lord, I see no tenable view but that ancient and noble one which I have here tried—alas! very imperfectly, but to the best of my power under present circumstances—to set forth and to defend' (p. 225).

In his wish to return to a more primitive theology, Canon Farrar would meet with a large amount of sympathy. But his actual treatment of the subject leads him, as in the second of the above passages, to raise so weak a barrier against universalism, that in spite of his sincere and honest protest, the evidence of his 'one or two' texts will be swept away, and, whatever he may think or wish, the universalists will be the real gainers from his ardent declamation. They will strengthen his guarded hope into a fixed conviction, 'that, even after death, through the infinite mercy of the loving Father,' (more than) 'many of the dead shall be alive again, and the lost be found' (p. 54); they will insist that this 'hope for the future' shall be extended to more than only 'many of the lost' (p. 59, note). And it is easy to find passages in which he himself enlarges this hope, from the future prospects of imperfect goodness, to reach the cases of men who have left this world in a state of unrepented sin:—

'If you ask me whether I must not believe in endless torments for these reprobates of earth, my answer is, Ay, for these, and for thee and for me too, unless we learn with all our hearts to love good and not evil; but whether God for Christ's sake may not enable us to do this even beyond the grave, if we have failed to do so in this life,—I cannot say. I know that God hates sin, because He loves the soul which it destroys . . . yet I know also that for these Christ died. The bigot may judge their souls if he likes; the Pharisee may consign them with conventional orthodoxy to endless torment; but so cannot and will not I . . . If, as we look into the abyss of our own hearts, we see infinite potentialities of guilt and vice, so, as I look on these, I see in them, in spite of all their shame and stain, the infinite potentialities of virtue . . . That without holiness none can see God; that every guilty deed, if unrepented of, must bring its own just and awful retribution; that for every impure and cruel soul there remaineth, behind the clouds of this world, the dark night of the next; *that* I know. But when I remember that even these have been known to burst into tears at a mother's name; that even these have been known at times to flash out into high deeds of momentary heroism—I see that God's spirit has nowhere taught us that He who gave cannot give back; that He who once made them innocent children, cannot restore their innocence again; that He who created them,—He who will have all men to be saved,—cannot recreate them in His own image, cannot uncreate their sins. At any rate no arrogant word, no theologic dogma, no acrid prejudice of mine, shall ever utter to them the language of despair, or stand between these—God's lowest—and His love. Nay, I believe that the Good Shepherd, for so He Himself has told us, will not cease to search for these, His lost sheep, *until* He find them'—(pp. 104–108).

Here the Canon takes a very long step in advance of the language of that previous quotation, in which he spoke only of 'imperfect souls who die in a state unfit for heaven,' and who 'may yet have *perfected* in them until the day of Christ that good work of God *which has*

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been in this world begun.' And surely the universalist would be most unreasonably exacting who was not very grateful for the above vigorous statement of what is so hard to distinguish from his own opinion. Was there ever a universalist who maintained that God will save men in and with their sins, or that the actually impure can enter heaven?

Canon Farrar spends a large amount of criticism on the three words on which the controversy mainly turns; hell, damnation, and everlasting. He declares that no revision of the English Bible will be satisfactory in which these terms are not all retranslated, or, better still perhaps, in two of the three cases, retained from the original language in an English dress. But he seems to forget that behind the English version there lies a long consensus of Scripture interpretation which ranges over more than a millennium; and that when the Bible has been revised, we shall then have to deal with the English wording of the Creeds and Prayer Book. For 'hell,' in particular, he points out that three different words will be required; Tartarus for 2 Pet. ii. 4; Hades for the unseen world; Gehenna for the (symbolical) place of torment. The word αἰώνιος causes him much more perplexity. He would probably accept the translation 'eternal,' if he could get rid of 'everlasting;' yet at one time he translates it 'agelong or æonian,' though confessing that 'æonian' can perhaps hardly be naturalised' (pp. 78, 197). At another time he speaks of 'æonian punishment' (p. xxxix); in many places we find the 'Gehenna of æonian fire' (pp. 88, 132, 143, 148, 153). We are inclined to regard his criticisms on this word 'æonian' as the weakest of his philological arguments. Supposing we grant that the term is only relative, and is to be measured by the *ævum* with which it is connected. Yet surely the coming ævum (Heb. vi. 5), the sphere of eternity, is the ævum of the ageless age of God. If human terms of duration are infinitely inadequate to measure the existence which shall ensue when there 'shall be time no longer,' it is because eternity is inconceivably grander, more changeless, more durable than time; because eternity combines the absolute unity and perfection of what time exhibits only in successive fragments; and the incapacity of human words to measure the steadfast changelessness of eternity can be no reason for degrading it with any tincture of the changefulness of time, by refusing to call it 'endless' or 'everlasting.'

His argument compels him of necessity to underestimate the probationary character of our present lives. If it is true, as he appears to teach, that the soul after death is to be submitted by God's mercy to fresh trial after trial, and if all are at last to be rescued except the possible but doubtful few who may persistently resist those trials, and remain for ever hardened in obdurate rebellion, we have to reinterpret all the Scripture declarations which have been always held to teach the paramount importance of the present life. We must no longer believe that Scripture is to be taken in its obvious sense when it teaches that 'the harvest is the end of the world'; that the second advent of Christ will be the signal for the general resurrection; that when the Son of Man comes in the glory of His Father with His angels, '*then* He shall reward every

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man according to his works;' that 'we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.' Canon Farrar's eager declamation loses all its force unless he believes that Scripture really means to extend our probation, as well as our purgation, beyond the grave. But how mighty is the difference which is thus introduced into the prospect of the future! How great is the danger lest such teaching should weaken or postpone the sense of present responsibility! It is one thing to maintain the possibility of some future condition in which imperfect souls shall be made perfect, and shall be cleansed from all the lingering sins which too often haunt the secret recesses even of the obedient heart. It is quite another thing to suggest that there may even yet be a perpetual renewal of our chances; and that this life, in which our blessed Saviour shared, this life on which we had believed that such momentous issues had been meant to depend,—that this life may possibly count for scarcely anything in that final determination which shall decide our position and our work for eternity.

Philochristus. Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord. (Macmillan and Co.)

THERE are two ways of regarding a book, and there are accordingly two ways of criticising it. You may regard it simply with reference to its avowed aim, and inquire into the worthiness of that aim, the manner in which it is pursued, the knowledge and skill brought to bear upon the subject, and the measure of success which has attended the effort. Or, secondly, disregarding for the moment such questions as the foregoing, you may accept the book as it stands, and treat it with reference to what it shows as to the standpoint of the writer; or, again, as an indication of the tendencies, or the needs, or the aspirations of the age to which the writer belongs.

Philochristus is a book which, to our thinking, is interesting in the latter point of view chiefly; as to the details of the book itself, we will add a few remarks presently. Viewed, however, as a witness to the characteristics and tendencies of the present moment, it is not without value. It is utterly 'rationalistic;' it cannot accept the 'supernatural,' and yet it affords the strongest testimony to the unique and peculiar attraction—we know not what other word to use—inherent in the character and the teaching of the Christ of our Gospels. The writer is as far as possible from being what anyone could call 'orthodox,' and in what sense he regards our Lord as divine it is impossible for us, and we should think not easy for him, to define. Yet for all that he is evidently under a spell as he contemplates His character—it attracts him, it subdues him; he approaches it with a reverent awe, he is ready to surrender himself to its mysterious influence, and he would like to render some account to himself of the reason why he is thus ready to yield himself to the charm. At the same time, while regarding Him with as much mysterious awe as you please, and ready in a certain sense to yield *himself* to the great Teacher, the writer is not in the smallest degree disposed to surrender his *objections* to the supernatural *quâ* supernatural, and though all his know-

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ledge of the Lord is of necessity derived from our Gospels, he is as far as possible from accepting any portion of their supernatural element, excepting only that which is perhaps the greatest marvel of all, namely, the miraculously impressive character of the Lord Himself. *That*, as we said above, he accepts with a real, loving awe and reverence—we use the word reverence advisedly, for it is more than respect, it is reverential awe. The words of the Lord find a response in his spirit; he feels their spiritual power, he bows before it, he acknowledges it. The curious thing is that the modern prejudice against miracles and the supernatural entirely prevent him from drawing the otherwise inevitable inference as to the nature of the Being who excites the feelings which he expresses.

After this our readers will not be surprised at our going on to say that the book is both hesitating in its conception and faltering in its details. It is not definitely humanistic, for it is full of vague outlooks towards the divine which would make the thoroughgoing humanitarian put it aside as none of his. It is equally removed from the unmistakeable claim to divinity which is clear enough in the Synoptics, and which is the special subject of S. John. Hence, however typical of the age from which it proceeds, it is peculiarly unsatisfactory, whether viewed as a portrait of its divine subject, or as a reason for the reverence with which He is regarded.

Essentially, if not formally, it is a study of the life of Christ cast into the shape of a narrative, supposed to be written by a contemporary who had been numbered among His followers, and one who in extreme old age, ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem, dedicates his work 'to the Saints of the Church in Londinium.' So, then, it is not so much a picture of the Lord, as an account of the impression supposed to have been made by the Lord upon an inquiring and receptive contemporary. He sketches the ignorance, the vacillation, the misconception of even the best and purest of the Lord's contemporaries; and save in its intensely modern tone, its intense anachronisms of thought, its habitual preference for the abstract and the vague over the concrete and definite, and its systematic avoidance of the supernatural, it is something like that which the post-apostolic ages knew as the Apocryphal Gospels. From the writer's point of view this method has the singular advantage of dealing with the ministry of our Lord and that alone, and thus avoids the entire cycle of the miraculous conceptions surrounding His birth, which, if we read the book rightly, its writer would equally shrink from rejecting or accepting. Perhaps the best part of the book lies in its sketch of the state of parties and of the public mind at the time of the Incarnation, and of the expectations of a Messiah amidst which our Lord's earthly career was cast. But the picture of our Lord Himself strikes us as deplorably weak, and though not without a certain sweetness, yet utterly inadequate to account for the very veneration with which the writer evidently regards Him. Looking to the actual record in the Gospels, there is everywhere a stamp of power about the character and actions of the Lord, which is at least as remarkable as the ineffable tenderness with which it was associated

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and interpenetrated. In the picture given by 'Philochristus' we see one whose teaching was half made up of sighs, of sad looks, and not unfrequently of total silence; one, too, whose acts and sayings have an air of dislocation incompatible with perfect humanity, and a certain lack of manliness and force which does not tend to inspire respect. Supposing for a moment that the Jesus of 'Philochristus' were the reality, it would be simply unthinkable that anyone could have constructed therefrom so inconceivably grand and dignified a character as the Jesus of the Gospels. Of course the Resurrection is a stumbling-block, and the Body of our Lord is supposed to have been made away with by the Sanhedrim while his subsequent appearances are resolved into the figments of excited imaginations, predisposed to believe in them—a hypothesis curiously at variance with the confession of the Evangelists, that in spite of His predictions our Lord's disciples were *not* predisposed to believe in His resurrection. Occasionally 'Philochristus' throws a side light worth noting upon detached incidents and discourses; but, as a whole, it is only another example of the hopelessness of constructing a *reasonable* account of the influence of the Christ-character on any hypothesis short of that of the Gospels themselves. The interest of the book lies in its testimony to the attractiveness of that character, even to those who do not accept it in its fulness; and this is at least a hopeful symptom, for which we cannot be too thankful.

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. Part I. Polytheism and Monotheism. Part II. Christianity. Two Volumes. (London: Rivingtons.)

This is a new edition and in a very convenient form. Any possible reader of Mr. Baring-Gould's really remarkable treatises will here find what will be to him an intellectual feast of no common kind. We should suppose, however, that the 'fit audience' Mr. Baring-Gould would thus find would unhappily be too few. The work is too highly intellectualised for the multitude; and so far as we ourselves are concerned we should not dare, unless we could devote forty or fifty pages of the *Church Quarterly* to the task, to attempt to review it. When we mention that the author sketches the entire circle of the religious ideas, and touches more or less remotely on most or all of the great systems of philosophy, it will be seen that we could not attempt a formal review of it within the limits to which we are here confined. All those, however, whose duty or choice it is to verify their beliefs, and to establish a *concordat* for their own and others' use, between the religious ideas which we inherit from the past, and the scientific ones which the present age generates with such profusion, will find valuable help from Mr. Baring-Gould's pages. But probably in the course of their perusal they will find much to excite a good deal of intellectual combativeness—if they have any, which readers of such a calibre are sure to have.

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Faith and Philosophy. Discourses and Essays. By HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Edited with an Introductory Notice by GEORGE L. PRENTISS, D.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, in the City of New York. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

THIS goodly volume forms the memorial of an able, highly gifted, and finely cultured man. Dr. Smith was a professor in the Union Theological Seminary in New York; and was justly considered, says his biographer, as 'representing whatever is highest and best in American culture and scholarship.' He had, however, not confined his studies to American institutions, having studied for a considerable time at Halle and also at Berlin, at which places he was the contemporary of great German scholars.

These essays are worthy of careful and leisurely perusal. But it must be the perusal of scholars. The great erudition and power of robust and earnest thought which they display, will be unintelligible to others; and will tax the attention even of them. It must be added to this, that they are generally very long. We cannot call them diffuse, and it would be hard to say, where a paragraph or even a single line could be spared. But the affluence of the writer's stores of thought, and thoroughness of his mental habit, rather tend to tire those who are not as well furnished as himself.

Still there is not one of these essays but is at once able and interesting. But the reader will, perhaps, regard with special satisfaction, the masterly review on the 'New Latitudinarians of England' and those upon Renan and Strauss. In contrasting the two, much to the disadvantage of the Frenchman, he says with characteristic felicity of phrase, 'The Gospels that have borne the brunt of the catapult need not shrink from the flight of the arrow'—(p. 411). And how carefully expressed and well packed is the following:—

'A philosophic unbeliever resolves revelation into intuition, miracles into the course of nature *plus* myths, inspiration into genius, prophecy into sagacious historic conjectures, redemption into the victory of mind over matter, the incarnation into an ideal union of humanity with divinity realised in no one person, the Trinity into a world process, and immortal life into the perpetuity of spirit bereft of personal subsistence. He takes the wondrous volume in which all these truths and facts are embodied and embalmed, and which on that very account is the unique wonder and the very marvel of all literature, and demands that it shall be interpreted just like any other book, not merely in its words, but in its inmost sense; that its histories, its prophecies, its miracles, its sacred truths, shall be subjected to the standard by which we try the words and explain the sense of Herodotus and Plato, of Virgil and Tacitus, of Dante and Bacon. All in it that is supernatural, all that discriminates it as a specific revelation, is to be adjudicated by natural laws and reason'—(p. 169).

And, in fact, the style here and elsewhere is perfect, terse, powerful and brilliant—a very model. The only regret we feel in perusing the volume is that its accomplished and pious author was not a Churchman. '*Cum tu talis esses, utinam noster fuisses.*'

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There are some (not unfrequent) errors of the press in this edition, 'Farrer' for 'Farrar,' 'reduction' for 'redaction,' and such like.

The Cross of Christ: Studies in the History of Religion and the Inner Life of the Church. By Rev. OTTO ZÖCKLER, D.D., Professor of Theology in Greifswald. Translated, with the co-operation of the Author, by the Rev. MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

A MONOGRAPH on the Cross considered as a devotional symbol may seem to have grown beyond limits in occupying four hundred and fifty octavo pages. But any one who has ever looked into—for it is hardly conceivable that any one should have *read* Gretzer's enormous work *De Cruce Christi rebusque ad eam pertinentibus*, which is in three folio volumes—will credit the author with considerable moderation. His work contains many curious and little-known facts as to the early history of the adoration of the Cross as it is attested to this day upon pre-Christian monuments. In his second chapter he treats of the Cross upon Calvary, which he holds to have been of the traditional form, in opposition to the opinion — now, we should suppose, an extinct one—which regards it as a three-armed or *Tau* Cross. Chap. III. describes the place which the Cross filled in the devotional practice of the early Church, the custom of signing with it, and the gradual growth of the Cross cultus. Constantine's vision, considered as a new starting-point for this devotion, occupies a chapter to itself; and in the two following, V. and VI., 'The Cross in the Church of the Middle Ages' and 'The Cross in the Theology and Church of the Reformation,' the inquiry culminates. To the men who lived in the Middle Ages the Cross was the mystical symbol of the Christian religion, and was woven in a thousand ways, by painting, by architecture, by ritual, and by the arts, into the life of the age. From this chapter we will give one extract, referring to one embodiment of this idea, the architectural :—

'With more animation, and at the same time with more elegance, than the Romanesque cathedrals—many of which, in their reproduction of the form of the Cross, displayed immoderately colossal proportions, such as, *e.g.*, the great Church of the Monastery at Clugny, with its two cruciform choirs, the one towards the east and the other towards the west; or the cathedrals of Languedoc, with their high side-aisles surrounding the whole building, even to the cross-arms of the choir — do the GOTHIC churches represent the cruciform principle in the abundant fulness of its characteristic power of production; in the delicate spires or pointed turrets, regularly ornamented above with cross-flowers, which crown the pillared buttresses as well as the projecting roofs or dormers (*Wimberge*) of the roofing; in the network of girdles and ribs, by which the panels of the cross vaulting appear as at the same time adorned and supported; in the ornamentation of the high-pointed windows, displaying ever more glorious star-like, radiated, or rose-shaped figures, and yet never untrue to the fundamental idea of the Cross; in the transverse section of the pillars, likewise ever attaining to more and more complicated rosette forms, and yet also on their part firmly retaining the characteristic figure of the Cross, &c. Indeed it would appear that, like as the peculiar characteristic which distinguishes an animal or vegetable organism is even

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preformed in the minutest of the countless cellular structures out of which it is composed, so here the design of the Cross, after which the whole was constructed, has been imprinted even upon the single component elements. The whole building presents itself, in its harmonious oneness as a marvellously transparent embodiment of a profoundly Christian idea.' —(p. 189).

The book is able, and full of interesting matter, and though, like many German works, terribly prolix, is seldom dull. It will be an acquisition to English readers.

The Four Gospels, as interpreted by the Early Church: a Commentary on the authorised English Version of the Gospel according to S. Matthew, S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John, compared with the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and Alexandrian MSS., and also with the Vulgate. By FRANCIS HENRY DUNWELL, B.A., Vicar of Hensall. (London: William Clowes and Sons.)

THE title of this work must be scrutinised carefully, or we shall form an incorrect notion of what we are to expect in it. It is not an ordinary commentary upon the Gospels, but an exposition founded on the writings of the early Fathers exclusively, and for any hint we glean from its pages, there might be no such literature as the German existing in the world. It would be harsh to call such a book an anachronism; we prefer to consider it to have been written for a homiletic purpose exclusively, and to have excluded the critical element of set purpose. This premised, we think it an industrious, scholarly, and pious compilation, well printed, and thoroughly suitable to its apparent purpose, that of arranging and condensing the voluminous comments of Patristic writers within a reasonable limit, and laying the result ready for the clergyman's use. It is a useful purpose, and it is well fulfilled.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians. By the late JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THE late Dr. Eadie left in MS. at his death the Commentary which is here published under the editorship of the Rev. P. Young of Parkhead. It is a pious, painstaking, and intelligent comment on the text with fairly adequate critical introduction and brief account of the literature of the subject. To have given the Greek text of the Epistles would have added much to its usefulness. As it stands, the book can hardly be used as a class book without inconvenience. But it realises, we think, what Dr. Cairns says of it in his preface, that 'there is the same penetration and sagacity in tracing the course of argument, the same unfailing sympathy with the deepest thoughts and lessons of inspiration.'

The Argument from Prophecy. By the Rev. BROWNLOW MAITLAND, M.A. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

THE fundamental principle of this treatise is that the argument from prophecy ought to be viewed as a whole, and not divided into parts.

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The author allows that it might be difficult to establish the inspiration of, *e.g.* Isaiah or Jeremiah individually from the predictions of future events to be found in their writings, and that in any case the argument from a single fulfilled prediction to the cogency of a command enunciated by the same writer, is here, as elsewhere, illegitimate.

A quotation, somewhat long, indeed, will exactly define his position, and as the book has been the occasion of some controversy, we make no apology for putting the whole before our readers :—

'And if a single prediction is not sufficient to carry with it a proof of inspiration, the multiplication of instances would not necessarily add the confirmation that is needed. The marvel would be heightened, and the explanation rendered more difficult; but still the element of divineness would not be satisfactorily established. Just as in the case of an alleged miracle, more, far more, than the bare wonder itself is needed to turn it into a witness of divine intervention; the whole moral and spiritual environment is an essential feature of the case, and enters largely into its determination.

'But suppose that instead of a single incidental prediction or two, we met with a long connected series of prophetic utterances, extending over several centuries; suppose, further, that these utterances formed an integral part of the teaching of a line of remarkable men, who from age to age were the witnesses for righteousness to their nation, and laboured to elevate and refine its religion; suppose, also, that the intimations, the foreshadowings, the prophetic hints and sketches of the future, which were bound up with their teaching, ultimately found a realization in a new and more advanced order of things, the establishment of which formed an important epoch in the development of the human race; would not this remarkable combination of circumstances of the highest import to the world constitute a strong case to support the idea of a divine inspiration and mission?'—(p. 26).

The mistake which, as it seems to us, Mr. Brownlow Maitland makes here, is in thinking that he can get the whole without the parts; that he can have the general stream of prophetic utterance to which he makes appeal without also accepting (and therefore, of course, defending) specific utterances of a predictive character. He may be right, and we think he is right, in bringing forward the totality of the argument. It is only thus that its real strength can be estimated, and, in fact, a great injustice is done to the fact of prophecy when the entire series of instances which make it up is not brought forward. But then what Mr. B. Maitland thus offers with one hand he withdraws with the other. In one breath he says, I rest on the whole fact of prophecy, and not on isolated portions of it. In the next he qualifies his previous statement by saying, There are parts of this argument, as generally stated, *quasi* predictions, of which the prophetical character is doubtful. I must decline to defend these, or, at all events, to bring them forward. But this is playing fast and loose with the argument. A distinct and specific prediction differs from one in general terms, chiefly in this, that it can be more easily verified. And, therefore, we think Mr. B. Maitland mistaken when he supposes that he may lay aside the predictions most marked

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and constantly insisted on, and *yet* claim an unbroken chain of prophetic utterances, or that, as he says on p. 89, 'the inference from their united testimony is not materially weakened.' As long as he is developing the argument from prophecy, we listen with profit and pleasure; when he begins to attenuate the chain of it by the withdrawal of a link here and there, we must suggest that he should leave that work to the sceptic. Indeed, Mr. B. Maitland seems partly conscious of this. 'In the interpretation of sacred prophecy,' he says, 'if we would catch its undertone and understand its mysterious hints, *nothing may be neglected*'—(p. 79). Very true, and we commend to his attention his own excellent rule.

Charges at his Primary Visitation. By JAMES RUSSELL, Lord Bishop of Ely. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THIS is a document of importance, and will repay a careful study. It consists of two distinct Addresses: the former at a visitation of the cathedral, the first undertaken for 147 years, and at which therefore some want of familiarity with formalities (we do *not* mean on the part of the Bishop) was excusable. This address is chiefly interesting to the parties immediately concerned, but we may add that we fully concur with the Bishop when, in advocating the development of the Theological College, and the King's School, he draws from the existing circumstances the inference that 'Ely, if anything, must be a city of institutions.'

The second part was addressed to the Clergy and Churchwardens, and is of far wider interest. The Bishop, after a tribute as graceful as it was well deserved, to his predecessor, Bishop Harold Browne, goes on to give the usual statistics of the diocese; and inasmuch as no Bishop in these days can wholly avoid controversy, he then 'passes with reluctant feet' to the ritual question. And here he holds a middle path. On the one hand, his lordship points out that neither the vestments nor the eastward position are *necessary* to the expression of sacramental doctrine, which of course is true, not to say a truism. And he upholds the canonical appointment of Lord Penzance. He does not 'perceive how anything of additional character which he [Lord Penzance] may have acquired by the superadded confirmation of the Crown, can have diminished from that which he received by the exercise of the will of the Archbishop.' On the other hand, he lays down clearly and emphatically a very important principle, that by the abolition of all primary jurisdiction in the Bishops, and the creation of a new court of first instance, 'the Royal action, hitherto limited to the highest region of appeal in things spiritual, has now advanced into the region next below.'

Upon the whole, we must say that the Charge before us reflects with great fidelity the difficulty and perplexity which constitute the special trial of Churchmen at this time. We can hardly expect, or even wish, that it should be otherwise. Out of this conflict of principles will probably issue some new *modus vivendi* between the Church and the State. But the share of this generation will probably be the struggle only; it will be for the next to enter in and take

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possession. We cannot but think that the principle to which recurrence is had here more than once, 'Do nothing without the Bishop,' a sound and Catholic principle; but there are practical difficulties in the application of it which will occur to all. The Bishop's concluding suggestions upon the Burials Question and upon cemeteries are of a novel character, and of considerable interest.

Lastly, we would commend to our readers' attention the Bishop's suggestion of conferring Deacon's orders two years sooner than is the rule at present, and lengthening the Diaconate proportionally.

A Reply to Cardinal Manning's recently acknowledged Essay entitled 'Dr. Nicholson's Accusation of the Archbishop of Westminster.' By the Rev. A. NICHOLSON, LLD., Incumbent of Christ Church, Leamington. (London: Rivingtons.)

WE do not know whether it may remain in the recollection of our readers that a certain series of letters from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Nicholson appeared in the *Guardian*, during (if we do not mistake) the year 1873, commenting on a sermon preached by Archbishop Manning to recommend the devotion, or in which, at all events, he took occasion to defend the devotion, to the 'Sacred Heart.' These letters formed one part of a correspondence between the Archbishop and Dr. Nicholson, from which, after a time, the former retired, and it was carried on by his secretary, F. Guiron.

But now the *Tablet* newspaper began to discuss the subject further, in a series of articles of considerable acrimony towards Dr. Nicholson, accusing him of incredible ignorance or unqualified mendacity. 'Shallow, pretentious, impertinent, and to all appearance, insincere,' are a specimen of the literary amenities with which the *Tablet* plentifully assailed Dr. Nicholson, anonymously, of course. To all appearance he was crushed and buried, if not under the weight of the reasoning, at all events under the shower of adjectives. But the next stage of the affair is surprising, even after the revival of such a manner of controversy, which we, for our part, should have supposed had gone out with the Mohocks of the last century.

For these articles were all the while the production of Archbishop Manning himself; and as time went on, and Dr. Nicholson made no sign, the Archbishop prematurely supposed the matter at an end and himself triumphant. Therefore, he avowed the authorship, by including the five articles bodily in the collected edition of his *Miscellanies* (2 vols., Burns and Oates) published last year.

Since then, however, Dr. Nicholson came out with the brief pamphlet of forty pages, with the title of which we have headed this notice. Hitherto he had been fencing with a *simulacrum*—an anonymous somebody behind a mask. 'It now appears,' he says to the Cardinal Archbishop, in his reply, 'by your own acknowledgment, that you were continuing the controversy behind my back. You had your anonymous communications inserted in the *Tablet* as editorial articles. You were at the further pains to publish a letter to your secretary, conveying the impression that the matter had for you no remaining interest. This letter you introduced into one of your anonymous

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articles as an important communication from "the Archbishop," which you said "F. Guiron had [has? REV.] given us leave to print."'

The whole controversy is very curious indeed, and it should on no account be read without the final letter of Dr. Nicholson, which lies before us. We have read it more than once, and that with the coolest impartiality, for we need hardly say that our concern would be for the maintenance of the straight line of the Catholic Faith, rather than for the gaining of a polemical triumph. But in our judgment Dr. Nicholson maintains victoriously his original positions. No doubt the Archbishop does, as his antagonist allows, 'freely intersperse orthodox terms and propositions in the vain endeavour to veil heresy under Catholic phraseology.'

But the essential principle which he maintains, and to which Dr. Nicholson severely holds him fast, viz. that the Sacred Heart of Jesus may be separated in idea from the Divine Humanity, in order to make it the object of especial devotion, clearly divides the Sacred Humanity, and *explicates* (a part of it) from the Divinity for the purpose of adoration, which Thomassin states to be 'impious,' and which in principle is exactly what Nestorius did.

This is the reverse of creditable to a person in the Archbishop's position. But it is only one proof more of the deplorable extent to which modern Romanism has departed from the early Fathers and the standards of the Faith.

It is only justice to add on behalf of the other disputant, Dr. Nicholson, that his tone and language, though clear, cogent, and cutting, are courteous and gentlemanlike, as controversy should be, and therein are in creditable contrast to the outbursts of undignified vituperation in which the Archbishop has permitted himself to indulge.

A Dictionary of English Philosophical Terms. By FRANCIS GARDEN, M.A. (London: Rivingtons.)

THIS is a little book, and unpretending, but a very useful *tender* to more ambitious and more technical treatises. It not unfrequently happens that students of logic or philosophy find a difficulty in comprehending the terms of those branches of knowledge; and it must have happened to many to come upon one such term in an article, and to have been unable for the moment to say what was meant by it. Dictionary definitions of such words are commonly so brief as to be obscure. Such words Mr. Garden has set himself to define, and we need hardly say that he has defined intelligently and clearly. He is sometimes far too brief and inadequate, as in 'Realism.' Sometimes a subject is divided between two headings, and cross references not given, as in 'Substance,' and 'Person.' Sometimes we miss words we should have expected to find, as 'Syllogism,' 'Force.' But it is a praiseworthy attempt, and will be useful to many.

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The History, Constitution, and Character of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, considered as a Judicial Tribunal; especially in Ecclesiastical Cases, with special reference to the Right and Duty of its Members to declare their Opinions. By W. F. FINLASON, Barrister-at-Law. (London: Stevens and Sons, and G. Bell and Sons.)

THE subject of this thin volume is one which is peculiarly interesting to Churchmen at the present time, seeing that the Church has been burdened with several great appeals already to the Judicial Committee, and is threatened with more. The author, too, is favourably known by more than one previous publication. In these pages he writes with legal formality indeed and verboseness, but nevertheless like a Churchman; and we can recommend these pages to such readers as desire a careful *résumé* of the law and of the facts relating to the highly important question named in the title. It is really a counsel's opinion writ large; and ought to be well considered by those who are the thinkers and the leaders among Churchmen.

The present Lord Chancellor holds, as is well known, the view that the Judicial Committee of Privy Council is not a Judicial Tribunal, but a consultative assembly. And in strict accordance with this view, he held in his controversy last year with the Lord Chief Baron, that the whole rule of rigid secrecy which has no doubt been the ancient practice of the Privy Council, applies.

The grave public inconvenience of a Court of Appeal, the judges in which are not free to declare their opinions if they dissent from the majority, is so evident that we cannot wonder to see the attention of an expert called to the legal question. Mr. Finlason has rendered a service to the Church, and indeed to the entire community, by this careful and painstaking sketch of the subject.

We may add a suggestion. He would probably hold that the publicity of the course of justice, and the right of judges to make known their opinions, whatever they might be, were matters of notoriety at Common Law. But might it not conceivably be held that publicity, though desirable, was not imperative? and if so, is it not an omission on Mr. Finlason's part, not to have supplied formal proof of this proposition?

A Legal Guide for the Clergy. With Appendix of Statutes. By R. DENNY URLIN, Barrister-at-Law. (London: Knight and Co.)

THIS is a manual of the day and for the day, not discursive, not antiquarian, but giving a useful sketch of the actual state of the law upon any given point, and index to authorities. 'Altar' is particularly comprehensive and good, so also 'Holy Communion.' 'Cope' is inadequate; 'Chasuble' is not found at all; nor 'Patron' nor 'Patronage,' though information relating to these is to be discovered under other heads. We imagine it will be new to many that among the privileges of the clergy is 'freedom from arrest on ordinary civil process' (p. 30). Surely this is obsolete?

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Why I am a Churchman. The Sequel to Why I am a Christian. By the Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A., Rector of Brighstone. (London: W. Skeffington and Son.)

THE prevailing quality of this little work is *persuasiveness.* The successive chapters present the position of the Church of England with substantial force, and put the familiar arguments with a kindly and sympathetic tone, which will be likely to commend them to an unprejudiced reader. There are no *novelties* in the arguments, and it is not desirable there should be. But we should like a bolder and more confident tone here and there; as in the case of such apparently faltering sentences as that on p. 29: '*Until I am convinced of the contrary*, I hold this Church of England to be a portion [of the Catholic Church].' We know that it is only the respected author's habitual modesty of speech and of assertion that has prompted this turn of statement. But we think it a mistake here. Generally, we may say that the work is stronger against Dissenting than as against Roman error; while in fact, that department of the argument is quite as needful as ever in face of the Roman propagandism, ever on the watch around us to beguile unstable souls. Perhaps the respected author will add one or two more chapters in some future edition of his excellent little book.

Practical Hints for Parochial Missions. By REV. J. W. HORSLEY, M.A., and REV. N. DAWES, M.A. Revised and Prefaced by the REV. GEORGE BODY, M.A. (London: Longhurst.)

MISSIONS have now assumed a recognised and considerable place among our parish methods. And as the preparation and conduct of these is a matter of some complexity, requiring care and experience, many clergy who know something of these matters, and still more who know nothing, will welcome this well-written and most useful manual. We should recommend every parish clergyman to provide himself with a copy. The appendices are suggestive and valuable, giving lists of subjects for sermons, of devotional books for the missioner's own and for parish use, &c.

Addington Venables, Bishop of Nassau: A Sketch of his Life and Labours for the Church of God. By W. FRANCIS HENRY KING, M.A. (London: W. W. Gardner.)

THIS is a simple and brief but singularly touching record of a Bishop who lived a noble and self-denying life. If it were, as the author says, 'obscure,' it has none the less a worth and distinction all its own; and the Bishop has well deserved that his name should be placed side by side with those of Bishops Patteson and Field.

He was the son of Thomas Venables, who was private secretary to Lord Sidmouth and Sir Robert Peel, when First Lords of the Treasury. The two were joint godfathers to the child, and gave him their names. Had Sir Robert Peel lived, Mr. Venables would probably have followed a political career; but after Sir Robert's sudden death his thoughts turned to Holy Orders; and, after a brief residence at

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Wells, was ordained to the curacy of Cuddesden, from whence he passed to St. Paul's, Oxford, or 'Jericho,' as it is locally called. How valuable his work was in that parish numbers can still testify. His biographer gives a very faithful and adequate idea of it, derived from some such sources, and worked up very well. From thence he went to his new duties as Bishop of Nassau.

His episcopate lasted twelve years. It was remarkable, not for any great material results attained during its course (for which, indeed, his poor and thinly-populated islands afforded no scope), as by the continual and steady growth of the Bishop in the respect and love of his people. The memoir shows him to us as faithful and assiduous in those long and tedious voyages by which alone the greater part of his scattered diocese could be reached, and as the courteous host and diligent student during his periods of residence at home. We could have wished, however, that it might have been shown in greater detail how well and wisely he steered his diocese through two great periods of trial—the one arising from the great pecuniary depression of the colony, terminating in the disestablishment of the Church, there, as always, sure to suffer; the other the destruction of so many churches and schoolhouses by the sudden violence of a tornado, we think, in 1870. The materials for a life of the Bishop were, we are told, very scanty. But to those who knew the man even this brief memorial will be sufficient to recall him to remembrance, and, we think, will be welcomed by all classes of Churchmen.

We trust that the widowed see of Nassau will not much longer remain without a Bishop to take up Bishop Venables's faithful work.

Pius the Ninth. A Biography. By FRANCIS HITCHMAN. (With a Portrait in Permanent Photography.) (London: Houlston and Sons.)

THIS is a book of the hour, and for the hour it is well enough. It would be absurd to judge the mere compilation of the moment, hurriedly drawn up to supply a sudden demand, by the standard according to which we justly estimate a serious and lengthy biography. Judged by this easy standard, it is a satisfactory book enough. Its speciality is, that it is a biography from the *liberal point of view.* It is outspoken in condemnation of Pius the Ninth's Ultramontane heresies. But it does his kindness of character and his pure morals full justice; it is fair without being laudatory; and as far as we have noticed, it is without material misstatement in fact, though it summarises the narrative to the extreme of brevity.

Turkey in Europe. By JAMES BAKER, M.A., Lieutenant-Colonel, Auxiliary Forces. Formerly 8th Hussars. (London, 1878.)

WHEN a terrible war is raging, it is natural to desire to know as much as possible of the character, condition, and resources of the antagonists. And therefore the publication of this volume is most seasonable, as giving the same minute information concerning Turkey which Mr. Wallace gave us last year about Russia. And for the

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performance of the task which he has undertaken of instructing his countrymen on this subject, Colonel Baker has, like Mr. Wallace, the advantage of a minute personal acquaintance with the country, having not only travelled over the whole of it, over a great portion of it more than once, but having also a considerable estate in one of the southern provinces. His work well deserves the character of being an exhaustive account of both the country and the nation. He describes the people, the government; the state of its agriculture and manufactures; the character and extent of the general resources of the land; the great progress made of late years in education; the strength of the army and navy; the mode and amount of taxation; in short, the resources of every kind which the country possesses. And, as he was writing when war was imminent, he explains very lucidly, even to non-military readers, his idea of the strategy which was best calculated to enable the Turks to resist the invasion of the vastly superior force which the Russians could bring against them; and especially of the value of the mountains and of the fortresses as lines of defence; on which subject many of his remarks have been singularly verified by recent events. Of the people, apart from their government, he has formed a very favourable opinion. He has found them brave, courteous, honest, and humane, unless when excited by some sudden panic. Of the Government, his judgment is far less favourable, though the charges which he brings against it are of apathy, venality, and general neglect of duty, rather than of actual oppression or cruelty. Indeed, though it cannot be denied that in dealing with different religions, intolerance is so far the rule of government that the Christian part of the population does not in any province enjoy the same rights or privileges as the Mahometans, he nevertheless asserts, and brings abundant proof of the correctness of his assertion, that the Christians were neither persecuted by the Government nor regarded with ill-feeling by their Mahometan neighbours. On the contrary, he adds his testimony to the truth of the statements which have of late been so forcibly presented to the world, respecting the great prosperity which Bulgaria was enjoying till the 'intrigues of Russia interfered to spoil it.' And he explains with a precision of knowledge that must bring conviction to all but those who are determined not to be convinced, the 'means by which Russia has stirred up agitation and trouble throughout the country; and, working over a space of many years with one fixed and persistent policy, she has used with consummate skill the art of intrigue, and brought the unhappy country to its present state of misery' (p. 57).

One chapter is devoted to an account of the army and navy. The strength of the former *on paper* will surprise most of his readers, for it is given as 666,530 men; 'but it is hardly necessary for him to warn his readers that a paper army in Turkey is even more unreal in point of numbers than it is in other countries' (p. 295). And the defects in its organisation, and in the mode of supplying the troops, and the irregularity with which they are paid, are insufficient to neutralise a great part of its power; the greatest evil of all being, in

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his judgment, the extreme incompetency of the officers of every grade. And, again, the bad opinion of them which he expresses has been abundantly borne out by the events of the recent campaign. The arms and war material generally he pronounces good, but there are no pontoon trains, and scarcely any of the fortresses could resist the artillery of the present day; while the forts of the Dardanelles are but half armed, and as yet, in an imperfect state. With respect to the navy, splendid as is its list of ships, he finds the same fault as with the army: the sailors are brave and loyal, but the officers, with the exception, of course, of those who have been trained in our service, are quite inefficient.

Some very interesting pages are devoted to an account of the state of education in some of the provinces; the most important consideration of all, if there is to be real reform and progress in the nation. In some districts, and especially in Bulgaria, great strides have recently been made, though they are owing rather to the well directed energy of a body of enlightened merchants than either to the civil government or to the Greek clergy. On the contrary, the Patriarch of the Greek Church was the most formidable enemy the cause of education had to encounter. As printing presses in the country were few, the merchants in question imported the books they required from foreign countries. But

'no sooner were they landed than the Patriarch instantly hurried to the Porte, and obtained the confiscation of all the Bibles and books, representing most artfully that these works being in the Slavic language was proof of Bulgarian sympathy with Russia, and that the importations were but the first act of rebellion. But the work was done, the books were in the hands of the people; and before they could be hunted up and destroyed, the desired effect was produced. A burst of indignation came forth from the people at the withdrawal of the only means of educating their children in their much loved vernacular, and the organised band of leaders stepped boldly forward and demanded their right to the mother tongue. Subscriptions were raised in all the district towns, and teachers were imported; . . . . permission was obtained to establish schools' (p. 35);

and, the first step once made, the good work has proceeded so rapidly and so steadily, that though before 1850 it was difficult to find any one who could read or write, before the end of 1858 there were 110 schools; by 1865, 229 schools; and in 1870, 337 schools; besides one gymnasium or central college, with nearly 400 teachers and nearly 17,000 pupils. And from 1870 till the time when the Servian war and 'so-called Bulgarian rebellion broke out,' the progress was still more rapid.

One part of his subject, in which Colonel Baker naturally takes a great personal interest, since, as we have mentioned, he has bought an estate there, is the fertility of the land and the state of agriculture. And here again he complains, not of the intentional injustice, but of the apathy of the Government, and of its utter neglect of its duties. A single fact which he mentions is more condemnatory of it than pages of the most laboured denunciation could be. The

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soil of a great part of the country he pronounces to be as rich as any in the world, but 'not half the land is cultivated' (p. 441), and all that is not is left free for squatters; any one being allowed, on the payment of a small fee, scarcely averaging a shilling an acre, to settle on any portion he may select, and build a cabin; the ground so pilfered becoming his own at the end of twenty years, provided he has regularly paid the tithe, and the other very light taxes to which property in Turkey is liable. And the cause why this vast quantity of land, which might enrich both people and Government, is thus left waste, is the neglect of the Government to provide means of communication. There are no canals, though the abundance of the water power in the country seems, as our Brindley said a century ago, provided by nature expressly to facilitate such works. There are scarcely any roads, and if one is made, it is sure in a few years to be suffered to fall into such a state of disrepair as to become impassable for wheeled carriages. The consequence is, that there is no mode of conveying the produce of the fields to market but that of placing it on the backs of pack-horses, a plan which increases the cost of transit at least sixfold what it ought to amount to. Yet, in one respect, this state of things offers, in Colonel Baker's eyes, one great inducement to emigrants to settle there, since land is at present to be purchased at a very low rate which, when the resources of the country are developed by a network of good roads and canals, will have its value increased tenfold. We mentioned that he had bought an estate, and he gives us the most minute account of his expenditure and receipts. The land was bought for about three guineas an acre. The necessary buildings, the price of tools and machinery bought in England, of one hundred horses and twenty cows, with all the other requisites for successful farming, amounted to as much more; so that for 10,000*l.* he became the owner of a well-stocked estate of 1,500 acres. The yearly expense of cultivation cost, in round numbers, 2,000*l.* The produce fetched 4,500*l.*, so that the 10,000*l.* of capital yields an income of 2,500*l.*, or 25 per cent. Sheep farming, for which portions of Macedonia are better calculated, is almost equally remunerative. And if these are the results of well directed industry while the Government does so little for the encouragement of its subjects, it is but reasonable to suppose, that if the promised reforms are ever carried out, the reward of the farmer's toil will be largely increased.

It is to the same universal apathy and indolence of the Government that Colonel Baker attributes also the insolvency which, more probably than any other result of its shortcomings, alienated Western Europe from the Turks. Captain Burnaby, in relating his ride through Armenia, reports that all the Eastern provinces are rich in mineral wealth of all kinds, which no one is at the trouble to extract from the soil. And Colonel Baker fully endorses his brother officer's statement, with the addition that parts of Thessaly and Macedonia are almost equally rich. And he is emboldened by facts which he conceives himself to have ascertained, to sketch out a plan by which he believes in a few years Turkey might put herself in a

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position to pay the interest of her debt, and gradually to reduce the principal. We do not pretend to pronounce a judgment on the proverbially uncertain results of the miner's labours. But the English bondholders must be less sanguine than speculators usually are, if, as soon as peace re-establishes security, some attempt is not made to verify the anticipations of our gallant traveller.

Whatever may be the results of the war now, we trust, concluded, and whatever may be the changes in the constitution and government of the countries which make up Turkey in Europe, it is undeniable that recent events have attracted attention to them in a degree not known for centuries before; and that every circumstance and event which takes place in them will be for years watched by too severe a scrutiny to allow the interest excited by them speedily to die away. Every change in every country has eulogists prepared to extol, and critics resolved to disparage, its fruits. But those who desire to be able to form a dispassionate judgment of the changes which are destined to take place in Turkey, and who, as the foundation of their judgment of the future, desire to obtain an accurate acquaintance with the present condition of the country, will find, in Colonel Baker's unpretending volume, assistance which we know not where else they could obtain.

Memoir of the Right Hon. William, second Viscount Melbourne. By W. M. TORRENS, M.P. 2 vols. (London, 1878.)

A BIOGRAPHY of one who for some years filled the proudest position that can be attained by a subject—that of prime minister of England—cannot fail to command attention. But we are sorry to say that very little of the interest which attaches to these volumes arises from the literary skill with which they are compiled. They are padded with numbers of irrelevant stories, some of which, though they are not correctly told, or at all events not as they have been related before, are so old that we cannot refuse our belief to them, while others are so new that we suspect readers in general will hardly believe them at all. As, for instance, that of the extraordinary conversation between the Regent and Lady Spencer, in which, according to Mr. Torrens, the Prince confessed that he and his brothers were all habitual liars, having been 'taught to equivocate by the Queen,' and requested Lady Spencer to provide the Princess Charlotte with a governess who should prevent her from falling into the same evil and most unroyal habit—(i. 157).

We will not say that Lady Spencer might have been usefully employed in also finding a tutor for Mr. Torrens; but many of his statements show a most surprising heedlessness in respect of facts, trivial perhaps, but also notorious, such as may well excuse us for doubting his accuracy as to others where the truth is not so easily ascertained. At the beginning of the work we meet with the following astonishing sentence. 'In 1790 William Lamb was entered at Eton. Among his classfellows were Charles Sumner, destined to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Charles Ellis, afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothsay (!!); Tullibardine, afterwards Duke of Athole,'

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&c. &c. (i. 33). If Master Charles Sumner was at that time destined to become Archbishop of Canterbury, he affords an instance of fate having been baffled; since he (who, if he was alive at all, must have been in his cradle) certainly never did attain the primacy, though his brother John, many years older than he, did. But no confusion between Christian names of brothers can account for the marvellous blunder which identifies Mr. Charles Ellis, afterwards Lord Seaford, with Charles Stuart, afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothsay. And the mention of 'Tullibardine' compels the remark that Mr. Torrens's habit of omitting all mention of the rank of those he names, however important as a proof of his familiarity with great men, is not in accordance with the custom of the best writers. They speak of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, Lord Althorp, Lord Milton, Lord Folkestone; but with Mr. Torrens they are all Lansdowne, Palmerston, Althorp, Milton, Folkestone; and in the whole work the Duke of Wellington is almost the only Peer who is commonly distinguished by his title. Mr. Torrens is as careless about dates as about names. He tells us that Sheridan died in the autumn of 1818, when, in fact, the great orator and dramatist did die in July, 1816; and the mistake is the more singular because he also affirms that the introductory chapters of Moore's *Life of Sheridan* were contributed by Lord Melbourne (i. 141), a fact which no critic has ever suspected, and which, if it be correctly stated, it is not greatly to Mr. Moore's credit not to have acknowledged. With similar carelessness he places Byron's marriage in 1816, though a letter of Byron himself fixes it to January 2, 1815. Another peculiarity which a critic is bound to expose is Mr. Torrens's assumption of the privilege of coining new words to an extent which goes beyond the practice of the most inventive advertiser. We are treated to 'unhelpmate,' 'unexpectant,' 'undiminishment,' and 'administrating' within a few pages; and the use of substantives for adjectives in such phrases as 'the rhetoric art' is perhaps even more objectionable.

Still the subject is sufficiently interesting to enable the work to surmount these defects in style, care, and taste. Not, indeed, that Lord Melbourne can be placed in the front rank of those statesmen to whom at different times the government of this great nation has been entrusted. But, if ever any one was so, he was *felix opportunitate*. For one who rose so high his official career was singularly brief. He was forty-eight years of age, and had been twenty-two years in Parliament, when Canning, apparently at the instigation of Huskisson, who was related to the Lamb family, offered him the post of Irish Secretary. Mr. Torrens claims for him the credit of having been deservedly popular in that ticklish office; of having been affable, courteous, and accessible to all, which we can well believe. And it was in his favour, also, that he was known to be inclined to relieve the Roman Catholics from the disabilities which were regarded as the chief grievance of Ireland. But he remained in that country too short a time to leave any mark of his ministerial career. And the most remarkable circumstance connected with his tenure of office is that corruption and intrigue of all kinds were still so rife in every

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department that he could not ensure the safety of his own letters to his superiors in England, but found that, if sent by the post, they were unsealed, and resealed; or that, if entrusted to a despatch-box, the lock was picked, and the letter not replaced till it had been opened and read.

As it was as a friend of Huskisson that he had taken office, so when that statesman withdrew from the ministry of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Lamb retired with him. And, in the course of the same summer, an event occurred which of itself must have removed him from Ireland; the death of his father, and his own succession to the Peerage.

It may, however, be inferred that he had done well in Ireland from the circumstance (already mentioned by Sir H. Bulwer in his 'Life of Lord Palmerston') that in the summer of 1830 the Duke made more than one effort to tempt Lord Melbourne to rejoin him. The attempt failed, and the reason alleged by Lord Melbourne for rejecting an offer which, considering the circumstances under which he had parted from the Duke, he must have regarded as very flattering, was that the Duke refused to extend his invitation to Lord Grey. It was a very curious reason for him to advance, since the most notorious action of Lord Grey in recent years had been the violent philippic with which he had assailed Canning when that brilliant statesman became prime minister, and when Mr. Lamb was one of his colleagues.

But the evidence which it gave of the union of the majority of Huskisson's party with that section of the Whigs which was most deeply pledged to Parliamentary reform, prepared the public for his acceptance of the seals of the Home Office, when in the winter of the same year Lord Grey became prime minister. Mr. Greville, though a friend, records the prevailing opinion that the appointment was one of questionable wisdom, from the habitual idleness of the new Secretary of State. And, though, of course, Mr. Torrens does not agree with this censure, we cannot but think that he supplies many an incidental piece of evidence that the idea was not unfounded, though other facts show that he could not be charged with any gross neglect of the duties of his office. Undoubtedly, the three years which ensued supplied events sufficient to try the activity and courage of the ablest minister. There were formidable riots at Bristol and Nottingham; apprehensions of similar outbreaks in more than one provincial town, and even in London itself. Warnings and counsels were freely tendered by all kinds of advisers, competent and incompetent. But we read with some amusement that, of these volunteer statesmen, the one on whose information and knowledge of the popular temper the Home Secretary was most inclined to rely, was an officious tailor, of the name of Place. Other advice was less willingly listened to; 'it was not without a groan, and a certain amount of profane swearing' (i. 388), that even the recommendations of the *Times* were read, though at that time it was among the most furious and unscrupulous partisans of the ministry. Not indeed that these oaths implied any violent disapprobation.

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The minister's unfortunate habit of swearing on all occasions, or on no occasion at all, was unfortunately so notorious as, unless common fame was more than usually false, to draw upon him, more than once, the admonition, or we might say the reproof, of his better conducted friends. But it affords another curious specimen of Mr. Torrens' taste, that he thinks a continual record of the bad practice eminently worth preserving as one of the most noticeable characteristics of his subject. There is not one on which he dwells with such gusto, referring to it over and over again with an evident feeling of amusement which it can hardly excite in those (and there still are some) who cherish an affectionate recollection of the man.

But when he was too much perplexed to find relief even in such ejaculations, he would, we are told, ask the Chief Clerk or the Under Secretary what on earth was to be done? and, when neither could tell, he would take refuge in his *dolce far niente*, a proverb which certainly no other minister ever translated so literally to serve as his own rule of conduct. 'Whenever you are in doubt,' he said, 'what should be done, do nothing' (i. 391).

If, however, he did not display any great energy in statesmanship, which indeed had never been expected of him, at the Home Office; he had shown that the general estimate of him was equally correct when it credited him with an amount of good temper, patience, and general amiability; qualities which were so marked that, when in the summer of 1833 Lord Grey was worried by the rash irregularities of some of his colleagues and the intrigues of others into a resignation of his post, they suggested to him the propriety of recommending Lord Melbourne to the King as the person best suited to keep together, as its head, a Cabinet which contained such jarring and unmanageable elements. And so Lord Melbourne, greatly to his own surprise, and not greatly to his delight, as Mr. Torrens assures us, found himself prime minister: to be ejected by the spontaneous act of the Sovereign himself before the end of the year; to be restored to office in the following spring; and to continue in it longer than any minister but four since the Revolution.

Singular as it may seem, his very reputation for indolence led the majority of the nation to acquiesce in his promotion. It had just gone through what has often been described as a revolution, though a peaceful one. And though already some restless spirits looked on what had been done as merely a lever by which to effect more, the more sober-minded desired rather a respite from agitation, an interval of rest which might afford time to estimate the results of the Reform Bill, and to judge by them whether it were to be regarded as a goal or as a stepping-stone. For a Government of vehement (in the opinion of some, even among its own members, of over-ardent) action, an administration of inactivity seemed what was most to be desired as its successor. And such Lord Melbourne's undoubtedly was.

Those who in the present day look on it as a reproach to a Government that it does not pass a multitude of new measures every

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session, may with some advantage study the headings of the chapters in which Mr. Torrens relates the legislation during the six years of Lord Melbourne's second administration. Municipal reform and Postal reform are the only achievements which his biographer regards as deserving any special mention, though his adversaries acknowledged that in one most important way he did good service to the State. At the beginning of the third year of his ministry William IV. died; and Queen Victoria, then barely eighteen years of age, had necessarily much to learn of the principles and working of the constitution and of parliamentary government. For instruction on these subjects she naturally, during the earlier years of her reign, looked to the prime minister: and his extensive knowledge, his thorough fairness and candour, and his high sense of political honour, eminently qualified Lord Melbourne to act as a guide such as Her Majesty required. In one point only did he give a pretext for saying that he had misled his Royal mistress. We allude to the celebrated Bedchamber question of 1839; a topic which we need not reopen here, as every writer of every party who has dealt with it, except Mr. Torrens, even the Radical historian Miss Martineau, has pronounced the line which he took utterly indefensible. And indeed, his own subsequent assertion, not that he had been right, but that he could reckon up two hundred friends who would have been ruined if he had confessed himself wrong, and had consequently resigned his office, may be taken as an admission that he could not in his cooler moments justify the advice which he had given. *Habemus confitentem reum.*

The most striking transactions of his ministry after this time were the operations on the Syrian coast, which he left chiefly to Lord Palmerston's management. But the country was becoming gradually alive to the weakness of the administration in every part, and most especially in finance, in which their blunders were incessant, and were exposed by Sir R. Peel, who was a financier above everything, with merciless dissection. The budget was rejected; a vote of want of confidence in the ministers was carried, and when they dissolved Parliament in consequence, so many of their supporters, and some even of their own body, were unseated, that it created no surprise that in the debate on the address they were defeated by large majorities in both Houses, and had no choice but to resign.

With his resignation, though he was not an old man, Lord Melbourne's public life may be said to have ended. Indeed Mr. Torrens dismisses the last seven years of his life in one very short chapter, the accuracy of which has been severely questioned by some of those whose memories carry them back so far. If the picture which it draws be correct, it is not greatly to the credit of either the statesman or his friends. It represents them as treating with neglect one to whom their party certainly owed much for the tact and temper with which he had so long kept them together when the leaders were quarrelling among themselves, and in office after the nation was tired of them. And it describes him as fretful and

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desponding, brooding over the slights put upon him in undignified discontent. We confess that we think those who deny the truth of this portrait have probability on their side, and that the genial social qualities which had always been his most prominent characteristics must to the end have preserved the affection of his old friends, even if his acuteness of judgment and steady adherence to his party had not still commanded their respect. Even now, when thirty years have passed since his death, we ourselves must still feel that the memory of these endowments has not wholly lost its influence, and though we cannot give any high praise to the statesman or the minister, we cannot reconcile it to our feelings to say a harsh word of the fair-dealing, accomplished, honourable gentleman.

History of the English People. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. Vol. I. With Eight Maps. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THE chorus of praise with which Mr. Green's earlier *School History of England* was received on all sides has emboldened him to continue his researches, and to present the result of them in an altered form. The present history is strictly a history 'of the English *People*'—*i.e.*, the author either leaves out altogether, or dismisses with a mere mention, entire tracts of history which either affected but slightly, or did not affect at all, the fortunes of the great mass of the English population. Of such are, *e.g.*, the Crusades, or the prolonged contest between the Pope and the King respecting investitures. This procedure is, of course, philosophically questionable, for it would not be difficult to show that each of these events influenced the fortunes of England; but it is perfectly intelligible, and Mr. Green has, by *isolating* our English story, and confining himself strictly to its course, succeeded in producing so brilliant and vigorous a narrative of his subject, that we can but take what he has presented to us with thanks and admiration, and forbear to wish that he had done otherwise than he has. If not an English history, it is, at all events, the best of commentaries upon the English history that our generation has seen.

China: A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People. By JOHN HENRY GRAY, M.A., LL.D., Archdeacon of Hongkong. Edited by WILLIAM GOW GREGOR. In Two Volumes. With One Hundred and Forty Illustrations. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

WERE we to say that this lengthy work exhibits any particular merit in a literary point of view we should be exaggerating. It is a plain, unpretending narrative, far too lengthy ever to be popular (it extends to two octavo volumes of about four hundred pages each), but which compose a perfect encyclopædia or treasury of Chinese institutions. The author plods laboriously through the subjects of government, religion, education, marriage, and divorce, and so on. Upon each subject he gives an industrious *résumé* of the facts, and gives an opinion founded very often upon personal observation, and which is invariably marked by intelligence and largeness of view. Notwithstanding the prevalent cruelty

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of punishments, the bribery which weighs down the machine of government, and other blots upon the national character, Dr. Gray speaks highly of the Chinese. 'Notwithstanding conditions,' he says, 'so little favourable to the development of civil and social virtues, the Chinese may be fairly characterised as a courteous, orderly, industrious, peace-loving, sober, and patriotic people.' The darker shades in the picture he does not, however, overlook or gloss over when occasion leads him to them. And there is no question that this is a people which it behoves us to know. China, teeming with a population of marked industry and imitative power, will some day form an important factor in the Asia of the future; and Europeans will find it wise to make themselves acquainted with it betimes. The work before us will afford them the means of doing so. The letter-press is enlivened by numerous wood-cuts by Chinese artists in all the quaint style of their art. Considering the rage which prevails now for everything Oriental, these wood-cuts ought to be the making of the book.

Walks in London. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE. In two volumes. (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co.)

THOSE who have read *Walks in Rome*, and they are many, will know what to anticipate in the work before us, and we feel sure that they will not be disappointed. There have been unnumbered books by all sorts of people on the great city, but this is surely the most charming book about London, and all its little known beauties of architecture, and all its treasures of art, and its manifold and priceless historical associations, which has ever been penned. It is the work of one who is himself a scholar and an artist, and hence is something infinitely beyond the mere guide-book. 'I have tried,' he says, 'to give such details as may suggest new lines of inquiry to those who care to linger and investigate.' We may think that he somewhat exaggerates when he declares—

'Scarcely any man in what is usually called "society" has the slightest idea of what there is to be seen in our own great metropolis, because he never looks, or still more, perhaps, because he never inquires, and the architectural and historical treasures of the city are almost as unknown to the West End, as the buried cities of Bashan, or the lost tombs of Etruria. Strangers, also, especially foreigners, who come perhaps with the very object of seeing London, are inclined to judge it by its general aspects, and do not stay long enough to find out its more hidden resources. They never find out that the London of Brook Street and Grosvenor Street, still more the odious London of Tyburnia, Belgravia, and South Kensington, is as different to the London of our great-grandfathers as modernised Paris is to the oldest town in Brittany, and dwellers in the West End do not know that they might experience almost the refreshment and tonic of going abroad in the transition from straight streets and featureless houses to the crooked thoroughfares half-an-hour off, where every street has a reminiscence, and every turn is a picture'—(p. xiv.).

And some of us may have a private opinion that London, with its smoke and soot, its frequent fogs and ceaseless noise, is better to

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visit than to live in. But whether inhabitant or visitor, everyone who takes up Mr. Hare's volumes will, we predict, be delighted with them. Not a page but tempts the reader onwards, and the book is one which will be permanently popular. We should add that it is beautifully printed, and that the many and picturesque woodcuts give just the elucidation which the text continually requires.

Saint Athanase. Étude Littéraire. Par EUGÈNE FIALON. 8vo. (Paris : Thorin.)

M. EUGÈNE FIALON has published on the life of S. Athanasius a *brochure* which we heartily recommend to all readers interested in ecclesiastical history; it is an excellent monograph, soberly written from the best sources, and showing on the part of the author real scholarship. M. Fialon carefully disclaims any pretension to decide or even to dwell on points of theology, but this was quite impossible in dealing with the career of such a man as S. Athanasius, and notwithstanding the title, *Étude Littéraire*, which figures on the title-page, we find ourselves almost immediately, *à propos* of the schools of Alexandria, transported in the midst of metaphysical problems, and of considerations on the relative influence of Judaism, Neoplatonism, and Christianity. The first chapter of the work is taken up by a very lucid and complete sketch of the state of Alexandria before the outbreak of the Arian controversy. M. Fialon shows us the Egyptians, the Jews, and the Greeks contributing to the development of a civilisation which made of the seaport town one of the intellectual centres of the world; he points out the evil side of this exuberance of free thought, and describes the Christians gradually accustoming themselves to rationalising tendencies, which produced in the one direction the heresy of Sabellius, and, in the other, that of Arius.

The biography of Arius himself and the discussion of Arianism occupy the second chapter. M. Fialon, in dealing with the topic, takes up his position at the strictly orthodox standpoint; and he exposes with great sagacity the vices of a system which, while it gave up the distinctive features of Christianity, failed to satisfy the aspirations and wants of fallen man. It is well known that the history of the Arians is one of the most celebrated works of the great archbishop. Our author reviews it in detail, shows that its character is that of a pamphlet, and places it in the class of those *secret books* which occurred frequently during the fourth century, and which had their *raison-d'être* in the hostile dispositions of the secular power. Similarly, towards the end of the religious wars in France, a veteran of the Protestant armies, equally remarkable as a writer and a soldier, Agrippa d'Aubigné, related in his *Histoire Universelle* the struggle of which he had been one of the heroes. The *Histoire Universelle*, proudly dedicated to 'posterity,' was meant for the public; but side by side with it d'Aubigné printed a secret history, intended for circulation exclusively amongst the members of the Huguenot party, and exposing to the scorn of his fellow-religionists what he designated as the treachery of Henry IV. and of

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the old leaders of the French Reformation. M. Fialon compares the history of the Arians to this pamphlet of Madame de Maintenon's grandfather, and shows that it was as impossible for Athanasius to be strictly impartial as it was twelve centuries later for Agrippa d'Aubigné.

The question of monachism is another interesting one, which naturally suggests itself in connexion with the life of S. Athanasius. M. Fialon examines it in the ninth chapter of his book. It would be wrong, he says, to suppose that the love of solitude was at the time of the prelate an exceptional case, and that S. Anthony's example had only a few enthusiastic imitators. A society which has exhausted all the enjoyments of life without finding any satisfaction in them, a civilisation essentially based upon materialism of the grossest kind, and which has no aspirations after higher motives, must necessarily end in an ascetic reaction, and we may say that the solitude of Nitria and of the Thebaid was the natural outcome of the luxury and licentiousness of the capital of the world. With reference to the fantastic descriptions which occupy so important a place in the life of S. Anthony, M. Fialon has the following remark: 'Athanase n'eût été ni de l'antiquité, ni de son temps, ni Chrétien, s'il se fût refusé de croire à l'existence de l'esprit du mal, à sa présence dans le monde et à son action sur les hommes; mais il n'eût été qu'une vulgaire intelligence, s'il n'eût eu de cet ennemi de l'homme une idée plus haute et plus philosophique que celle de la multitude.' S. Athanasius, he continues, did not believe in the bodily appearances which surrounded the monk; he looked upon them merely as dreams conjured up by the imagination, but at the same time he believed in the existence of the prince of evil, and in the terrible reality of the temptations by which the sons of men are so beset.

The eleventh chapter of M. Fialon's work is the one where the literary merits of S. Athanasius are specially considered and appreciated. The Egyptian element of intellectual culture, he observes, had no influence upon him; it had, indeed, never affected in the slightest degree the Hellenic mind. The citizen of Athens or of Corinth, for whom light and life were everything, could have no sympathy with a psychological tendency which, on the contrary, seemed to revel in the thought of death as of the only entrance to true happiness. S. Athanasius in this respect was essentially Greek. If, for the purpose of combating the Neoplatonists and Gnostics he studies the religion of Egypt, it is merely as a polemist. None of his writings show that he understood in the least the grand conceptions and the undoubted elements of divine truth which are to be found on the monuments of Thebes and of Luxor. Like all his Greek contemporaries, S. Athanasius was equally enthusiastic about the honour of his national literature, and about the eternal truths of Christianity. As our author well remarks, Homer was to be found on their study-table side by side with a copy of the Gospels. Bernard de Montfaucon has given in the Benedictine edition of the works of S. Athanasius, a list of the expressions borrowed by the

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prelate from the Alexandrine dialect. M. Fialon enumerates some of the most characteristic: he then shows how much S. Athanasius was indebted to Plato and to Demosthenes, printing in parallel columns a few quotations from the *Pro Coronâ* on the one side, and from the *Apologia ad Constantium* on the other. By way of appendix to the volume we have the French translation of the *Apologia* itself, and also of the discourse which the archbishop composed in justification of his flight. The whole *brochure*, we repeat, is well worth the careful attention of historical students and of persons interested in Patristic literature.

Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis. Par M. l'Abbé DUCHESNE. 8vo. (Paris: Thorin.)

THE French Government, as our readers may perhaps know, supports both at Athens and in Rome establishments destined to train antiquarians, and to encourage, in various ways, historical and archæological pursuits. The results accomplished by these two learned seminaries have been most satisfactory, and we would notice especially the publication of a review or journal containing monographs on subjects connected both with secular and ecclesiastical literature. The *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* has already won for itself a high position in the list of periodicals devoted to scientific questions, and the introductory fasciculus, containing an excellent and exhaustive essay on the *Liber Pontificalis*, deserves a brief mention here. The collection of biographies known under that name has very frequently occupied the attention of critics; Baronius, Possevino, Ciampini, and Pertz, among others, may be named as having endeavoured to settle the numerous problems bearing upon the authorship, the date, and the importance of the work. That the *Liber Pontificalis* is of great value as illustrating the history of Rome and of the Papal See during the Middle Ages can scarcely be doubted; the light it throws on Christian art and archæology, and on the topography of the Eternal City, is considerable; but the authority which it has a right to claim is still doubtful, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject. M. l'Abbé Duchesne begins by saying that in order to judge accurately the worth of any historical document, we should determine, 1st, the text; 2nd, the date; 3rd, the sources; and he then examines minutely the *Liber Pontificalis* from this threefold point of view. When we tell our readers that the MSS. of this compilation are 110 in number, ninety-eight of which are analysed by M. l'Abbé Duchesne with great detail, we shall have given them a slight idea of the thoroughness of the disquisition before us. The principal conclusions arrived at may be stated as follows. The *rédaction* of the *Liber Pontificalis* was done about the year 514, the author being an inferior clerk of very poor literary talent, and who, on the occasion of the dispute between Symmachus and Laurentius, took up his pen in defence of the former. The sources from which these biographies have been compiled are numerous, and

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many of them are still unknown; but the apocryphal writings existing at the commencement of the sixth century seem to have supplied the greater part of the details put together by the historian. As M. l'Abbé Duchesne observes, it is perfectly astonishing that an author who undertook to write the lives of the Popes during the first five centuries of the Church should have neglected to consult monuments easily accessible, and an acquaintance with which was absolutely indispensable; yet such is really the case, and as a natural consequence the *Liber Pontificalis*, notwithstanding its archæological and topographical importance, has very little authority if we consider it as a contribution to the history of the Church. The notices referring to the sixth and seventh centuries are the only ones which may be trusted, because they have the value of contemporary documents, and all the disciplinary and liturgical enactments recorded show, at any rate, what were the usages of the Roman Church at that epoch.

Job et l'Égypte, le Rédempteur et la Vie future dans les Civilisations primitives. Par l'Abbé VICTOR ANCESSI. 8vo. (Paris: Leroux.)

M. l'Abbé VICTOR ANCESSI, already known as an excellent Semitic scholar, now comes forward as an interpreter of Scripture, and applies in the most ingenious manner his acquaintance with Egyptian archæology to the elucidation of the Book of Job. The drift of the work he has recently published may be briefly stated as follows. The higher we go back into history, the more clearly we perceive in the various forms of heathenism the remains of a tradition vouchsafed by the Almighty and which embodied the cardinal truths of revealed religion—the doctrine of the fall, of a mediatorial sacrifice, of a future life, and of a final judgment. These great verities are especially apparent in the theological system of the ancient Egyptians, and we may boldly affirm that the mythological conceptions of that remarkable people at the earliest period of their history were all designed to bring vividly before the mind of men the chief doctrines of our faith.

Now, if we turn to the Book of Job and study its contents with a little attention, we cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance it shows with the theological teaching to be found in the papyri, hieroglyphic remains, and other monuments of Egypt. These wrecks from the land of the Pharaohs form a perpetual commentary on the sacred text, and the personage of Osiris throughout the various circumstances of his birth, his life, and his duties as redeemer-judge of the dead, is evidently a foreshadowing of the Saviour of mankind. These facts are the more noteworthy because the inspired author of the Book of Job, although perfectly acquainted with Egyptian civilisation and Egyptian thought, wrote from an independent standpoint; and we have thus an additional proof of the argument so powerfully maintained by Tholuck and other divines—viz. that every scheme of mythology has retained an element of religious truth more or less distinct.

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The ability with which M. l'Abbé Ancessi develops his propositions, his eloquent denunciation of the modern forms of unbelief, and the amount of knowledge displayed in his volume, can scarcely be overrated ; the philological studies which had hitherto engrossed his attention are turned here to excellent use, and he is thoroughly conversant not only with the most recent results of Egyptology but with the mysteries of Semitic lore.

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N° XII. *JULY* 1878.

ART. I.—THE DOGMATIC POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. *The Church and its Ordinances.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. (London, 1876.)
2. *The Via Media of the Anglican Church. Illustrated in Lectures, Letters, and Tracts, written between* 1830 *and* 1841. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. 2 vols. (London, 1877.)
3. *The Articles of the Anglican Church, Paraphrastically Considered and Explained.* By FRANCISCUS A SANCTA CLARA, S.T.P. Edited by the Rev. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L. (London, 1865.)
4. *An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles.* By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. Second Edition. (London, 1871.)
5. *Scepticism, a Retrogressive Movement in Theology and Philosophy, as contrasted with the Church of England, Catholic (at once) and Protestant, Stable and Progressive.* By Lord LINDSAY. (London, 1861.)
6. *Œcumenicity in Relation to the Church of England.* By ALEXANDER LORD LINDSAY, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. (London, 1870.)
7. *Considerationes Modestæ.* By WILLIAM FORBES, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. (London, 1658.)

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8. *Christendom's Divisions.* By EDMUND S. FFOULKES. Parts I. and II. (London, 1865–7.)
9. *The Truth and Office of the English Church. An Eirenicon.* By E. B. PUSEY, D.D. (Oxford, 1865.)

WHEN the external evidence in favour of the spiritual claims of the Church of England was summed up in a former number of this *Review*, and tendered in proof of her position as the true representative in this country of the Apostles' fellowship, the internal evidence was rather assumed than demonstrated, and was rested chiefly on the undisputed facts of the singular revival and recovery which have marked her last forty years.

But these facts, however striking and interesting in themselves, and incapable as they are of being paralleled by any events in history, save the Jewish revival under Ezra and Nehemiah, and perhaps the brilliant period of Christian thought and activity which succeeded to the leaden days of the tenth century, when the very memory of zeal and learning had seemed forgotten, do not of themselves adequately meet a further objection which is raised against the character of the Church of England from two opposite quarters simultaneously, chiefly by Roman Catholic controversialists, but in a less degree by Protestant Nonconformists also.

That objection, one of considerable plausibility, and capable of being stated in a seemingly cogent fashion, is that the great variety of theological opinion visible within the Anglican pale, as contrasted with the comparative homogeneity of several other religious bodies, shows beyond the very possibility of refutation that a communion which is in truth made up of three, if not four, mutually repellent and hostile bodies, held together, like dogs in a leash, by no more sacred or permanent tie than the precarious bond of State control as an accident of establishment, can in no sense be the custodian and teacher of the One Truth communicated to mankind by divine revelation.

It is sufficiently evident, say the objectors, that a body of doctrine given by God to man must needs, from the nature of the divine attributes, be harmonious and consistent in all its parts. 'God is not the author of confusion' (1 Cor. xiv. 33), and, accordingly, whatever amount of debate there may be, or has been, raised in favour of rival systems of theology, none can be so much as admitted into the arena of competition which does not satisfy the primary condition of being logically at one with itself. And, therefore, whatever may be urged by their several supporters in favour of

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Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Unitarianism, and even Islamism, Anglicanism has no place whatever, and is not so much as arguable, being excluded by reason of its conflicting theories, making it impossible to state positively that its doctrine on any disputed tenet is of such or such a kind, seeing that the very next authority consulted, whether a book or a living teacher, professedly belonging to the same communion, will probably give an entirely different account of the matter, and even denounce the previous formulation of doctrine as heretical. Contrariwise, some far larger element of assured knowledge as to what his communion intends to teach is possessed by the adherent of almost any other religious body; a knowledge rising to certainty in the case of Roman Catholics, whose favourite boast it is that substantially the very same reply, if not couched in the very same terms, will be given by every bishop or priest of the Latin obedience, of whatever country, language, and degree of cultivation, to any question on a point of doctrine—perhaps even of discipline—put by an inquirer. Thus, the Church of Rome is evidently a keeper and witness of some clearly ascertained body of doctrine, whatever subsequent debate may be raised by opponents as to the authenticity of any part of it; whereas the Anglican communion, even if retaining some fragments of revelation, rather by accident than on principle, holds them in far too loose and uncertain a grasp, and is too little assured as to their nature, to be their keeper and witness at all, and therefore does not discharge the office, nor, consequently, possess the character, of a Church. Nay, so weak are the centripetal, and so powerful the centrifugal, forces at work within her, that, should the relations of Church and State be changed before any marked alteration has passed over the temper of her competing sections, a rending of the existing society into at least three mutually repellent bodies, each claiming to be the true and only representative of the Church of England, must inevitably follow, and introduce fresh elements of confusion. And even apart from such an extreme view of the situation, it is obvious that for more than two centuries it has not been able to deal with new questions in any practical and effective manner. Should a debate arise whose wholly modern form precludes the attempt to settle it by appeal to ancient precedent, the Church of England in its collective and official capacity is compulsorily dumb, and, therefore, having no living or authoritative voice wherewith to speak, is on this ground also detected as a mere impostor.

Contrariwise, the Roman Church, especially since the

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infallibility dogma was promulged, has a living voice ready to deal at each instant with new difficulties and problems as they arise; while even the Protestant sects, with the rarest exceptions, are also in the enjoyment of means for making their teaching authoritatively known, and for adapting it so as to meet all fresh complications which may arise.

This is a brief, but in no degree a softened, account of an objection which is very commonly alleged against the Church of England, and which is in appearance so very formidable that it has proved too much for many intellects, unable to dispute its premisses or to resist its conclusions, and which have, therefore, made their submission to other claims urged in more imperative terms than it has been the policy of our Church to adopt. To keener and more reflective understandings, the matter is not so easily disposed of. There is an initial difficulty in this short and easy method which requires explanation before pushing on to the prearranged close.

How is it that the English Church should be just the one Christian body of any note in this anomalous and illogical position, and, being so, should nevertheless exercise such a singular fascination over a larger body of cultured laity than is to be found in active and hearty communion with any other society, should have a ministry exercising greater social influence than any other Christian pastorate, whether of the older historical Churches or the newer voluntary organisations, and should not merely hold her own in her native land, but spread and ramify all over the earth, till the sees in communion with Canterbury (and they neither titular nor microscopic, like so many scores of Latin dioceses) now number one hundred and seventy in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australasia, and Polynesia? By all the rules of such logic as we have been considering, she ought to be discredited, crumbling, impotent, dying, instead of exhibiting everywhere marks of active and vigorous life and growth.

This rejoinder lies on the surface, and is obvious to every one. A little deeper down comes another, requiring somewhat more mental power of observation, but equally plain when once pointed out. It is this: Whatever might be the moral and evidential value of homogeneous teaching and continued fresh pronouncements by authority on disputed questions, if these qualities were peculiar to any one Christian body, and notably to the Roman Church, their cogency as attributes disappears when it is once shown that they are shared by many societies alike to each other in no other particulars, either as respects the articles of their belief or the

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organisation of their system. If the two qualities under consideration be common (and they *are* common) to Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Calvinists—nay, to Mormons, Mohammedans, and some at least of the Buddhist sects—it follows at once that in themselves they cannot be distinctive notes of truth and authority, nor even necessary integral parts, inseparable from the aggregate whole, of any divinely ordained institution. And this is no evasion of the difficulty by raising a side issue; it is the necessary conclusion from the fact that certain Roman controversialists, in arguing against the Church of England, have actually asserted its practical and moral inferiority to Islam itself, not to speak of Christian societies, on the ground of its less positive dogmatic attitude and its weaker powers of coercion. Thus it appears that in the minds of persons trained as these controversialists must have been, whether by themselves or others, it is of much more consequence to be very bold, incisive, and minatory in assertion, than that the thing asserted should be *true;* for it will hardly be pretended, even by extreme Ultramontanes, that the Koran is a nearer and more satisfying approximation to the revealed dogmas of Christianity, or to the contents of the Missal and Breviary, than the Book of Common Prayer.

Further: if these two attributes be of the signal importance alleged, the claim of any Christian society to be regarded as the True Church will increase as they happen to be prominent in it, and that communion which can offer proof of possessing them in the highest degree must be acknowledged as the superior of all others.

But this can only be done by a society whose leading characteristic is rigid exclusiveness, and which is consequently noticeable for smallness of numbers, relatively or absolutely. For exact homogeneity in teaching can be secured, under the conditions of human nature, only by means of a very brief creed, very stringently and precisely worded, and enforced amongst a very small body of adherents by means of extremely severe coercive discipline. If there be many articles of belief, any degree of indeterminateness in their wording, or any exercise of tolerance in discipline, then some variety of exposition, some divergence of schools, must arise in course of time, and that rarely later than the second generation of any communion. Islam, with the simplest and briefest creed of any widely accepted religion, is not merely divided into the two great and irreconcilably hostile camps of Sunni and Shiah, but the conservative Sunni themselves are parted into four, or (counting in the Wahâbi) five orthodox sects, and scores

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of heterodox ones; while one of the youngest and narrowest societies in Christendom, the Plymouth Brethren, has already split into at least two rival parties, with every likelihood of further subdivision. Such being the universal tendency of mankind, no sect or body can keep itself in all its parts strictly to one standard, save by the process of continual excommunication and extrusion, or else by the forcible silencing of all oral teaching, obliging religious instructors to confine themselves to recital of written and printed documents, formally set out and licensed by authority. The moment a society loosens its tension in any of these respects, its absolute homogeneity lessens; whence it is clear that only a sect, a very small sect, and one exceptionally permeated by the sectarian spirit, can exhibit these qualities in the highest degree; whereas the Church Catholic, which must, in virtue of its aims, dimensions, and history, be comprehensive before all things, cannot possibly manifest them in any similar or even comparable fashion. For we must not allow ourselves to be led astray by the common error of taking a part for the whole; and the teaching office of the Church, though important, is not the highest, is in truth only one out of many functions, and might very conceivably be developed and exaggerated at the cost of the remainder. The really highest function of the Church is to be the mystical Body of Christ, to bring as large a number of human beings as possible into covenant relation with Him, to be the leaven working in civil society with a regenerating influence in all departments of mental and practical activity, and gradually to transform the kingdoms of this world into the kingdoms of God and Christ. This office cannot possibly be discharged without taking account of, and making full allowance for, not only the broader lines of divergence traced by the Divine hand in such matters as race, language, and national temperament; but the more subtle, minute, and infinitely varied differences of intellect, tastes, and mental attitude, which distinguish each individual of the human race from his thousand millions of fellows, and are equally due to the will of God.

This may be partially illustrated by directing attention to the fact that the Jewish Church, the type, germ, and precursor of the Christian Church, was also in its essence an institution for maintaining the covenant of God with Israel, as well as for keeping custody of the Divine oracles (Rom. iii. 2); and that shortly before the time of Christ, its teaching, whatever it may have been at an earlier period,

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was sharply divided between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai, while Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes formed parties more distinctly marked off from each other in doctrine and discipline than the competing sections within the Church of England are now, yet without any prejudice to the corporate unity of the body, or even to the authoritative position of the Scribes as teachers (S. Matt. xxiii. 2, 3) of the Law.

That the absolute oneness of doctrine, the complete absence of even the semblance of contradiction, now sought to be imposed as a test of Church character, was not found in the Christian body during Apostolic days, is manifest to any one who will read the language of S. Paul and S. James on the subject of Justification; for the natural impression made on the mind of the reader at first, is not merely that the two statements are irreconcilable, but that the contradiction was intentional and deliberate on the part of the later of the two writers, whichever he were. Any such explicit conflict between accredited divines of the same communion in the present day would be seized upon as proof that no authoritative teaching on the points in dispute existed, by which both were equally bound. But all who receive the whole New Testament as inspired (which Roman Catholics are bound to do by the decrees of Trent, and the Creed of Pius IV.) are content to say that the two Apostles cannot possibly be contradicting each other, but are directing the attention of their readers to different aspects of the same truth, and meeting different spiritual needs, yet united by a true underlying harmony of doctrine, unseen by superficial observers.

There is yet a further consideration to be taken into account, which is that the Christian Church, as a great hospital for the spiritual ailments of mankind, cannot fulfil its task in this respect, if it make the existence of large classes of those very ailments a ground for expulsion of patients afflicted with them. That is to say, excommunication and extrusion must needs be exceptional and temporary penalties, sparingly and reluctantly had recourse to, and justifiable only when it has become abundantly clear that any inmate is doing more harm to the others by his presence than he is receiving benefit himself. The man who is driven out of a sect can find twenty others as good or better, and very seldom, in point of fact, is conscious of any loss or suffering, beyond that involved in the breaking of old ties and associations; but one who is expelled from a great historic Church, yet has no mind to become a sectary, is an exile and wanderer, and has great difficulty in obtaining Christian fellowship which meets

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his spiritual needs. He is like the still uncured patient thrust into the street, with no home to go to, and no other hospital available. And if he die, is it suicide or manslaughter? In plainer words, a Church ought naturally to be much more chary of alienating and repelling its children on doctrinal grounds than a sect is, and that for three reasons; (*a*) that, having a wider area of doctrine as a basis, it can afford to tolerate partial nonconformity in some respects, where there is conformity in a much larger number; whereas, in a sect, nonconformity to one or two speculative opinions —as the Methodist view of conversion, for instance, or the Free Kirk view of establishment—often means entire divergence from the *raison d'être* of the body; (*b*) that its sense of duty and responsibility towards its members should be as keen as its sense of its own rights and claims, and that the motherly feeling of compassion and long-suffering should be stronger than that of indignation and vindictiveness at disobedience; (*c*) that its larger and wider experience, as compared with even the oldest and largest sects, should have taught it the historical impossibility of enforcing rigid conformity for any length of time, and, what is more, the yet more vital fact, that all truth, and especially spiritual truth, is many-sided.

This last sentence brings us face to face with the main and finally insuperable objection to the theory we have been considering, namely, the incapacity of any one human intellect, or the aggregate of all human intellects, to apprehend all parts of Divine truth. It is not merely that no one sees the whole, or, in fact, more than a very small portion; nor yet that, as a rule, any two people, A and B, do not see equally what they both see somehow; but that very often indeed A sees nothing whatever of what B is gazing at, and, conversely, though what B observes is just as much present to sight as what A notices. There is an Indian story which not inaptly illustrates this position. Adarçimoukha, King of Djambouli, collected a number of blind men at his palace, and directed his prime minister to conduct them to the elephant stables, to make each of them touch one of the huge beasts, and then to bring the whole party back to him. One blind man touched a leg, another the end of the tail, others again in turn the belly, sides, back, ear, head, tusks, and proboscis. On their return, the king asked them, 'Have you seen [*sic*] the elephants or not?' 'We have seen them completely,' answered they. 'What are they like?' asked the king. He who had touched the leg said, 'The elephant of our august king is like a pillar.'

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'Like a besom,' said he who had touched the tip of the tail. 'Like a branch of a tree,' said the one who had touched the tail higher up. 'Like a mass of earth,' said he who touched the belly. 'Like a wall,' said he who touched the sides. 'Like the ridge of a mountain,' said he who had touched the back. 'Like a large winnowing fan,' said he who had touched the ear. 'Like a mortar,' said he who had touched the head. 'Like a horn,' said he who had touched the tusk. 'Like a thick rope,' said he who had touched the trunk. And then all those who had touched the elephant began to dispute with one another.[1]

Each of these disputants stands for the founder or adherent of a narrow sect, having grasped but a small fragment of imperfectly apprehended truth, loudly asserting that he knows the whole, and that all other statements on the subject are not complementary, but contradictory, and therefore false. The Church, seeing far more than each and all of them, knows also that even she does not see the whole, and therefore all through her history, until quite recent times, despite occasional and local outbreaks of narrow bigotry, has been far more tolerant than the most liberal sects, and more penetrated with the sense of the sacredness of all truth, the incapacity of the finite to measure, weigh, and tabulate the infinite.

Accordingly, those who are familiar with the history and literature of Latin Christendom from the fall of the Roman Empire of the West till the Reformation, and even till the French Revolution, are aware that there were not merely great national differences of Church character visible, so that Spanish Christianity was quite diverse in expression and temper from German, and it in turn from French, and that from Italian, but that rival schools of theology and philosophy, exhibiting very marked and serious points of divergence, competed with each other throughout the Middle Ages, and found their chief arena in what was then the great centre of theology and literature, the University of Paris. Nay, more, the greater religious Orders, notably the Benedictines, Carthusians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, each had its several traditions, and thus introduced fresh elements of variety into the ecclesiastical life of the era known to enthusiasts as the Age of Faith, when a breadth and freshness of treatment, scarcely credible to any who have not made a special study of mediæval theology, prevailed in the teaching of the Latin Church, too broad and generous then to quarrel over matters

[1] Stanislas Julien, *Contes et Apologues Indiens*, vol. i. pp. 47–50.

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of detail which have since been magnified into essential principles. In fact, the passion for conformity, so far as it has exhibited itself in the West, is a mere political reaction after the crash of the Reformation, seen alike in Tudor England, Vasa Sweden, and Hapsburg Spain and Bohemia. The problem set to the Papacy, after half Europe had been lost to the Latin obedience, was how to present such a united front to the already disintegrated, but still powerful, forces of Protestantism, as might arrest further revolt, and perhaps even win back some alienated provinces to the Church; and the history of the counter-Reformation, in which that task was in a great degree accomplished by the labours of the Jesuit Order, is in the main the history of a gradual narrowing of Latin theology. When the second act of the great drama of individualism came in the shape of the French Revolution, a further step in this direction was taken, and the sedulous aim of the dominant school in the Roman Catholic communion ever since has been to suppress all such internal varieties as survived the Reformation, and to substitute for national and other diversities a universal Italianism, and that of the Jesuit species, even in those ancient societies, such as the Benedictines and Dominicans, whose loyalty to the Roman see has never been imperilled, but whose own traditions belong to an earlier and more liberal age. Now, even if it be conceded that this particular type of Christianity is on the whole superior to all others, yet it is but one aspect of a Divine system, and thus necessarily imperfect, and incapable of meeting the needs of large classes of minds. The practical result of its enforcement has been the alienation from the Church of the cultivated laity in every continental State, with the most insignificant exceptions, and the still more hurtful genesis of the sectarian spirit amongst those who remain faithful, whether teachers or taught. Its working, as set forth at length, and with keen insight, by Cardinal Vitelleschi, writing, under the pen-name of Pomponio Leto, his experiences of eight months at Rome during the Vatican Council, may be briefly summed up thus: 1. The isolation of the clergy from the rest of society. 2. The limitation of thinkers about religion to a very small class, leaving the main body attentive to physical enjoyment alone, and thus dragged down to a very low moral level. 3. Alienation of the devout minority from the duties of practical and civil life, and their absorption in an ascetic and speculative existence, not corresponding to the necessities of human nature. 4. Conflict between patriotism and religion. 5. A centralisation which destroys a

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Catholic *world*, and substitutes for it a Catholic *party*, marked off in every country from the habits, interests, and affections of the rest of the nation. 6. The subdivision of even this restricted Catholic party into a very small minority of obedient devotees, or *praticanti*, and a large majority of mere 'honorary members for life,' living in habitual corruption or indifferentism, but tolerated by the ecclesiastical authorities, on the easy conditions of abstaining from argument on matters of principle, observing a few external ceremonies, and giving a general promise of final repentance. 7. Careful and hostile isolation, even on the part of such Catholics as scarcely pretend to have any religion whatever, from members of all other Christian bodies—any deviation from this policy being in favour of rationalistic societies, rather than of more orthodox communions. 8. Systematic expulsion of those who do not submit unreservedly and uninquiringly to authority, on the principle that a small body, which can be perfectly trusted, is better than a large one whose allegiance is partly uncertain.

This account and estimate, being that of a Roman noble and prelate of the highest rank, himself one of the majority at the Vatican Council, is probably more lenient and favourable than that of any observant outsider, however impartial, would prove, and cannot be said to supply very cogent arguments in favour of uniformity. It is to be noted that, even assuming such uniformity to be a good in itself, and a note of the true Church, it was certainly neither attained, nor so much as aimed at, until within the last three centuries; was not victorious as a principle till within living memory. And, consequently, whatever exception is taken now to the *kind* of variety within the Church of England—we do not touch the question of *degree* as yet—precisely the same lies against the Latin Church, from the renewal of learning in the eleventh century, to the stamping out of Gallicanism by Pius VII.'s Concordat with Napoleon I. in the nineteenth.

What is, however, even more remarkable, is that the steady effort at enforcing absolutely rigid homogeneity throughout the Latin obedience, which has been maintained and enhanced from 1804 to 1870, has not even yet achieved its aim, for the assertion, cited above, that the very same reply will be given to any theological question by every Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, though founded on the indubitable fact that the education of the Latin clergy is almost everywhere in the same hands, and imparted from nearly identical text-books in all seminaries, is not true now, and is never likely to be true in the future. There is not uniformity of teaching even on such a topic

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as the Holy Eucharist; for not only is more than one explanation of certain details current, but in direct contradiction to the orthodox Roman doctrine, that the Sacramental Presence is supra-local, the popular theology is localism of the most material kind, as taught in Faber's *Blessed Sacrament*, and evidenced by a religious print, procurable in any Paris *magasin d'objets de religion*, representing Christ in a standing pyx or monstrance, with a cross-barred grating in front, and inscribed 'Prisoner of Love.' So, again, there are two contradictory purgatorial doctrines taught, and there are half-a-dozen conflicting views on indulgences. It is only a few years ago that a learned Roman Catholic priest in this country drew up a list of more than eighty heretical propositions extracted from the works of Frederick William Faber, and transmitted it to Rome, with a petition for their formal condemnation as injurious to religion. But, although the authorities of the Holy See did not undertake to defend the orthodoxy of the impeached passages, Faber was far too useful and zealous an Ultramontane to be molested, and the matter was quietly shelved. However, it is clear that not one, but eighty questions might have been put to him with the certainty of an incorrect answer; while the policy which prevailed was identical in principle with that which dictated the Gorham Judgment in England, but of far wider range and more enduring influence. A citation from the Roman Catholic Mr. Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle*, the famous 'J. K. L.,' whose evidence on Papal authority before a Parliamentary Committee did much to bring about the Emancipation Act of 1829, is not inapposite:—

'Some divines of the present day may wonder at the views on these and other questions to which Dr. Doyle gave expression, but it should be remembered that there is nothing so changeful as theological opinions. They always borrow the hue of contemporaneous events, and are sown by association also. One of the most distinguished professors of theology now living [1861] tells us that when a student he held views which he believes at this time to be unfounded, *and he has since given ten years as a professor to the refutation of opinions which his own preceptor taught him five-and-thirty years ago.*'

But the most curious fact of all in this connexion has yet to be stated. The Vatican decrees themselves, specifically designed to terminate controversy within the Latin obedience, have actually given rise to—or at any rate have quite failed to check—four distinct and irreconcilable schools of interpretation. First comes the Ultramontane maximising school,

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which interprets the decrees in the fullest sense of which they are grammatically capable, and sometimes goes so far as to say that every utterance—even merely casual—of the Pope is divinely inspired and infallible, or that the probability that it is such is so near certainty that to dispute or doubt it is rash and perilous in the highest degree. That is Cardinal Manning's view, Mgr. Capel's, and that of a majority of the Jesuits. Next is the Ultramontane minimising school, headed really by Dr. Newman, and expressed in his now famous *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, but also supported by Bishop Fessler and other leading personages, with the express sanction of the late Pope, which restricts infallibility to a certain class of Papal documents only, issued in a particular form and manner, and hedged in by a variety of other limitations, which make it probable that no purely Pontifical utterance yet known to history could pass through the fine meshes of the minimisers' sieve. Thirdly comes the old-fashioned Gallicanism taught in these islands till quite the other day, and vouched for by prelates like Doyle, Challoner, Hay, Milner, and McHale, according to which the Pope has no temporal jurisdiction outside his own dominion, is inferior to a General Council, is restrained in the exercise of his power by the canons of the Universal Church, and is not infallible in matters of faith. This view, though scouted and denounced by Ultramontanes now, is by no means extinct, and cannot be pronounced heretical without retrospectively condemning so many and such eminent Catholics, such as those already named, and others, like Bossuet, even more distinguished, that the recoil and possible bursting of the gun would be more dangerous to the artillerist than its ball could be to the mark aimed at. Fourthly come those who hold that Papal infallibility was not matter of faith up to July 18, 1870, but was made such then and subsequently, not by virtue of the Pope's definition, but by that of a Council alleged to be Œcumenical. A fifth class, perhaps as large as any of the preceding, simply disbelieves the doctrine entirely, and however stated, but is content to abstain from all open protest, and to acquiesce silently, in the hope that things will go on much as they have done hitherto, and no practical results flow from the new attribute conferred on the Roman Pontiff. And, even without citing so extreme a case as this, or the gradual increase in the number of Latin dogmas of other kinds, the broad fact remains that the theology of the seventeenth century is markedly unlike that of the fifteenth, and in turn differs from that of the nineteenth in many notable particulars.

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The conclusion, so far, is that the allegation of complete unanimity of doctrine within the Latin pale, made by Roman controversialists, is not based on fact, nor even warranted as true in the main, with but trifling variants not affecting the general conclusion. And as the contention is, not that there is a much greater *degree* of uniformity, due to a more centralising and coercive policy and discipline, of purely human and modern origin, found in the Roman Church than in the English (which is true enough, whatever the value of the fact be), but that the Roman Church is by supernatural grace and endowment preserved from every *kind* of theological diversity, the whole case, because overstated, and rested on the overstatement, breaks down. To the theologian, the one practical result of the careful assimilation of all the seminaries and textbooks of the Latin world, a process still in course of elaboration, is extraordinary meagreness, sameness, and triteness in the whole range of modern Roman Catholic divinity. The student who takes up some recent French catechetical work, course of dogmatic sermons, or manual of theology, for the first time, will be struck with the contrast it presents to any English books of the kind that have come in his way, by its superior incisiveness, lucidity, order, method, and seeming fulness, if not exhaustiveness, and will think that he has got the key to a vast treasure of theology. But let him buy as many more on the same subject, whatever it be, as he chooses, and he will almost certainly find that he has not enriched his stores by a centime's worth. Each writer treads punctiliously in the steps of his predecessor, and says the same things in exactly the same voice, tone, almost in the same words, passing over just the same difficulties without explanation, employing identically the same cut and dried anecdotes, quotations, and illustrations which looked so fresh when first encountered, and omitting the same vast range of topics as unsafe handling; a fact noticeably illustrated by the universal scantiness, poverty, and insignificant value of modern Roman contributions to Biblical literature and exegesis.

Thus the final impression produced by a survey of the Latin obedience, as it now is through the policy of its dominant school, is its dead and artificial uniformity, utterly unlike the variety in likeness which is the note of Divine creation; its consequent loss of the note of Catholicity in the senses of co-ordination of all truths and of adaptability to all types of mind; and its gradual transformation into that which, albeit the greatest and most remarkable of sects, is still a sect, and nothing more, in spirit and action.

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The Eastern Church seems at first to supply what is sought—a true uniformity due to faithful conservation of patristic tradition; and it is the boast, as it is the belief, of Greek and Russian ecclesiastics, that their theological system varies in no respect whatever from that of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom.

But the fact is that, though free from many of the accretions of Western Christendom, Oriental theology and practice are of the ninth, not of the fourth century, and the arrest of the downward movement is historically due to intellectual stagnation rather than to deliberate adherence to ancient standards, since from the death of S. John Damascene, about A.D. 780, Theophylact, the contemporary of Gregory VII., is the only name of mark in Greek theology. The small separatist Syrian and Coptic Churches, however interesting from an archæologist's point of view, are not powerful factors in Christendom, nor examples to be held up for admiring imitation; while, as regards the Russian Church, by far the most important portion of Oriental Christianity, its seeming unity, itself largely due to the low mental range of the great body of the clergy, and to the coercive restrictions of the State, does but thinly cover over a seething congeries of secret sects, proportionably as numerous as the separatists of Protestant Europe and America, but far below their average in morals, intelligence, and even orthodoxy. There can be no question that many of these sects have arisen from reaction against the deadness and inelasticity of the Church, and perhaps nearly all the remainder from the lack of ecclesiastical and secular learning on the part of those who should have been the religious teachers of the nation, and thus the experience derivable from Eastern homogeneity is not encouraging to the hostile critics of Anglican variety.

Nor is the prospect more satisfactory, if the attention be directed to the older sects of Protestantism, with a pedigree long enough to admit of tracing the history and fate of dogma in their hands. Their tendency has been in the reverse direction to that of the Latin and Greek Churches, namely, to evaporation and loss, rather than to crystallisation and accretion. No minuteness of detail in their symbolical books, no stringency of subscription to their formularies, has availed to arrest the disintegration of dogma amongst them, and the substitution, throughout far the greater number of their adherents, nay, of their pastors, of a vague Deism, or even some still less positive form of belief, for the Christianity (such as it is) taught by Luther and Calvin.

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It is difficult to forecast the future of the younger communions, but several even of them already exhibit marks of loss and decay, and no precision of their current utterances affords any presumption that their teaching will be transmitted unimpaired even to the close of the present century, because they have no roots in the past, to keep them steady where they now are. This tendency is illustrated in England not only by the entire oblivion to which the Wesleyan Methodists have consigned the Eucharistic hymns of John and Charles Wesley, because of their own lowered sacramental views; but yet more remarkably by the almost total disappearance of Calvinism from the tenets and sermons of the Evangelical clergy. Unspeakable gain as this is to Christianity, it nevertheless establishes very clearly the lack of tenacity here discussed; for that school, as a whole, constantly asserts, and presumably believes, that it teaches now in exact accordance with the standards of the leaders of the Evangelical Revival ninety years ago. But although there was a very small Arminian element present then amongst them, due to the influence of the Wesleys and of Fletcher of Madeley, yet the main current of the movement was emphatically Calvinistic, and Whitfield's succession was carried down by Toplady, Venn, Newton, Romaine, and Milner, whereas now many of their most cherished tenets are banished from the pulpits of those who claim to represent them at the present day. Another fact is incidentally brought out by this one, namely, the total absence from the Evangelical ranks of even literary acquaintance with the writings of those men whom they claim as their theological ancestors, since, did they read those writings, they would be at any rate conscious of their own divergence from their standards. And the very fierceness of their polemical attitude in resistance to doctrines which lie outside the very restricted area of their knowledge and tradition shows that this departure from Calvinistic tenets is not due to any softening of temper or elevation of creed, but to loss of power to hold firmly by any definite and positive system. This defect accounts for the readiness with which many leading Evangelicals allied themselves in 1872 with Broad Churchmen against the Athanasian Creed, being intellectually unable to appreciate its value, and more than willing to abolish it on condition of receiving aid to put down Ritualism; albeit they knew, or might readily have known, from the language and acts of some of the most influential Broad Church leaders, that the excision of the Athanasian Creed was certainly intended as

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a first step to getting rid of the Nicene Creed also, and more than probably of the Apostles' Creed in due time.

If we look at the various parables of the Christian Church in the Gospels, such as the mustard-seed, leaven, and drag-net (S. Matt. xiii., S. Luke xiii.), and compare them with the other presentment under the type of a building, of which Christ is the corner-stone and foundation (S. Matt. xxi. 42, Eph. ii. 20, 1 S. Peter ii. 7), we shall see that stability and progressiveness, order and energy, life, motion, and growth, as well as completeness and achievement, must be found combined in any society which adequately corresponds to these figures; and, if we take account further of the command to preach the Gospel to every creature under heaven, and that in such wise as to bring the most diverse nations and conditions into one vast fellowship, we shall recognise that comprehensiveness is a quite indispensable attribute. Now as absolute uniformity of teaching is of no evidential value whatever, unless it have been unbroken and continuous; that is to say, unless it be not merely true that the whole teaching class in any communion is in perfect accord to-day, but is in like agreement with its predecessors in each generation back to Apostolic times; and as such uniformity, did it really exist, would show that there had been no progress or growth in the apprehension of Divine things, it cannot be a mark of the true Church. And, similarly, anything which tends to set up a class religion, or even a religion which, albeit embracing several classes, excludes even one, or which, again, endeavours to obliterate any divinely ordained national or individual diversities in order to reduce all to a common type, violates the law of comprehensiveness.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that a house divided against itself, a society with no real and permanent bonds of union, a teaching body not agreed on any basis of ascertained truth, cannot be, in any true sense, the representative of the stable order of the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

How then does the Church of England stand examination by these concurrent tests? If it be allowed, by admission of the arguments adduced thus far, that diversity of teaching does not in the abstract constitute an objection to the authenticity of a Church, yet without doubt such diversity may be pushed both in kind and degree too far to leave any solid basis of agreement. Is such the case with the Church of England? How is her collective mind to be ascertained upon disputed points, and how is it to be known whether she teaches positively and authoritatively what she does teach?

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Before entering on these inquiries, one thing has to be premised. The question is not in the least as to the effectiveness of discipline, which is the creation of purely ecclesiastical and human arrangement, however ancillary it may prove to the defence of revelation. There is no question at all that coercive discipline is much more thoroughly organised and enforced, not merely in the Roman Church, but in most Protestant sects, than in the Church of England. But, without inquiring here whether it is so employed by any of those bodies as to be in fact a salutary defence of faith and morals, and not a mere engine of repression and oppression, it is enough to say that the less pressure and restraint is brought to bear upon any community, the more trustworthy are any tokens of its opinions and conduct. It is not much to say of a strongly garrisoned town, constantly patrolled by a numerous police, that order reigns there; but a town which is peaceable and free from violence to person or property, in the absence of any guardians of the law, may justly be regarded as a model. And, remembering the manner in which the Latin clergy, with the rarest exceptions, are at the mercy of their bishops, and the bishops, in turn, at the mercy of the Curia, which can withhold their quinquennial faculties, while the religious Orders are in like manner subject to generals removable by deposition at any moment, it is matter of reasonable doubt what would result if all this elaborate machinery were destroyed, and the same measure of autonomy and independence (with the same intervention of lay influence) were conferred on the ordinaries and parish priests throughout the Latin obedience, as has been enjoyed for centuries by those of the Church of England. Consummate as is the drill, no one can guess how it would survive such a strain. But in the case of the Anglican body, the experiment has actually been tried under circumstances of most exceptional disadvantage; to wit, in the history of that offshoot of it planted in the United States of North America. In the first place, its earliest beginnings there were at a time when the flux and seething of the Reformation era had not subsided in England, and the negative, combative habit of mind engendered by controversy was still in the ascendant. Then it was poor everywhere, save in Virginia, so as to offer little inducement, at a time when the missionary spirit had scarcely wakened here, to men with fair prospects in the home ministry, since the colonial organisation admitted of no prizes of any kind, either of dignity, office, or income. The circumstances of new colonies involved entire deprivation of the traditions and appliances of an old country; the stately cathedrals, the

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hoary colleges, the great libraries, the indefinable atmosphere of mediævalism in so conservative a nation, which has unquestionably exercised a powerful influence on the home Church. The carelessness of the ecclesiastical authorities at first, and the bitter jealousy of the civil power at a later time, kept the rites of confirmation and ordination at this side of the Atlantic, requiring a voyage of six thousand miles, in small and slow sailing vessels, in every case where they were sought, thus making it impossible for an Episcopalian communion to propagate itself, and giving the more democratic organisations of Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists an aggregate start of two centuries in the extension of their pastorates and formation of congregations. The crash of the Revolution, involving separation from England, came just at the time when the old traditional High Churchmanship of the type of Beveridge and Bull, enfeebled long before at home by the nonjuring secession, and by the protracted enmity of Walpole, had almost died out, when the Evangelical revival had not yet begun, and when theological learning was lower than it has ever been, save in the dark tenth century, albeit clerical morals were perhaps somewhat better than they had been thirty years previously, thanks to the pressure of Methodist rivals. And as American Churchmen had in the main taken the Tory or Loyalist side in the Revolution, while the sects (around whose Pilgrim Father founders already clustered such romance, poetry, and traditional glamour as the revolted colonies recognised) were as generally on the side of the Republicans, the feeble remnant began its separate and independent life under a black cloud of popular suspicion and dislike, as being rather a British political propaganda than a purely spiritual society, willing to acquiesce in the new condition of civil affairs. It was not to be expected that the adaptation of Church organisation and of the Liturgy to the supposed requirements of the time, which was made when a native episcopate was at last procured, should have been then effected without serious errors and losses, especially when it is remembered that all rules of discipline had gone with the British connexion, and had to be invented or enacted afresh. And in truth many such mistakes were made. This, then, is a combination of adverse circumstances tenfold, nay, a hundredfold, more unfavourable than any which can be imagined possible as attending any crash here and now; and on all the grounds urged against the future cohesion of the Church of England, in the event of State repudiation, her American daughter should have either been absorbed long

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ago by the more powerful and teeming sects around, have continued to linger on in a dwarfed and impotent condition, or have split into two or three separate and hostile bodies. The facts are singularly unlike the inferences. It is true that the start of two centuries which the sectaries have enjoyed keeps their larger societies still numerically in advance of the Church (which has had no such exceptional source of supply as the millions of Irish emigrants who have been going to the States, and multiplying there for thirty years, have brought to the Roman body), but none has grown with such swiftness and rapidity, none at this moment enjoys so much social respect and influence, none exercises such attractions over the cultured pastors of other denominations, drawing them constantly into its own ministry. The one See of 1784 has developed into forty-eight fully organised dioceses; ten home 'missionary jurisdictions,' or inchoate dioceses, presided over by bishops, and four foreign missionary sees; a total of sixty-two, while others are in actual process of formation; and the scattered handful of clergy has multiplied into a body of more than 3,200, ministering in a somewhat smaller number of parishes, while the amount of lay heartiness may be gauged to some extent by the rough test of money offerings for Church purposes, which amounted in the last triennial period, 1874–1877, to 21,535,506·58 dollars, or more than 4,300,000*l.* sterling. So much for the outward organisation. Let us now turn to the doctrinal question.

And, first, there are some very important sets-off to the losses inflicted ninety years ago, through sheer inadvertence and lack of knowledge. On the one hand, the American Liturgy, in consequence of Bishop Seabury's connexion with the Scottish Church, has brought into unmistakable prominence that doctrine of Eucharistic oblation and sacrifice which is obscured in the English rite; and, on the other, those principles of apostolical succession and of sacerdotal authority, which Dr. Newman has alleged not to be Anglican traditions, are expressly stated in the office for Institution of Ministers, drafted at so unpromising a time as 1804, and finally authorised in 1808. The Letters of Institution themselves contain clauses stating that the clerk to whom they are issued is thereby 'possessed of full power to perform every *sacerdotal function*;' that, 'as the Lord hath ordained that they who serve at the altar shall live of the things belonging to the altar, so we authorise you to claim and enjoy all the accustomed temporalities appertaining to your cure;' and providing for the contingency of 'dissolution of all sacerdotal connexion between the new pastor and his flock.' The word

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'altar' itself, though absent from the Communion Office, is not used as a mere metaphor in this form (as it is in the offertory sentences of the English Prayer-Book), but appears substantially in three rubrics, thus: (1) 'The wardens (or, in case of their necessary absence, two members of the vestry) standing on the right and left of the *altar*, without the rails;' (2) 'The Priest who acts as the Institutor, standing within the rails of the *altar*, shall say;' (3) 'Then shall the instituted Minister kneel at the *altar*, to present his supplication for himself.' And, lastly, the penultimate collect said by the Institutor begins thus: 'O holy Jesus, who hast purchased to Thyself an universal Church, and hast promised to be with *the ministers of apostolic succession* to the end of the world,' &c. These phrases are not derived from the Scottish rite, and, besides, Bishop Seabury had been dead eight years when the office containing them was drafted. They are simply proofs that doctrines which the circumstances of the English Church permitted to remain latent, needed to be publicly set forward in America, in the face of the dominant unsacerdotal sectarianism which is the chief opponent of the Church there. But, if the doctrines had not been potentially included in the deposit which America received from England, 1804 would never have seen their assertion in this decisive shape.

Next, there has been steady growth upward in all respects for the last fifty years. Owing to local causes, and to that capacity for political combination and caballing which is so remarkably developed in the American character, the Puritan school, early in this century, had secured a dominant position in the Church, and exercised almost supreme control through the administration of partisan societies, worked (exactly as their congeners are worked in England now, only far more ably) not for the advantage of the whole communion, but in the separate interests of a single party within it. Little by little, this monopoly has been weakened, then broken down, and finally abolished; and the spread of what are known as High Church doctrines and practices, without any greater encouragement from authority than the Oxford movement received here, has been so rapid and steady, that they are now the prevalent views accepted throughout the Church, while each episcopal election that now takes place, sees the choice of the electors fall on a man somewhat more advanced as a Churchman than his predecessor. And the Cummins schism of 1874, styling itself the 'Reformed Protestant Episcopal Church,' is due, by the confession of one of the principal and earliest seceders, Mr. Latané, a clergyman in the diocese of Virginia, made at the beginning of 1874, in

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a formal letter to his evangelical diocesan, to the belief of the Puritan school that it can never recover its lost ground and dictate its laws to the Church at large. His actual words are:—'The main difficulty, I have no doubt, with many, as for days it was with me, is the question whether a reformation cannot, in the end, be effected in the Church, and therefore whether it is not a matter of duty to fight the battle in the Church. A careful review of all the facts of the case has left me utterly without hope in that quarter. *In the Church the battle has been fought, and in the Church the battle has been lost.* Thirty-five years ago, when the Oxford *Tracts for the Times* began seriously to endanger the Protestant teaching and the Protestant character of the Church in this country, open war was declared, and from that day to this has raged all along the lines. And, as the matter stands to-day, *in the Church*, as the result of a thirty-five years' struggle, the one party has gained complete ascendancy, has a majority of three-fourths in the House of Bishops, and perhaps nearly as large a majority in the Lower House, has absolute control of the entire machinery of the General Convention, and, as a party, is thoroughly organised, flushed with victory, and going on conquering and to conquer. The other party is in a hopeless minority, thoroughly disorganised, dispirited by defeat, uncertain what to do, and like a man who cannot find his hands in the day of battle. And more than this; *in the Church* the struggle is hopeless for another reason. The High Church has on its side *the great educational power of the Church.* It uses, readily and easily, for the inculcation of its views, the Catechism, and the Baptismal and other services; and these are read, and heard read, many times a year, by parents, and sponsors, and children, and the congregation generally, and that too, on the most interesting occasions, and when they make the deepest impression; while the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, which were designed to be the standard of doctrine for the Church, and which sustain the Low Church party in its teaching, and prove conclusively that it holds to-day the doctrines held by the framers of the Prayer-Book, cannot be used efficiently either in the education of the young or the instruction of the congregation generally, and, as a matter of fact, are not read, or heard read, by one Episcopalian in ten, more than once in ten years. With the parties thus unequally matched, and with the contest to be waged on these unequal terms, I can see nothing in the future for the Low Church party, if it continue in the Church, but further defeat, further disintegration, and in the end the surrender of what it has ever held to be the truth of God.'

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It should be remembered, when estimating the true force of such language as this, that the question at stake is not the predominance of this or that section, but the far deeper one of the prevalence of a positive, objective, and ancient historical teaching, closely allied to that of early Christendom, or that of a comparatively negative, subjective, modern, and unstable teaching, dating no further back than the Reformation. And that the former should be found the victor in a very long struggle, carried on under signal discouragement, is a most noteworthy phenomenon.

But, it may be demurred, this proof of the conservative and recuperative power of Anglicanism is deficient in cogency, because drawn from a peculiarly favourable instance. What about the Disestablished Church of Ireland? Do not its recent history and proceedings make entirely the other way, as showing that an impetus in the destructive direction exists quite as strong as that in the constructive one, so that the two neutralise each other as arguments? It certainly looks so to the untrained and inexperienced observer, who has noted only the partisan votes of the Irish Synod, and its sweeping measures of revision in ceremonial, discipline, and doctrine. But this is a very insufficient induction to go upon, even setting aside the greater area, wealth, energy, and expansive power of the American Church, which make it the far more important example of the two. The truth is, that the Irish Church, down to quite the other day, was incomparably more of a political than of a religious body, more a foreign instrument for maintaining Protestant Ascendancy than an organisation for imparting spiritual instruction to the nation. Faced as it was by a rival native Church, outnumbering it many times over—the ratio even now, after the exodus of nearly three millions of Roman Catholics, is, by the census of 1871, 4,141,933 Roman Catholics, 683,295 Protestant Episcopalians, 558,238 Presbyterians, and about 73,800 other Protestant Dissenters—its natural tendency was to dwell far more on the points of difference than on those of agreement between them, and it is not to be forgotten that, although Gallicanism was till quite recently the accredited teaching in Irish Roman Catholic seminaries, yet the priesthood, drawn all but exclusively from the peasant class, did not succeed in rising above the level of that class in its views and language, so that little chance of mutual good understanding existed in that quarter. Further, the discouragement of ministering to a mere handful of a flock sapped the energies of the Established clergy everywhere, and it was, and indeed is, the rarest exception for any of them to employ their thus

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abundant leisure in literary pursuits, whether of study or authorship.

The Evangelical revival, when it reached Ireland some twenty years after it had made its footing good in England, assumed there, even more conspicuously than here, the mere sermonising and proprietary chapel type of activity, and promoted no corporate or internal reforms whatever, though it did set on foot various conspicuously ineffective proselytising agencies to work amongst Roman Catholics. Consequently, the standard of living belief and practice had sunk before 1870 as far below the theoretical standards of the formularies as was compatible with continued existence as a Church at all, and the tiny minority of High Churchmen nursed their opinions in private, and scarcely communicated them, even as a masonic secret, to an esoteric group of hearers. So, when the crash of 1869–70 came, there was scarcely one clerical member of the new General Synod who so much as knew what opinions and practices were adopted by High Churchmen, and the ignorance of the wholly untaught lay members, honeycombed through and through with Plymouth-Brethrenism (a very powerful cult in Ireland, which has made relatively far more numerous and socially important converts from the Church there, than the Roman body has done in England), was yet greater. No wonder that a wild desire to sweep everything away which could not merely be suspected of being a 'Romanising germ,' but which was thought to be specially distinctive of the English Church, regarded by the Irish clergy as having betrayed them in the crisis, took possession of the Synod, and that canons of a curiously mischievous nature were eagerly passed. But when the storm ceased raging, it was found that the amount of destruction achieved was very much less than was expected beforehand, nothing like so great as that wrought over here in 1552, when compared with 1549: and, at the worst, it did not lower the practical standard of doctrine and usage by one hair's-breadth, merely registering and giving legal sanction for the first time to what had been customary and condoned by a perpetual indemnity for centuries. But already a reaction has set in, and the process of recovery has begun. The conduct and language of the extremer Revisionists has begotten successful resistance in the Synod, and, just as the Cummins sect in America has driven back the moderate Evangelicals upon the central body, so it has been in Ireland, and the recently deceased John Gregg, Bishop of Cork, a very decided Low Churchman, whose own new cathedral, built by Mr. Burges, is a great work of Christian art, was the mainstay of this

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conservative movement. Further, the very noise of the bigots has concentrated attention on the topics they selected for attack, and has made people begin to study them; while the small High Church minority, heretofore most unwisely silent, finding themselves driven into a corner, and on the point of being 'squeezed out' (to borrow a phrase from a mischievous and foolish disloyalist in the Church of England), have plucked up courage, and begin to speak as no one had spoken since Alexander Knox died, with the result of getting a hearing and a large following; so that there is much reason to believe that a conscious, intelligent, and hearty Churchmanship is now growing up, and will be, ere long, far stronger than the mere passive acquiescence in neglected formularies which prevailed half a century ago—certain, too, should it live and thrive, to win back far more than has been temporarily withdrawn. It is not very fanciful or far-fetched to see a type of the two stages of the movement in Ireland in the several restorations of the two cathedrals of Dublin. Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, the restorer of S. Patrick's, employed no architect, set comparatively unskilled workmen to labour on the ancient building, and while perhaps saving it from impending collapse, and certainly making it weather-tight, so scraped, flayed, and remodelled the venerable fane as to destroy its most interesting features, and to leave it a lamentable monument of misdirected zeal, as destructive as that which swooped on Hexham many years ago. Mr. Roe, on the other hand, when about to restore Christ Church with even more lavish outlay, called in the aid of a distinguished architect, whose restoration on the old lines, and in the original spirit, of the cathedral, is pronounced by competent judges the most consummately successful work of the kind since the beginning of the Gothic revival, and far surpassing anything effected in English minsters, even at Llandaff itself. *Adsit omen!* Nor is this all mere conjecture. There is the broad fact, attested by Archbishop Tait, in no very willing fashion, that the amalgamation of the disestablished Church with the Presbyterian body, once regarded as highly probable, is further off than ever; a view accepted by the *Witness*, a leading Presbyterian organ, as quite warranted by the facts, and by the attitude of the Irish Episcopate; and also the other fact, that there has been neither extrusion nor disruption. Thus it is clear that we should not be justified in treating the eight years of Irish autonomy as counterbalancing the evidence of the ninety years of similar experience in America, since the nadir of revolution has been reached without serious injury, not merely to the essentials of Christianity, but even to its secondary

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doctrines; though some innocent, beautiful, and edifying adjuncts have been curtailed for a time.

If, then, in two experiments tried on so large a scale, and under such unfavourable circumstances in both cases, the power of cohesion and recovery has proved greater than the centrifugal and evaporative forces at work in America and Ireland, there is no reason to apprehend a dissimilar result in England, where the conservative influences are incomparably stronger, and the disruptive ones proportionably less. Let us estimate them briefly. It is clear that in any calculation of the probabilities in a matter of this sort, only the relative strength of the clerical sections need be taken into account; for not only will the great mass of the laity in all likelihood remain passive, but under a hierarchical system, such as that of the Church of England, the lay power of determining the direction of change is necessarily less than in more democratic organisms. The clergy of the Church of England, not reckoning those in the colonies, are about twenty-three thousand, all told. When there was a strong agitation got up in 1861 for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer in the anti-sacerdotal direction, a counter movement of resistance, taking form in a protest, was set on foot by Archbishop Trench, then Dean of Westminster. This protest, issued in 1862, was signed almost exclusively by High Church clergymen, between ten and eleven thousand names were appended to it, and the school has been growing steadily during the sixteen years which have since elapsed, so that it will be reasonable to compute its numbers now, allowing both for many High Churchmen who did not sign, and for members of other schools who did sign the document in 1862, at twelve thousand, or rather more than half the whole clerical body. On the other hand, Mr. Scott-Robertson's clerical address to the prelates in 1875 against the permissive use of the eastward position and the Eucharistic vestments, signed by Evangelicals with a small sprinkling of men of other schools, such as Provost Hawkins of Oriel and Canon Farrar, received 5,376 signatures, which may be taken, in conjunction with some calculations in the *Record*, as denoting the full strength of the Low Church school, which is thus less than one-fourth of the whole clerical body. Thirdly, there was an address against the use of the Athanasian Creed, presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury in December 1872, mainly signed by Broad Churchmen, but with a considerable sprinkling of Evangelicals, having 2,872 signatures. If 2,500 of these be estimated as Broad Churchmen, it will be, in all probability, an outside calculation, and that is less than one-ninth of the clergy.

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That gives us, roughly, High 12,000 + Low 5,400 + Broad 2,500 = 20,300, leaving only 2,700 unaccounted for, who are for the most part colourless nonentities, nearly sure to range themselves with the largest body in any crisis. Should any effort at disruption be made, obviously the High Church clergy, forming more than half the entire body, and thus more than equal in mere voting power to any possible combination of the remaining schools, would be the restraining power in check of any such tendency, and would at once rally to them, first the colourless outsiders just mentioned, who would simply gravitate to the largest mass, as involving least change of attitude; next, all the 'Broad-with-unction,' having more sympathy with the Church, on the whole, than with the laxer sects; and, thirdly, the Moderate, or Church Evangelicals, including many who just now take a somewhat extreme line, but who would be then forced back on the centre, as their fellows have been in America. The adhesion of these to the main body would raise its numbers to some 19,000 or 20,000 at starting, all agreed in keeping together, while the terms of cohesion would be substantially the existing lines of the Prayer-Book. And thus the responsibility of beginning what would in the public view be an entirely new Church of England, in rivalry with the large body clearly representing the old Church, would be more than the three or four thousand who are supposed to hold aloof at first would be willing to accept, especially as there is probably not more than one of the existing Episcopate who would openly join the minority, and thus help to give it status. The force of old associations would work on some; desire not to be out in the cold and unable to influence the acts of the main Church body upon others; consciousness that more freedom, tolerance, and fair play are likely to be found in a large society based on tested and familiar historical grounds, than in a smaller, narrower, and newer body upon a third section, thus continually drawing them in to the central mass, and leaving only a handful, unimportant in numbers and influence, without any similar bond of cohesion amongst its members, outside, who must either conform at last, or be absorbed into various Nonconformist bodies. And this forecast, it is to be observed, is putting things at their worst, as taking for granted that here, where Church feeling and knowledge are much more widely and deeply powerful than they were in America and Ireland, some more serious efforts at disruption will be made than were attempted there. The point at issue, in face of the controversial objection we are considering, is not the possible entire absence of secessions, nor even the smallness of their number, but whether,

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even assuming some disruption to take place, contrary to former precedent, any reasonable doubt exists touching the continuity of a very large society with a definite theology, unmistakably being the Church of England, and no other, instead of two or three rival bodies contending on nearly equal terms for that title and the accompanying rights.

Thus, then, after the most careful and elaborate review and forecast permitted by the circumstances of the case, the conclusion is inevitably forced upon us that the cohesion of the English Church is not, as objectors allege, due to the external compression exercised by its established position, and that it is not a house so divided against itself, and so devoid of any fixed and common doctrine, that it cannot be viewed as in any sense a keeper and witness of any body of dogmas. The facts adduced so far establish that her cohesive and centripetal forces are stronger than the disruptive and centrifugal ones, and therefore that the unity underlying her surface diversity is a more powerful factor in her being than that diversity; seeing that the removal of the external accident of establishment, and of several other conditioning restraints, has not availed to break up other Anglican Churches, which continue in full communion with her and with each other.

Now, as the social and political conditions of the various Pan-Anglican Churches differ indefinitely from each other, this unity and intercommunion must needs have an essential, and not an accidental, basis. What, then, are the points on which they are all agreed? They are briefly as follows:—(1) A hierarchy consisting of bishops, priests, and deacons, transmitted by successive episcopal ordinations; (2) a Book of Common Prayer varying slightly in different Churches, but substantially the same volume; (3) as the result of the use of this book, the retention of the two great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, and the lesser New Testament rites of Confirmation, Ordination, Penance, and Christian Marriage, with the recitation of the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds; (4) acceptance of the four Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon—the 'Evangelical Councils,' as S. Gregory the Great styles them—directly, and the Fifth and Sixth General Councils implicitly; (5) formal and general appeal to the Church of the first five centuries as a standard; (6) the Thirty-nine Articles.

If this be not a dogmatic basis of union, it is hard to say what could constitute such a basis. Of course exception may be, and has been, taken against the doctrinal soundness of some utterances of the Anglican formularies, but that is not the character of objection in question, which is the absence

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of any formulated teaching at all, a charge curiously inconsistent with the broad facts just stated. What is more, whereas other religious societies started with very precise and detailed formularies indeed, and with a cut and dried theological system much superior in logical completeness to anything in the symbolical writings of the English Church, they have exhibited, as already observed, a continual and increasing tendency to lose hold of the very tenets which were once their cardinal beliefs. But, as matter of history, no such corporate declension is visible in the Church of England. It is impossible to name any positive doctrine held by her great theologians in the past which is excluded or forgotten now, and the average level of teaching from her pulpits is unquestionably much higher than it was at any time in the seventeenth century. The secret of this stability is not far to seek.

No maxim is more true than that *lex orandi est lex credendi.* Articles and confessions, however skilfully drafted, may be relegated to the sole keeping of a small professional class, and be neglected, if not forgotten, even by their custodians; but a living and public devotional use keeps doctrine unimpaired as nothing else can or will. And the English Book of Common Prayer is instinct with dogma and sacramentalism throughout. It is not the fact, as some revisionists appear to think, that the excision of half a dozen passages, however significant, would deprive it of this character, for it is interwoven with the very texture, and could not be cut out, save at the cost of change amounting to entire reconstruction. And the vital fact is that the whole body of the Anglican clergy is pledged to use the book, and does use it, in the main contentedly, and even loyally. It is true, no doubt, that some of one school would be very glad to see certain omissions, and some of another certain additions in its matter, while a third section may be supposed to acquiesce in it passively, rather than to value it at all heartily. But, if we could get at the facts regarding the views and feelings of the Latin clergy, should we find as large a measure of agreement amongst them? There is, at any rate, no proof of it.

'But,' an opponent may rejoin, 'the Latin clergy, at all events, observe a decorous silence. They do not openly disavow and revile doctrines and usages which are plainly set down in the formularies of the Roman Church, and which they are bound to hold and use. If a priest be so unfortunate as to lack faith in the Vatican decrees, he at least does not denounce them in public as "soul-destroying and idolatrous" —the favourite adjectives of Evangelicals for applying to any tenets or usages unfamiliar or unacceptable to themselves.'

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Obviously this rejoinder can be met at once by remarking, on the one hand, that it is the efficient coercive discipline of the Roman Church which is to be credited with the result mentioned, since a priest who did so speak out would be promptly deprived and ruined; but the present question is not about discipline; and next that, if it be indeed true that the impugned doctrines are plainly set down in the Anglican formularies, then the charge that no definite teaching is to be found in them is refuted out of the prosecution's own mouth.

But there is a broader and more satisfactory reply to be made, which meets the objection more fairly than by raising such side issues as these. It is that there has been, unfortunately for the English clergy, a lack, still felt, of real scientific training in theology throughout all the divinity schools of the Empire. There is not, even now, any text-book at once so orderly, simple, comprehensive, and sound in its degree, as the Lutheran Dr. Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, put into the hands of candidates for holy orders, or employed by the examining chaplains of bishops. And one result of the consequent want of exactness of knowledge, so far as it goes, is occasional crudity of dogmatic statement on the High Church side, with complete and abysmal unfamiliarity with theology in any sense throughout the rank and file of the two other sections. Accordingly, one school often puts out theological propositions in unqualified and aggressive terms, while the other, startled by their novelty, and not having the smallest glimmer of their real meaning, promptly repudiates as false—and quite rightly too—the import which they attach to them. For example, it is in the memory of the elder men of the present day how, thirty years ago, Baptismal Regeneration was preached from hundreds of pulpits Sunday after Sunday, throughout the year, to the practical exclusion of every other Christian tenet, and in a fashion which made it seem the entire gospel of those who proclaimed it so persistently. The Evangelical clergy, whose traditional use of the word 'regeneration' was as a synonym of conversion, took as a rule for granted that the new preaching meant that every baptized person would be certainly saved, whatever his faith and life might have been, and denounced this heresy, as it certainly is, with all the force in their power. But they did not mean to deny, with the rarest exceptions, that Baptism is the divinely appointed initial rite of the Christian Church, the pledge and seal of covenant with God, the first beginning of life-long dedication to Him. So too, when they speak now against the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and priestly absolution, their hearts are better than their heads, their meaning far

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more orthodox than their words. Utterly untrained in theology—there is, in truth, no Evangelical *theology* at all in the Church of England, though many pious Evangelical books—they put the most material and extreme construction on all these tenets, and suppose them to mean severally a gross carnal presence (the Capharnaite heresy); the repetition of the Atonement, or the substitution of another offering, on the ground of the incompleteness of that on Calvary; and the arrogation by man of the Divine attribute of forgiveness of sin. In each and all of these instances they are really contending for great Christian verities, and it cannot truly be said that they are wholly to blame for misunderstanding the points in dispute, considering how clumsily and inaccurately, to say no more, these are often stated by their opponents. Theologians who know how Christendom suffers still from the controversial overstatements of S. Augustine, when contending against the Manichees and the Pelagians, will be slow in condemning Evangelical zeal, even if it be not according to knowledge. And, if the language they are willing to use when they are out of the controversial, and in the devotional, attitude, and so making positive rather than negative statements, be examined, it will be confessed that they are more nearly in accord with High Churchmen than either school, when heated with debate, is ready to acknowledge. Anyone who will compare, for example, the hymns on the Holy Communion in Mr. E. H. Bickersteth's studiously Evangelical *Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*, with a Church Association tract against the Mass, or Dr. Vaughan's *Addresses to Young Clergymen* with any leading article in the *Record* against Sacerdotalism, will at once recognise the distinction we are making.

It is true that a section exists, nominally belonging to this school, which never is aught but controversial, and seems to have no sense whatever of reverence or devotion; but a brief examination shows that it mainly consists of men ordained under George IV. and William IV., and the very early years of the present reign, who are of course rapidly dying out, and find no younger men to take up the same position, except a very few literates, and others of inferior position and no influence. All Church history testifies to the fact that there will be in every age a large class of men, sincere believers in their way, whose grasp of the objective side of Church teaching is weak, whose tendency is to look to the individual rather than the family, to exalt emotion above order, and to have little patience with authority when clashing, ever so slightly, with what seems good in their eyes. But, with the

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faults of their school, they often have the merit of aiming at a high standard of personal piety, of resisting subtle aspects of formalism, of insisting on direct active realisation of that which is within Church ordinances, where others are content to rest in passive contact with that which is outward. France had its Low Churchmen a century and a half ago, in the shape of Jansenists, and set Church and State together to stamp them out, albeit whatever judgment might be passed on their theology—and, in truth, as an abstract question, their opponents had the best of the argument—their piety, devotion, and purity of life presented an edifying contrast to the lives of their orthodox rivals. Dubois, a Cardinal Archbishop, after men such as Arnauld, Quesnel, and Nicole had been hunted like partridges, was a sight to make angels weep and devils laugh. And what came of it? Was the Church of France strengthened in body by the administration of so sharp a purge? It almost seemed so at first, for never did its position seem so brilliant and assured as in the last year of the seventeenth century, when the Jansenists had been stamped out and silenced, and when the greatest galaxy of names that has ever adorned it shone at once in the ecclesiastical firmament: Bossuet, Fénelon, Camus, Huet, Flechier, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Duguet, Simon, Lami, Tillemont, Noel Alexandre, Fleury, Mabillon, Martène, Durand, Ruinart, Montfaucon, Lallemant, Thomassin, and many another. And yet within a quarter of a century deterioration, rapid, general, fatal, had already set in, and all men know how it ended, before the children then born had all passed away, in the crashing fall of the Church, and in the national proclamation of Atheism—a shock from which the French Church still suffers far more acutely than the Church of England does from the never yet repaired effects of her seventeen years' suppression under the Commonwealth. Thus the refusal to tolerate the Jansenists proved as little profitable to religion as the exile of the Huguenots did to commerce, industry, and civil society. And what points the irony of the whole proceeding still more is, that a hyper-Augustinianism, not materially different from that of Calvin, not to say Jansen, is widely current at this moment within the Roman obedience, and is tolerated so long as it avoids the terminology of the condemned propositions of Baius and Quesnel; another proof of the unreal nature of the alleged identity of all Roman doctrine.

Our critics are not silenced yet. 'What have you,' say they, 'to allege in mitigation of Latitudinarianism, now rampant in the Church of England? You cannot defend Broad Churchmen as you have done Evangelicals, because they are

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at once more intelligent and cultured, and less believing.' Let us turn to this question. Evidence has already been adduced that the Broad Church school contains, at most, one-ninth of the Anglican clergy. Certainly far more than half of the two thousand five hundred members, who may, at an extreme estimate, be allowed it, are at least as sincerely Christian as their Evangelical fellows, however they may differ in their modes of expression; and, although it is true that the Broad Church school collectively does far less work in any field of ecclesiastical labour than the two competing sections, still only a small minority within it is actually sceptical and disaffected, though, to its misfortune, rather than by its fault, the residuum of clerical ne'er-do-wells who do nothing and believe nothing, are pleased to range themselves ostensibly in its ranks, and to repeat its watchwords, without having any pretence to imitate its culture and philanthropy. Here, again, it is to be remembered that over-clericalism has been several times in history a dangerous snare to priests and people alike, and a dead technical orthodoxy has been fatally substituted for living springs of action, resulting, amongst other evil things, in a sharp divergence, sometimes a prolonged conflict, between the Church and society. No better service, therefore, in its degree can be done than by a body of teaching which will keep the human and civil aspects of Christianity from being obscured by too exclusive setting forth of the divine and spiritual side (in truth, a kind of unconscious Eutychianism), which will never allow theology to be accepted as a substitute for morals, which will insist on the Divine origin and character of all kinds of truth—truth of mathematics, of political economy, of hygiene, of natural history, of physics, as well as those of revelation—as alike proceeding from the same Eternal Wisdom as their source, and which will steadily maintain the thesis that the best Christian ought also to be the most efficient and dependable citizen. This is the true function of a Broad Church school, and if there had been such a one in France or Spain, the religious condition of those countries would be more hopeful than it is now. So far from it being a matter of regret that such a section finds a place within the Church of England, it is a reasonable ground for satisfaction that she could count men like Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and George Cotton, to cite no living names, amongst her attached and faithful sons, albeit they would have been either reduced to silence or ignominiously expelled, had they been members of the Roman Church. It is no doubt true enough that too many

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members of the Broad Church school, though still a minority, have failed to recognise their real mission, and have given themselves to negative criticism alone; but the present question is, as to the fitness of such a school at all, not as to the misconduct of some individuals belonging to it. The relative numbers of the three schools, already approximately tabulated, show that the Low and Broad Church sections, steadily gained on as they are by the more powerful High Church factor, can do no more than condition and qualify the total action of the English Church, and have no prospect of guiding it. Neither of them could be relied on to be keepers of the faith, to be trusty custodians or witnesses of any positive body of dogma or discipline; but they can very usefully discharge the subordinate function of so influencing the main society as to prevent it from passing at any time into the extremes of formalism or professional clericalism. Judged by the language of their most outspoken advocates and organs, as is but just, were either of them to become dominant in the Church, its whole constitution and framework might be swept away on the one hand, so as to make it a mere sect; or its whole positive dogmatic teaching be evaporated on the other, so as to make it a mere agency for imparting a vague moral philosophy, scarcely coloured by Christianity. But so long as the High Church school is the controlling power, dogma and discipline are safe, and this makes clear the duty of ecclesiastical rulers in choosing between the competing programmes of the three sections. The occasional attacks of partisan feeling, and of disloyal and sceptical language from members of these two schools, does not appreciably affect the main current and tone of the Church of England; and the remarkable fact, that while a large and valuable High Church theological literature exists and is in course of production, nothing of the sort has been produced by the two other schools, so that they depend solely on personal influence and verbal teaching for the transmission of their opinions, makes it certain that they cannot permanently alter the impress left by Taylor, Andrewes, Pearson, Bull, and others of that school on the general character of the Church. In truth, a Low Church clergyman who really wishes to study a congenial theology cannot get the necessary books in his own communion, but must have recourse to Nonconformist authors. Similarly, a Broad Church clergyman must go to avowedly secular writers, or to German theologians at first or second or third hand, for his purposes. The High Churchman alone has a great indigenous literature at his command, due to Anglican divines, and is thus given an unspeakable

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advantage over the other two sections. And if the presence of a sceptical or merely subjective element be fatal to the idea of a Church, then mediæval Christianity is gone, for it is well known to all scholars that, from the days of Scotus Erigena, and still more from those of Roscelin, William of Champeaux, and Abelard, Latin Christendom was honeycombed with a subtle and widespread rationalism, which was scarcely grappled with by authority, till the condemnation of Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant, or by philosophy till S. Thomas Aquinas took the matter in hand, and gave theology a fresh start, enabling it to offer a reply to the new and unsolved problems, of which the simpler and less introspective age which preceded had been scarcely conscious. And, precisely as that great controversy of the speculative Christian intellect—between the Biblicists or Dogmatics and the Scholastics at first, and then, after the Scholastic victory, between Realists and Nominalists in the conquering ranks—testified to the vigorous life of Christendom, and evoked higher forms of truth, six hundred years ago, so too, the same phenomenon, visible now more plainly in the Church of England than elsewhere, is a proof of healthy vitality, not of religious declension and moral decrepitude. For the Church ought to be the antitype of the world, and just as it takes all varieties of mankind to make up the aggregate of humanity, and so one nation, even if, like the Chinese, singly almost equalling the sum of the remainder, cannot be accepted as being the whole human world, so too in the Church there should be room, within sufficiently wide and generous limits, for all varieties of mind and temperament. And it is because the Anglican communion is at this moment a spiritual microcosm, and has wisely left many questions open which the ancient Church did not close, that it presents this aspect of a true Church far more accurately than the artificially unified, and therefore monotonous, Roman obedience.

It is not difficult for Dr. Newman to kill the giant he had made himself, by appending keen poniard thrusts of notes to his early work on the *Prophetical Office of the Church*, in which he attempted to trace the path of the Church of England as a precise *via media* between Rome and Protestantism.

The theory had this element of truth about it, that the English Church does, in truth, stand in a most peculiar relation between these two aspects of Christianity—a fact which did not escape the keen observation of De Maistre; but there is not the smallest trace in her formularies of anything like conscious effort or intention to keep equidistant from two

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extremes. Her standard of appeal, whether rightly chosen or not, is the judgment of the ancient undivided Church; altogether irrespective of the question whether that judgment coincide in any respect with the teaching of Rome or of the sects. As a fact, the body of doctrine which she holds in common with Rome is larger, more definite, and more clearly ascertainable than that which she has in common with the separatist bodies; and it would take far less literary adaptation and excision to harmonise the Breviary and Missal with her formularies, than the Westminster Confession and the Longer Catechism. In some respects she is absolutely at one with the Roman Church, or else far nearer to her, as in sacramental teaching, than to Zwinglians, for example, while in other respects she declines to accept post-œcumenical pious opinions and usages, which have crystallised into dogmas and cults. And as regards even those of the Thirty-nine Articles to which exception is taken by Latin and Oriental divines, it is to be remembered, firstly, that their position, as defined by Archbishop Bramhall (with whom many other great theologians agree), is only that of 'pious opinions, or *inferior* truths which are proposed by the Church of England to all her sons *as not to be opposed;* not as essentials of faith *necessary to be believed* by all Christians;'[1] and, next, that the very same Convocation of 1873, which recast and issued the Articles, also framed this canon for their interpretation by all preachers. 'In the first place, they shall provide that they never teach aught by way of sermon which they desire to be devoutly held and believed by the people, save that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and *which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered from the said doctrine*, and whereas those Articles of the Christian religion agreed on by the bishops in a lawful and holy synod . . . . are doubtless drawn from the sacred books of the Old and New Testament . . . . they shall confirm them by their signature.' This Canon makes it unlawful to teach the Lutheran view of Justification, the Zwinglian view of the Ministry and Sacraments, the Calvinist view of the Eucharist, and many such tenets, because historically modern, and undiscoverable in the writings of ancient Christian authors; while it also obliges us to put a Catholic interpretation, and no other, on Articles whose wording seems at first sight to make the other way. The real truth of the English position is the historical fact which was received with such a storm of angry denial when Dr. Newman stated it in Tract XC.—namely, that the Anglican formularies were the

[1] Bramhall's *Schism Guarded*, ii. 476.

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resultant of two dynamic forces, those of the old and of the new learning, and were deliberately intended to include both; though history leaves no doubt that, had Edward VI. survived, and the Zwinglo-Calvinist party, which enjoyed the favour of the civil government, been able to carry out its programme, many of the ambiguous expressions in the Articles (as, for example, those of Article XXIII.—XXIV. of 1552—on ministering in the congregation) would have been used to bring in and cover revolutionary changes, reducing the Church to the level of the Congregationalist body at Frankfort. That is to say,—and although no such far-sighted idea presented itself to the Tudor Reformers,—the actual outcome of the struggle was that the Church of England became the mid term of reconciliation between the principles of stability and of progress, of individualism and of unity, seemingly antagonistic, but amply capable of being harmonised in practice.

Something of logical consistency is no doubt lost by such an attitude, but never was S. Ambrose's wise saying more pertinent: 'Non in dialecticâ complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum' (*De Fide.* I. v. 42).

What, then, is the degree and nature of the authority with which the Church of England teaches those doctrines which are clearly set down in her formularies? The answer is simple. All that she enforces on her children at large, in the Catechism, and in the offices intended for general lay use, in the Creeds, and all the purely dogmatic Articles which are but fresh statements of the matter contained in them, she teaches with the weight of the authority of the whole undivided Church; that is, with exactly the same kind and degree of authority as the Roman Church wields when enforcing the same truths; but with one notable difference, that the Church of England does not hold herself competent to review, set aside, or explain away anything so ruled by the Church Universal; whereas, since the dogma of 1870, there is no security any longer for the permanence of any Catholic tenet in the Latin Church, if it should become unpopular or inconvenient in the future. That is to say, the English Church teaches and rules with the same kind of authority in spiritual things as the judges of the land exercise when Parliament is not sitting; namely, they administer the existing laws, though no power is vested in them of enacting new ones. And her contention, as against the Roman Church, is that, although mere local and temporary regulations may be made (as in the provincial Synods of ancient times) by local Churches—such as the minor provisions of the Thirty-nine Articles, mere terms of peace amongst the clergy, and not *credenda* for the whole

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body,—nothing can be ruled as *de fide* by any authority short of a true and free Œcumenical Council, and even then not by the process of creating new dogmas, but only by glossing and developing the meaning of truths received from the beginning. No such Synod, in the view of English divines, has indisputably assembled since the sixth Œcumenical Council in 681, although, in point of fact, the English Church indirectly admits, by sanctioning Christian art, and thereby condemning iconoclasm, the main principle of the Seventh Council, or second of Nicæa, in 787, which is the last acknowledged by East and West alike. All subsequent so-called General Councils, whatever may have been their dignity, influence, and numbers, lack the note of œcumenicity, and are at best mere Western Synods, since the only one which has even the semblance of representing the East—that of Ferrara-Florence, in 1439—was promptly repudiated by the Orientals on the return of their delegates. And a Synod of East or West singly, unless accepted afterwards by the unrepresented portion, can no more make laws for the whole Church than the Lords or Commons of Great Britain can separately make a binding Act of Parliament. The view that Divine Providence has interfered to prevent a true Œcumenical Council from assembling for more than a thousand years, because all necessary saving truth has been adequately formulated, and no new definitions are wanted, has at any rate the merits of simplicity, completeness, and reverence; while it is not easy to say so much in favour of the appetite for new articles of belief, which seems to be at the root of the competing theory. And, indeed, whatever important disciplinary enactments may have been passed in the many local Synods styled Œcumenical by the Latin Church, they are curiously bare of contributions to dogma until the Vatican decrees of 1870. Still the objection arises that, as the Church must grow so long as it lives, and as new complications in speculation or practice are continually coming up, there is a direct and positive need of some more workable machinery than the cumbrous and intermittent General Council for settling difficulties generally; and that there must be, consequently, some mode for the living voice of the Church to make itself heard at any moment, speaking with authority. And, as the Roman Church has such a mode provided by the powers vested in the successor of S. Peter, while the English Church does not even pretend to think that any such mode exists, it is clear, say Ultramontane controversialists, that the Church of England, at best, can cite authority only for such Church doctrine as is anterior to 681, but has nothing to say definitely upon any of the thou-

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sand questions which have arisen since, and is, so to speak, much in the position that the law courts would be if no statutes had been passed in this country since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and every man were in consequence allowed to do exactly as he pleased in respect of all matters unknown in that day, but now helping to condition society.

The fallacy which underlies this ingenious plea is that it is profoundly rationalistic, taking for granted, as it does, that the Christian revelation is of the same essential character as those human arts and sciences which are slowly brought to perfection by fresh inventions and discovery in each generation, and thereby contradicting flatly the Vatican decree which sets forth that 'the doctrine of faith which God hath revealed hath not been proposed, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human ingenuity, but hath been delivered as a divine deposit to the Bride of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence, also, that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our holy mother the Church hath once for all [*semel*] declared; nor is that meaning ever to be departed from, under the pretence or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them.' (*Const. de Fide* iv.)

Clearly, if this be so, the new problems must be referred to the old rules for their solution, and, in truth, there are not many of them which are really new in essence, or other than old ones newly stated. And, as regards the practical fact of reference to the Pope for the resolution of difficulties, it has either not been had recourse to at all, as instanced by the thousand years' dispute as to the Immaculate Conception, not set at rest within the Latin Church until 1854; or it has not settled the dispute, as the history of the Bull *Unigenitus* in the French Church amply proves; not to dwell on the still broader historical fact that no heresy has ever yet been successfully grappled with and suppressed by any Pope whatever in ancient or modern times. Councils sometimes, private doctors at other times, such as S. Epiphanius, have done the work more or less effectually, but not one Pope, not even a Leo the Great. For all practical purposes, an appeal to the Pope, on the extremely rare occasions when a complainant or appellant can get permission to prosecute his suit so far, means reference to some Congregation or bureau at Rome, as truly as an appeal to the Queen here in England means getting before the Privy Council or the House of Lords, and not in the least a personal audience of her Majesty. And as no one pretends that these local Roman tribunals are infallible, or are the voice of the Church Catholic by representation, the advantage claimed by Ultramontanes vanishes on being in-

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spected more narrowly; while the very fact charged against the Church of England as a defect, her disbelief in any short and easy method for obtaining new definitions, is her pledge of security against the perpetual unrest, the incessant caballing, and the constantly impending fear of revolution, which make the modern Church in France, for instance, such a curious antitype of the State, still suffering chronically from the intermittent upheavings of the unexhausted volcano of 1789. If it should so happen that the infallibility dogma brings about a change in the mode of dealing with new perplexities of any kind occurring in the Latin Church, and a telegram to the Vatican, with answer prepaid, will bring an infallible solution and final settlement of the question back in a couple of hours, no doubt it will be a remarkable convenience for those who are satisfied of the inerrancy of the oracle, but it will be an entirely new thing when it does happen. As things actually are, the living voice is as silent in the Roman as in the English Church, and that fact was illustrated curiously enough not long before the death of Pius IX., when a deputation from the 'Catholic Societies'—bodies somewhat analogous to the Young Men's Christian Associations in Protestant England—applied to his Holiness directly to know what was the duty of Catholic electors, to go to the poll, and thereby acknowledge the Italian kingdom and government, or to abstain, and thereby to ensure that every seat in Parliament would be filled by unfriends to the Church. This was clearly a question affecting faith and morals; but the reply actually given was that no answer could be then made, as the ecclesiastical authorities were considering the matter, and were divided in opinion upon it. A living voice of this remarkable vagueness does not seem a very conspicuous gain over Anglican silence. And it is not to be forgotten that when the able assault on revelation was made by the Deists of the last century, it was not Rome, but England, which produced the apologists who successfully repelled it.

There is, without doubt, considerable diversity of schools and language within the Church of England at this moment. But the causes which contribute to that result are anything but grounds of alarm or distrust. They are simply the different factors which go to make up the total of the extraordinary renewal of life, vigour, and influence which marks this crisis of her history. When some great cathedral, falling fast to decay in venerable and lonely beauty, is suddenly taken in hand for restoration, like that of Christ Church, named earlier in this paper, much that is incongruous and disorderly is speedily seen, where but recently all was in its

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place, and a solemn quiet prevailed everywhere. Rough blocks of stone, coarse piles of sand and lime, clumsy scaffoldings, mar the aspect of close and choir; highly secular workmen in fustian, addicted, it may be, to language varying considerably from that of the Psalter, throng the aisles, where surpliced processions would be a more accustomed sight; the clerk of the works supersedes the Dean, and the architect is greater than the Bishop. But order and beauty are being evolved out of the seeming chaos, each element of which is needed for the work in hand. And so it is with the greater renovation before our eyes, while we have the experience of seventeen Church Congresses to show that the area of agreement, even in the midst of all the seeming turmoil, is wider than that of difference, and is increasing day by day. In truth, were it not for the vexations and immoral litigation which, in the absence of any nobler weapons, is the means adopted by the Sanballats, Geshems, and Tobiahs to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and for the complicity of the Rehums and Shimshais in their plot, little of even such clamour as is now heard would be audible. But, as the method of the agitators is the anti-historical one, namely, the refusal of that constant appeal of the Church of England to first principles and to ancient precedent, and the attempted substitution for it of a mere shifting rule of thumb depending on popular caprice, it has hitherto proved powerless to do more than discredit the motives and integrity of all concerned in the opposition to needful reforms, and to strike at the root of the Erastian temper which, for many reasons, is, perhaps, the natural snare of the English clergy. Whatever may be the solution of the present deadlock, the uniform progress in one direction which has marked the last forty years makes one thing certain—that the historical dogmatic basis of the Church of England will be reaffirmed, and that in such wise as to include in its area the indefeasible right of the spiritualty to adjudicate on matters purely spiritual, without the intrusion of the temporalty into a sphere in which its interference hitherto has been of a kind to bring it neither honour nor advantage. Firmness in asserting all defined Catholic truth; readiness in welcoming truths of all other kinds; slowness to close questions which the Church Universal has left open; generous tolerance of various schools within reasonable limits—such should be in the future, as in the past, the policy of that unique Church which is, in virtue of the three main sections within its pale, in direct contact and sympathy with the three cardinal principles which should be combined in a perfect faith and creed, authority, imagination, and reason.

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ART. II.—ON EVOLUTION.

The Freedom of Science in the Modern State. By RUDOLPH VIRCHOW, M.D., Professor in the University and Member of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin. With a New Preface by the Author. Translated from the German, with the Author's sanction. (London: John Murray, 1878.)

NOT long since, an able and eloquent dignitary of the Church of England, who is certainly not wanting in sympathy with modern thought, delivered an address to a large and cultivated audience on 'The Responsibility which attaches to the formation of Opinion.' The noble and learned lord who moved the usual vote of thanks to the lecturer, remarked that 'he admired nothing more in the address than the light step and buoyant springy action with which the speaker carried his audience over the profoundest depths of learning and philosophy.' And certainly the vigorous and brave intellect which, supported by its own strong convictions of truth, goes forward,

> 'Periculosum plenum opus aleæ
> Tractans, et incedens per ignes
> Suppositos cineri doloso,'

and yet without fear or hesitation, not only commands our admiration, but, by its manly self-reliance, exercises a very powerful moral influence on the formation of opinion. But it is hardly necessary to observe, that in order that such influence may be really effective or at all permanent, the courage must not be merely a display of rashness. And probably there is no subject in regard to which this caution is more needed than the very first of those profound depths on the surface of which the lecturer so boldly trod. Many of the ordinary declamations against Evolution, as a dangerous and irreligious doctrine, lose their effect from the want of discrimination they exhibit as to the questions at issue, and sometimes as to the very meaning of the word. And even on the occasion to which we refer, it was evident that the courage of the speaker was not so adequately supported by a knowledge of the subject, as to be sufficient to inspire a very rational confidence in his conclusions. Indeed he acknowledged that he found him-

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self again and again compelled to ask the question, What is Evolution? and he complained that the prophets of the new school did not give him a clear and intelligible answer. 'One of them (Mr. Herbert Spencer) tells me' (he said), 'Evolution is a change from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity, to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, through successive differentiations and integrations; but though I seem to catch a faint glimpse of his meaning, the language is by no means perspicuous, nor, I think, lucid.' We are not prepared to affirm that the science of Evolution, as expounded in Mr. H. Spencer's *First Principles of Science*, is altogether free from ambiguity, or that the scientific terms are always happily chosen. But technical language is unavoidably obscure, and may seem repulsive or even absurd to those who have never studied the science. To make its obscurity, however, any argument against admitting the truth or the importance of the conclusions to which the science directs us, is a mode of dealing with a grave question, one, indeed, of the greatest questions of modern times, which can hardly lead to any useful result in the formation of opinion.

In this particular case, the definition of Evolution, which to the lecturer's mind appeared so unintelligible, presents exactly that aspect of the subject respecting which the evidence is most complete, and which entitles Evolution, in its proper sense, as interpreting some of the most fundamental and most universal laws of nature, to take a high place among the inductive sciences. It is to be feared, however, that the confusion of thought which the accomplished lecturer evinced as to the true meaning and legitimate sphere of this science prevails very widely, and that even men of science themselves are not altogether exempt from it. Evolution itself is frequently confounded in popular, and even other than popular language, with speculations,—such, for example, as the theory of natural selection,—which are hypotheses of a totally different kind, and which may be altogether false without in the least degree affecting the science of Evolution. This simply investigates the laws which govern the process of growth, development, or whatever else we may call the gradual transition from an original and elementary state to one more perfect, and from a comparatively imperfect condition to maturity, and it determines that throughout all nature the same order is followed. The forces which produce the several developments may be ever so different, yet there are general laws of growth common to all; and the fundamental law, stated in its most comprehensive form, amounts in sub-

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stance, however the terms used to express it may vary, to nothing else than the definition of Evolution given by Mr. H. Spencer. And, in fact, formidable and repulsively scientific as the definition may sound, the great law of nature which is thus expressed, when illustrated by the history of its discovery, and by the varied instances of its fulfilment to be traced in all things that are the subject of human knowledge, is not only perfectly intelligible; but, perhaps, the most interesting example that can be found of the truth that the profoundest philosophy, when examined in the light of common sense, and divested of its scientific garb, is not some ingenious and abstruse theory, but merely the exact statement of very simple and elementary principles, which we all probably recognise as true without ever considering what they mean.

Before, however, we attempt to give our unscientific readers, *for whom alone we are writing*, a popular explanation of that really philosophical view of Evolution which Mr. H. Spencer's definition expresses, it may be well to call attention to a definition of a very different character which the right reverend lecturer also quoted, and which he truly described as free indeed from all ambiguity and obscurity, but as consisting very much more of assumption than of proof, explicit or implied. According to this, which represents (we may say) not only the unscientific, but the unphilosophical view of the subject, 'Evolution implies (or assumes) that each successive being grows out of its immediate and less highly organised predecessor by infinitesimally small gradations; that the steps by which the more perfect one is developed are so minute as to constitute an inclined plane rather than a stair, so gradual that no definite line can be drawn between the successive forms of life, so as to permit us to say that here one race ends and another begins.' This definition, if such it may be called, is without doubt delightfully perspicuous; it avoids all the obscure scientific terms of the former definition, through which its meaning was but dimly discerned. But it avoids them by the very easy process of omitting altogether from the explanation of Evolution every characteristic of its fundamental law, and by representing it merely as a continuous succession of infinitesimal changes. Yet this not only does not distinguish it from any other law of gradual change, but is for several reasons less applicable to Evolution than to many other laws that might be conceived possible; whilst it affirms that Evolution implies or assumes a condition of nature, the existence of which is not only destitute of all

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scientific proof, but is obviously contrary to facts as they actually present themselves in the natural world. But in truth Evolution itself neither implies nor assumes anything of the kind. It might as well be said that the conservation of energy implies or assumes that man is the mere creature of circumstances, and that his will is nothing but transformed heat. There would be just the same confusion of thought between the scientific truth, which no one who understands it can question, and the theoretical inference, which is not science at all, but mere opinion.

In order to aid us in apprehending clearly both the purpose and the value of the investigations which have established those distinctions and conclusions which constitute the science of Evolution, it will be useful first of all to consider what is the question, as it presents itself to the mind in its simplest form. It is evident that with the ordinary use of the word 'growth' there are generally associated ideas somewhat different from that of increase of size by gradual accumulation, and implying changes of form and character, development of new parts, and the like. We should hardly speak of a heap of earth or a piece of water having '*grown*,' at least without a feeling that we are using the word somewhat inexactly. There must be some resemblance to the growth of a living organic form, in order that the word may be used in its complete sense. The plant which, springing from a rudimentary germ, assumes as it enlarges, through some mysterious law of its organic life, the varied forms of its foliage and blossoms and fructification, until it has attained its perfection, that is until every part necessary to its completeness has been developed, presents the idea of growth with which we are most familiar, and with which we naturally compare and test other changes. We use the language of vegetable growth in reference to subjects the most different, physical, social, intellectual, and moral. We speak, with hardly any feeling that we are using figurative language, of seeds of knowledge that have not taken root, of buds of promise that never flowered, of blossoms that never brought forth any fruit, of fruit that never ripened. Such language has, we know, the sanction of Holy Scripture, whilst our Divine Master, who certainly would not mislead us by any false analogies, expressly compared the kingdom of heaven in regard both to the progress of spiritual life in the heart, and to the extension of His Church in the world, to the growth of a seed into a plant, which, if completely developed[1] according to its natural law, brings fruit to perfection.

[1] Cf. especially S. Mark iv. 28, and S. John xv. 1, &c.

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And we might indeed be assured, even without such authority for the analogy, that whenever human language adopts universally certain metaphorical terms, it is not a mere accident, or an artificial and arbitrary comparison, but there must be a real and fundamental similarity in the things themselves. In what then does the resemblance consist between things so apparently unlike and incapable of being compared together, that leads men to speak in the same terms (for example) of the growth of a vegetable and the progress of human society? Can any laws of development be discovered which are common to all cases, and which may be traced wherever there is progress, and which being determined, will enable us to test what is true development and what is not?

The preceding considerations would naturally suggest that if such laws are to be determined, it is probable that they would be first of all discovered in that department of nature which supplies the language, and in which it is easy to observe those gradual changes of form and of functions, which we understand by growth or development. It was indeed here that the fundamental principle of these laws was first discerned. And it is an instructive fact, and sufficient of itself to prove that Evolution is not merely an abstruse scientific theory, that the leading ideas, out of which later discoveries have sprung, were first strongly and effectively apprehended, as Dr. Whewell observes,[1] 'not by a laborious experimenter and reasoner, but by a man of singularly brilliant and creative fancy; not by a mathematician or chemist, but by a poet;' by Goethe, one of the great poets of the world, who, in another department of science, that of colour, had been utterly misled by his imagination, and proved himself incapable of rightly apprehending the relation of physical facts to their principles. 'We might' (Dr. Whewell says) 'almost be led to think that this writer's poetical endowments had contributed to this scientific discovery; the love of beauty of form, by fixing the attention upon the symmetry of plants, and the creative habit of thought, by making constant development a familiar process.' There is no doubt, however, from the account which Goethe gives of his botanical studies, and his habit of observation, 'that no common amount of knowledge and notice of details were involved in the course of thought which led him to the principle of the metamorphosis of plants.'

The questions of the merit due to Goethe as a scientific

[1] *History of the Inductive Sciences* (1857), vol. iii. p. 475.

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discoverer, and of the modifications of his theory necessary in consequence of later discoveries, are fully discussed in Mr. G. H. Lewes's well-known Life of the poet;[1] but all that concerns our present argument is, that he first formed a distinct conception of a fact in the growth of plants, which, simple as it is, indicates, and in a certain sense contains in itself, the fundamental principles of the whole science of Evolution. The fact itself, if stated without embarrassing it with any theory as to the process or the nature of the transformations that take place, is this. In the growth of a plant, when the elementary germ has begun to vegetate, separation ordinarily takes place into two rudimentary forms, the one representing the stem, the other the leaf; but it is not the leaf only into which the second rudiment is developed. All the other parts of the plant besides the stem, however diverse in shape and colour and size, are nothing else than different modifications —in scientific language, differentiations—of the same embryonic forms, which may become either an ordinary leaf, or a bract, or one of the sepals of the calyx,[2] or a petal of the corolla, or a stamen with its anthers, or one of the carpels or divisions of the ovary in which the seed is formed, with its style and stigma. All these organs are nothing else than modifications of the same elementary forms, transformed in their growth. The order of the transmutations must continue the same, but the process of transmutation may be arrested by circumstances during the gradual development, so as to prevent the maturity which is completed by the fructification from being attained. The existence of some such law of growth is indicated by that which all observers of nature must have noticed; namely, that in the same species of plants, the same number or some multiple of it is generally repeated in the different parts of the plant. But the proof of the law rests chiefly on the transformations which the parts of flowers undergo by alterations of nutriment and temperature, whether accidental, or applied artificially in order to produce them. Every gardener knows that a different treatment of plants and trees may make them either produce nothing but leaves, or else blossom and bear fruit. In a very wet season, when the supply of sap is too abundant, flowers are scarce; the rudimentary form has grown too rapidly for the normal differentiation to take place. On the

[1] In the *Story of Goethe's Life*, which is an abridgment of the larger work, and contains the latest corrections, book the fifth, chap. vi., treats of 'the Poet as a man of Science.'

[2] See Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, iii. p. 478, &c.

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other hand, to make his trees more fruitful, the gardener prunes their roots, or cuts their stem, in order that not more than sufficient nourishment being supplied, the rudimentary forms may have time to be so differentiated, as to produce the organ required for fructification. Again, we are all familiar with the fact of single flowers being made double by cultivation; which means that the development of the plant is arrested at the point when the stamens should be produced, so that the leaves, which in the normal order, if time had been given, would have become stamens, are only petals; which result, though horticulturally an improvement, is really an imperfection and defect in the organisation of the plant. While in some cases, as may be often seen in some kinds of double roses in a bad year, out of the centre of the flower a shoot with green leaves will grow, the differentiation of the petals themselves being prevented by the too rapid growth.

If we reflect on the process through which the development of the plant from its germ to its maturity is effected, and call each primary collection of the cellular tissue into a separate form an integration, and each secondary modification of the form a differentiation,—terms, which, though used in another sense in mathematics, are yet both expressive and appropriate,—the definition of Evolution given by Mr. H. Spencer may not seem so very mysterious. But other very important principles follow at once from the simple but very luminous fact of all these various parts of the plant being modifications of the same elementary form. On the one hand, the notion which was the original and is perhaps the natural idea of development, viz., that an infinitesimally small embryo of the matured form is contained in the germ, and that growth consists in the expansion of this embryo, is clearly shown to be erroneous; for the self-same part may in its development ultimately become one form or another, the leaf or the petal, the stamen or the carpel, according to circumstances. Again, the causes of the successive transformations are of two kinds: those that are the primary causes belong to the original germ; others, that are secondary, to the environments, and other influences which promote or prevent, or otherwise affect the normal development. Lastly, it is evident, that in this typical instance of development, from its first element to a complete organic whole, while it is true that the evolution takes place from first to last by infinitesimal changes, yet there are various distinctly marked stages and definitely separated forms produced in the process. The leaf once differentiated

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cannot be transformed into the petal, nor the petal into the stamen, nor the stamen into the carpel. Even from these considerations we may distinguish that the second or unscientific explanation of Evolution, to which we have referred, is both defective and erroneous.

Indeed, although Goethe little knew how universal was the law which his discovery indicated, yet he saw clearly that it was not an isolated fact which he had brought to light, but a principle of general application in organic life. In a work published at a later period, he makes the following remarks, which are a lucid statement of results of the fundamental law to which Mr. H. Spencer's definition somewhat obscurely refers. He says—[1]

'The *more imperfect* a being is, the more do its several parts *resemble each other*, and the more do these parts *resemble the whole*. The *more perfect* the being is, the *more dissimilar* are its parts. In the former case the parts are more or less a repetition of the whole; in the latter case they are totally unlike the whole. The more the parts resemble each other, the *less subordination* there is of one to the other. *Subordination of parts indicates high grade of organisation.*'

This is obviously the case in the growth of the plant, and especially of the most highly organised. There is not the least outward resemblance between the flower or the fruit of the peach and the tree that bears it. And yet, although there is this great diversity in the several parts of the plant, there is a unity of organic life throughout, an order in the whole through the subordination of its several parts. And evidences of the truth of this law might be produced, not from the vegetable world only, but from all departments of nature, and indeed from all things that are *natural*; that is, that are governed by law in its widest sense. Mr. Lewes's remarks on Goethe's exposition of this principle will, however, be sufficient for our present purpose:—

'*To illustrate by familiar examples.* Take a polyp and cut it into several pieces; each piece will live and manifest all those phenomena of nutrition and sensibility which the whole polyp manifested. Turn it inside out like a glove, the internal part becomes its skin, the external part becomes its stomach. The reason is, that in the simple structure of the polyp, the parts resemble each other and resemble the whole. There is no individual organ, or apparatus of organs, performing one function, such as nutrition, and nothing else. Every function is performed by every part, just as in savage societies, every man is his own tailor, his own armourer, his own cook, and his own policeman. But take an animal higher in the

[1] Lewes's *Story of Goethe's Life*, p. 283.

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scale, and there you find the structure composed of dissimilar parts, and each part having a different office. That animal cannot be hewn in pieces and each piece continue to live as before. That animal cannot have its skin suddenly turned into a stomach. That animal, in the social body, cannot make his own clothes or his own musket; the division of labour which has accompanied his higher condition has robbed him of his universal dexterity.'

The general principle, which the natural fact discovered by Goethe indicated, was subsequently enunciated by Von Baer, in the law, known by his name, that development proceeds from the like to the unlike, from the general to the particular, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. But it is also evident that, as Goethe himself perceived to some degree, there are other principles no less essential to the complete idea of development, or, as it has been now generally called,—although the term is open to many grave objections—Evolution, to which his discovery points. We have seen that the facts indicate that aggregation into separate masses, technically called *integration*, is the primary character of the process of development; *differentiation*, or the production of the unlike, is the secondary; while the common phenomena which are the verification of Goethe's theory, and with which we are all familiar in the flower-garden and the orchard, tell us, in the language of nature, which is infinitely more simple, intelligible, and emphatic than that of science,[1] that 'the primary distribution ends in forming aggregates which are simple when it is rapid, but which become compound in proportion as its slowness allows the effects of secondary redistributions to accumulate.' Obscure enough for a lecturer to quote in order to bewilder his audience, but quite intelligible in the double rose and the pear-tree with the roots pruned. Nor do we need any better illustration than the vegetable world supplies of the principle expounded by Mr. H. Spencer, that 'at the same time that Evolution is a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, it is a change from confusion to order,—from undetermined arrangement to determined arrangement. Along with an advance from simplicity to complexity, there is an advance from confusion to order, from undetermined arrangement to determined arrangement.' Compare the undeveloped form and the general irregular growth of the plant at first with the perfect arrangement of the opened flower, the regularity and exact form of the distinctly coloured petals of the corolla, the stamens, each in its

[1] *First Principles of Science.* ('Simple and Compound Evolution,' p. 305.)

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determined position, the anthers and their farina, of the same form for the same kind of flower,—the pistil or pistils with their clearly defined distinctions,—and the meaning of the scientific expression of the truth becomes intelligible enough to the most unscientific mind. We feel, though we may be quite unable to explain why, that this is perfected development.

That the laws, which are so beautifully illustrated and so readily observed in vegetable organisms, apply equally to animal life, became an accepted truth as soon as they were once clearly apprehended. In one instance, with which all are familiar, that of a bird's egg, the meaning and the truth of these laws are even more distinctly proved, from the fact of the process of evolution being confined within fixed limits, and development taking place without any increase either of size or of weight, so that there can be no doubt whatever as to the evolution consisting of the changes indicated in Mr. H. Spencer's definition. The history of an egg is indeed very instructive as to the meaning of Evolution:—

'Take a new laid-egg,' we avail ourselves of the very lucid description of Mr. G. H. Lewes,[1] 'weigh it carefully, then hatch it, and when the chick emerges, weigh both chick and shell; you will find that there has been no increase of weight. The semifluid contents have become transformed into bones, muscles, nerves, tendons, feathers, beak, and claws, all without increase of substance. There has been *differentiation* of structure, nothing else. Oxygen has passed into it from without; carbonic acid has passed out of it. The molecular agitation of heat has been required for the rearrangements of the substance. Without oxygen there would have been no development. Without heat there would have been none. Had the shell been varnished, so as to prevent the due exchange of oxygen and carbonic acid, no chick would have been evolved. Had only one part of the shell been varnished, the embryo would have been deformed. . . . Each stage of evolution presents itself as the consequence of a preceding stage, at once an emergence and a continuance; so that no transposition of stages is possible; each has its appointed place in the series. For, in truth, each stage is a *process*: the sum of a variety of co-operant conditions. We, looking forward, can foresee in each what it will become, as we foresee the man in the lineaments of the infant; but in this prevision we always pre-suppose that the regular course of development will proceed unchecked through the regular successions of special conditions: the infant becomes a man only when this succession is uninterrupted. Obvious as this seems, it is often disregarded; and the old metaphysical conception of *potential* powers obscures the real significance of *epigenesis*. The potentiality of the cells of the germinal membrane is simply their

[1] *Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 212.

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capability of reaching successive stages of development under a definite series of co-operant conditions.' 'The egg is at first a microscopic cell, the nucleus of which divides and subdivides as it grows. The egg becomes a hollow sphere, the boundary wall of which is a single layer of cells, all so similar that to any means of appreciation we now possess they are indistinguishable. Very soon, however, they begin to shew distinguishable differences, not perhaps in *kind*, but in *degree*. The wall of this hollow sphere is rapidly converted into the *germinal membrane*, out of which the embryo is formed.'

This germinal membrane, 'which lies like a watch-glass on the surface of the yolk, is recognisable as two distinct layers of very similar cells.' After some eighteen hours' incubation a certain part of the yolk has passed into a third layer between the two primary layers; all three having the aspect of 'integrations' of simple cells very slightly differing from each other. Each of the three layers has its specific character assigned to it by embryologists, who, however, are not agreed as to the parts of the system which have their origin in each. But, at all events, from these, which gradually absorb into themselves, and assimilate all those elements of the contents of the egg which are required, and suitable for the purpose, the whole animal structure is built up. Through this process the formless masses gradually change into obscure rudiments of the future limbs and parts of the animal, and each becomes more distinctly defined, and more and more subdivided into its own form, until the whole of the development possible in its present condition is completed, and the chick issues from its shell. The general law of evolution, which we traced in the growth of the plant, as 'a change from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity, through successive differentiations and integrations,' is even more apparent here. Further, to use other words of Mr. H. Spencer, 'it is proved that no germ, animal or vegetable, contains the slightest rudiment, trace, or indication of the future organism; and the microscope has shewn us that the first process set up in every fertilised germ is a process of repeated spontaneous fissures, ending in the production of a mass of cells, not one of which exhibits any special character.' In the homogeneous masses changes again take place, the separate portions becoming more and more unlike, the distinctions gradually more and more defined, till the perfect form is matured, each member and organ being merely a modification of some previous structure in the development, and all the several parts being united together in one complete organic

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whole, that is, being mutually dependent, and each part being essential, if not to the life, at all events, to the perfection of the animal organism. It is possible, and from various considerations not improbable, that the process through which this marvellous result is attained is effected by physical forces, somewhat,—though with very instructive differences—analogous to those by which the crystallisation of inorganic matter is effected. The dynamics of organic matter, no doubt, might be reduced to some very simple principles, if it were possible for us to understand them. But it must be remembered that it does not bring us one step nearer the solution of the mystery of organic life, to compare its dynamics with the operation of physical forces, when the cause even of the very simplest of these forces lies in the region of the unknown and unknowable. It is just as truly a disguise of ignorance to speak of physical forces as governing the evolution of the organism, as to speak of a 'formative principle,' or a 'potential existence,' within the germ. The truth is, that the more simple and universal the primary laws are, the more conclusive is the evidence afforded by the infinitely multifold results of organic life, in which the utmost complexity is not only consistent with, but subordinate and assistant to, the perfection of unity—that an intelligence, far superior to any that the human mind can conceive, underlies all the operations of what we call Nature: that 'nature is but the name for an effect whose cause is God.'

And we must remember it is not otherwise with man himself, so far as all that part of man is concerned by which he is allied to the animal kingdom, than with the chicken which is produced from the egg. He also is evolved, in his birth, from a structureless germ, according to the same order and law of development which we trace in the growth of the plant and of the bird. 'A microscopic cell of albuminous compounds, wholly without trace of organs, not appreciably distinguishable from millions of other cells, does nevertheless contain within it the "possibilities" of an organism so complex and so special as that of a Newton or a Napoleon.' Evolution, then, in the production of the physical organism of each individual of the human race, is a fact which it is impossible to question, and which, if we consider what is involved in this fact, will clear away a host of difficulties. For we may, or rather must, admit this, without any the less believing that God is our Maker, and without supposing that man's spiritual part is evolved at the same time, and in the same manner. We recognise Evolution here simply as the order according to

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which Almighty God makes man what he is. At all events this is the view taken of the subject by one who lived and thought and wrote ages before modern philosophers had dreamt of the laws of Evolution, but who yet recognised the Almighty power and the wisdom of God in the development of man in his mother's womb. 'I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvellous are Thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from Thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought (as) in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my unformed substance (a structureless atom); and in Thy book all (the parts) were written, in continuance (during days, by a process of gradual evolution) they were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them'—(Ps. cxxxix. 14–16). David at least did not consider this evolution of man's natural being inconsistent with another truth, that man is made only 'a little lower than the angels.' But how and when he who is thus evolved becomes a living soul, made in the image of God, after His likeness, David does not inquire, nor need we. Neither Creationism nor Traducianism gives us much help here.

Thus far then the subject of Evolution is surrounded with no difficulties that are at all serious, and the ground on which we tread is sure and safe. It is nothing more than the natural order which development must follow, in order to be development. Its laws, so far as material existences are concerned, probably depend on yet more fundamental and general and more simple physical truths, such as those which are included under the head of the 'transformation and conservation of energy.' To this class apparently belongs another principle, which Mr. H. Spencer expounds, namely, that 'motion, always following the line of least resistance, is invariably *rhythmic*,' and cannot be otherwise, except in an infinity of space void of everything but the moving body. From such general principles he deduces conclusions as to a universal law of 'the continuous redistribution of matter and motion.' It is, however, happily not necessary even to follow Mr. H. Spencer's philosophical investigations, much less to accept them, in order to understand the meaning of the law of Evolution, as determined by the phenomena of nature. But supposing this law to be established beyond all doubt, what then? It seems to be imagined by many, who have only general and superficial notions as to the very meaning of the subject, and by some who have thought far more deeply, but who are apparently too much dazzled by the discoveries really made to

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judge of its limitations, that this law of Evolution is of itself sufficient explanation of the various forms of organic life; in fact, as it seems, of all things earthly; that, if this theory be true, then it follows as a matter of course that all the different organic forms must be merely the necessary results of the different circumstances and outward surroundings that act on the material substances, and govern the Evolution. It is difficult to conceive an idea more at variance with the facts. Evolution of itself determines nothing beyond the general character of the changes in each individual case; of the infinitely varied natural forms which are produced in accordance with its laws, it neither does nor can give any account whatever. To suppose that Evolution explains these, or any one of them, is as absurd as it would be to maintain that the laws of grammar account for Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or the Plays of Shakspeare. There must be some primary cause for the development of any organic form, quite independent of the secondary causes which determine that the development shall be in a certain order. Take the case of vegetable growth. In two seeds, the germs will be microscopic atoms, and so far as can be discerned by the senses, aided by all the powers of research that science can supply, precisely similar; according both to theory and observation, they are 'structureless atoms.' They will be planted in the same soil, cherished by the same heat, watered by the same showers, quickened by the same sunshine, yet one will be developed into a beautiful and fragrant flower, the other into a noxious and offensive weed. What has determined the completely different forms, colours, and properties of each? Each in its growth has conformed to the laws of Evolution, the environments and conditions of each were the same, and yet the results are altogether different. On the other hand, if the two seeds have come from the same plant, or plants of the same species, though the external circumstances may vary greatly, so that in one case the development may be promoted, and in the other hindered, or some subordinate modifications of the growth may be produced, yet the distinctive characters of the plant remain the same. The theory of Evolution, far from explaining these phenomena, apparently leaves us more in the dark than ever; for in contradistinction to the old preformation or 'emboîtement' hypothesis, it denies that there is in the original germs any difference of structure corresponding to the differences which appear in the forms developed by exactly the same surroundings.

Let us take another case. We see before us two eggs, one

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a hen's egg, another not very unlike it in shape, size, and appearances. If we should break them when newly laid, we should find them in all respects similar. The second, if cooked, is eaten with the same relish as any other egg, by those who do not allow their imagination to get the better of their appetite. In central Africa, for example, it is a common article of food among Europeans as well as natives. Nay more, if, after it had been exposed for some time to the heat sufficient for incubation, its contents were examined, it would be impossible to distinguish any difference in the embryo forming in the egg from that of a bird. And yet when the complete period of incubation is finished, out comes, not a chick, but an infant crocodile, which in due time will develop into a huge animal some twenty or thirty feet in length, the terror of man and beast.

We must observe then, that thus far the doctrine of Evolution gives no explanation whatever of by far the most fundamental and the most powerful causes in the production of organic life. One conclusion, however, seems to follow from the law, and we confess we cannot see how it can be avoided,—namely that materialism is hopelessly at fault here, and incapable of giving any account of the matter. Let us consider how the case stands according to the theory of Evolution. All the infinitely manifold forms of animal life we trace up to a microscopic cell, on the original character of which it depends whether it shall be evolved into a reptile, a bird, or a mammal. If materialism were true we should have to believe that all the infinite differences of function and development, and all the peculiarities, acquired and transmitted through thousands of generations, which exist in the whole animal kingdom, are caused by the differences of the material composition of the infinitesimal atom of albuminous substance contained in that cell. Here, as in regard to many other questions in this controversy, physical science (in its true and proper sense) is at variance with the hypotheses of empirical science. Professor Clark Maxwell affirms that the actual size of the molecules of matter, as calculated on the principles of molecular science, makes such differences of composition physically impossible, and hence he infers that the properties of a germ cannot be those of a purely material system. Professor Allan Thomson, on the contrary, in his Presidential Address to the British Association in 1877, declares that 'we need not, on account of the apparent minuteness of the ovum, have any doubts as to the presence of a sufficient amount of germinal substance for explaining in the most materialistic fashion the

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transmission of the organic and other properties and resemblances between parent and offspring,' since in the smallest germinal particle 'there are still sufficient molecules for all the requirements of the most exacting material biologist.' But it seems impossible to admit this consistently with the doctrine of Evolution. Evolution is an advance from homgeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity, from a condition of matter which is structureless to a perfected structure. But the materialistic theory, as expounded by Professor Thomson, is exactly the opposite of this, and is in fact the old 'preformation' theory somewhat modified. The structure of the microscopic cell must be, on this supposition, at least as varied as that of the full-grown animal, and, considering the comparative magnitude of the cell and the animal, must be infinitely more complex. In fact, the growth is, according to this theory, a change from infinite heterogeneity and complexity to comparative homogeneity and simplicity. A really consistent evolutionist therefore cannot be, in the full sense of the word, a materialist.[1] And the fact of materialists

[1] Since this article was in the printer's hands, we have seen a very interesting and exceedingly able address, delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool by its President, Dr. Drysdale, entitled 'Is Scientific Materialism compatible with Dogmatic Theology?' The author maintains that it is; and, although we differ from him *toto cælo* in some respects, and believe that no one, trained in the severer school of Physical Science, would admit some of his positions, we should strongly advise those who would gain a broad view of the question at issue in the present day, to study this treatise. We entirely agree with him in his argument, that 'negative Atheism is the outcome of science;' in other words, that to science God is unknown, and that no scientific method can lead us up to Him. Religious truth and scientific truth lie in totally different spheres, and are to be received by totally different faculties. But the author's 'Scientific Materialism,' which leads him—unless we much misunderstand his language—to deny that will is a governing power in man, appears to us, we confess, quite irreconcilable with human responsibility; and the theory as to a future life, to which his materialistic opinions incline him, as something utterly discontinuous from the present life, and a supernatural reconstruction (see note, p. 45) or re-creation from the mind of the Almighty, does violence, as it seems to us, to some of the deepest spiritual instincts of the human soul. But we refer here to this address chiefly to notice the author's note (p. 16) on the question which we have discussed in our text. He doubts, with Professor Thomson, the accuracy of Clark Maxwell's calculations, and adds that he 'also forgets that a germ is not a "boxed-up" copy of every part of the adult and all his descendants, as was once imagined, but a complex piece of molecular organisation, in which the position of the atoms and molecules is such that, with the interaction of the environment, growth in such and such a direction will take place.' It is true that this theory of 'a complex piece of molecular organisation' is not exactly the old Preformation theory, but we fail to see any fundamental difference if there is a material

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having to take refuge in a theory, which is directly at variance with the fundamental law of Evolution, in order to account for the varieties of animal life, proves that this law of itself is incapable of accounting for the varieties of organic life. Mr. Herbert Spencer, indeed, himself admits this. 'We have,' he says,[1] 'no alternative but to fall back on the unexplained principle of hereditary transmission. The capacity possessed by an *unorganised*' (mark the word) 'germ of unfolding into a complex adult, which repeats ancestral traits in the minutest details, and that even when it has been placed in conditions unlike those of its ancestors, is a capacity we cannot understand.' He argues indeed that even 'the embryonic changes due to hereditary influences' may be remote consequences of the law of Evolution, but that they are due to the structure of the germ would be so obviously contrary to the first principles of the law, that he does not suggest this as a possible explanation. And while he contends,[2] that the changes produced in the gradual development of the growing germ into each succeeding phase of the organisation must be produced by external agencies, and that *structureless as every germ originally is*, the development of an organism out of it is otherwise incomprehensible, he adds:—

'Doubtless we are still in the dark respecting those *mysterious properties* which make the germ, when subject to fit influences, undergo the *special changes* beginning this series of transformations. *All here contended is, that given a germ possessing these mysterious properties, the evolution of an organism from it depends, in part, on that multiplication of effects which we have seen to be a cause of evolution in general, so far as we have yet traced it.*'

organisation 'boxed up' in the germ, and if in the complicated structure of this organisation are contained the causes of the capability of the growing organism attaining all its future developments. That this imaginary organisation of the germ has no resemblance to the forms ultimately developed, does not affect the principle; there must be, on this materialistic theory, some part in the infinitesimal structure of the germ, which corresponds to the several varieties of parts in the perfect organism, for the existence of the former is necessary to the latter: a cause none the less certain, although the interaction of the environments gives it effect, and modifies these effects. At all events this is not *evolution*, whatever else it may be, for it contradicts its fundamental definition. The theory of evolution inevitably leads to the conclusion that, in order to produce the results which are observed in organic development, there must be that which, though it certainly is not *spirit*, yet as certainly is not *matter*. We observe that the author uses, in reference to the theories of the *Unseen Universe*, several arguments in which he was anticipated in a review of that work in our number for April, 1876. But some of those objections apply with equal force to his own views.

[1] *Principles of Science*, p. 417. [2] *Ibid.*, 443, 444.

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So then, after all, the particular result is determined in every case not by the law of Evolution, but by mysterious properties in the germ. And of these all we know is, that they are transmitted from the parents, and the result is a development, in which the structure of these parents is reproduced. The principle of 'hereditary transmission,' therefore, and not the law of Evolution, accounts for the manifold forms of organic life, from the lowest to the highest; and this principle is that the particular form is evolved because the same form preceded it.

It seems, therefore, at first sight, an immense leap of the imagination when we pass from individual plants or animals to the different classes of organic forms, and insist that because Evolution is the universal law of the development of the former, it must therefore be necessarily true of the latter: that, 'the laws of evolution apply as rigorously to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, as to the individual organisms.' In other words, that the differences among the individual organisms, and the sameness of these with the organisms of a preceding generation, are governed by the same law. However, there is no doubt that those minds that have grasped strongly and clearly the law of the evolution of each individual, do incline generally to the belief that this 'leads by an inevitable logic to the doctrine of universal Evolution,' *in some form or other*. Thus, the President of the British Association says, in concluding the address to which we have already referred,

'It appears to me that no one could have engaged in the study of embryological development for any time, without becoming convinced that the phenomena which have been ascertained as to the first origin and formation of textures and organs in any individual animal, are of so uniform a character as to indicate forcibly a law of connexion and continuity between them; nor will his study of the phenomena of development in different animals have gone far, before he is equally strongly convinced of the similarity of plan in the development of the larger groups, and, to some extent, of the whole. I consider it impossible, therefore, for any one to be a faithful student of embryology, in the present state of science, without at the same time becoming an evolutionist. There may still be many difficulties, some inconsistencies, and much to learn, and there may remain beyond much which we shall never know; but I cannot conceive any doctrine professing to bring the phenomena of embryonic development within a general law, which is not, like the theory of Darwin, consistent with their fundamental identity, their endless variability, their subjugation to varying external influences and conditions, and with the possibility of the transmission of the vital conditions and properties, with all their variations, from individual to individual, and, in the long lapse of ages, from race to race. I regard it, therefore, as

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no exaggerated representation of the present state of our knowledge to say that the autogenetic development of the individual in the higher animals repeats in its more general character, and in many of its specific phenomena, the philogenetic development of the race. If we admit the progressive nature of the changes of development, their similarity in different groups, and their common characters in all animals, nay, even in some respects in both plants and animals, we can scarcely refuse to recognise the possibility of continuous derivation in the history of their origin ; and however far we may be, by reason of the imperfection of our knowledge of palæontology, comparative anatomy, and embryology, from realising the precise nature of the chain of connexion by which the actual descent has taken place, still there can be little doubt remaining in the minds of any unprejudiced student of embryology, that it is only by the employment of such an hypothesis as that of Evolution that farther investigation in these several departments will be promoted so as to bring us to a fuller comprehension of the most general law which regulates the adaptation of structure to function in the universe.'

It must be observed that this language, as becomes a scientific mind, is cautious and reverent, and very different from the dogmatic assertions of others. It admits that 'there may remain behind much which we shall never know,' and simply affirms that 'we can scarcely refuse to recognise the possibility of continuous derivation in the history of the origin' of plants and animals. But what does this imply?

Let us state the question in its simplest form. We have seen that the laws of Evolution merely express the order according to which the results of nature—that is, of the constituted system of things, such as it is at present—are produced. Wherever we are able to trace development, it invariably follows this order. But there is the further question, what is the history of nature itself? How has this come into existence? Has the system itself been developed as each individual part of it now is? Especially as regards the different forms of organic life, are we to suppose that there have been changes among them analogous to growth? We have, to aid us in such an investigation, not only descriptions of animals and vegetables, and their actual forms remaining from the historical period of the world's existence, but we have fossil remains from untold ages preserved in the rocks. These latter certainly would seem to show that there have been changes in the general system of nature somewhat analogous to growth. The flora and the fauna of the palæozoic rocks not only present a marked divergence from those of the earth as it now is, but they have undoubtedly the character of a far less highly developed

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system than that by which we are now surrounded. However the changes may have been produced, changes there have been, and we can hardly refuse to admit that these represent a kind of evolution, though there is no evidence in the fossil remains, as yet found, of a continuously ascending scale throughout the system, and of anything the least approaching an 'inclined plane.' In fact, the *steps* are found there just as clearly marked as they are at the present hour.

There is, however, another question behind, the importance of which those who reason from the analogies of embryology to universal Evolution ought to be the first to acknowledge; and yet, though it is the real question at issue, it is hardly ever distinctly recognised as such. It must be remembered that in the generation of the higher animal organisms, there are two stages of their evolution, which in the vertebrate animals are absolutely distinct—one from the germ to the birth, the time when the embryo becomes the animal, the other from the birth of the animal to its maturity. The former of these, though very much the shorter period, is yet incomparably the most important, and that in which the characteristic features of the organism are developed. In the latter, the changes are confined to an enlargement of the form, the complete development of some parts of the structure and of the functions which arise from them, hardening of the bones, more distinct definition of the members, with some alterations in colour, texture, and other quite secondary and subordinate characters of the organism. All these have a very limited range, and bear no comparison at all with the growth from the germ to the perfected embryo; and yet, during this period exclusively, as a general rule, the variations caused by the external conditions and environments of the organism are produced. We may then (speaking generally) divide the evolution of higher animal life into two distinct periods—one very brief, during which infinitely the greater part of the development takes place, that development being determined chiefly by the 'mysterious properties' of the germ, and only exceptionally by external conditions; the second, far more prolonged, during which the growth to maturity takes place, which is comparatively within very narrow limits, and is more or less modified by external circumstances. Now, if we are directed by the teaching of embryology to the analogy of a general evolution of the system of Nature, the first question that presents itself seems to be this. If the evolution of the animal system is to be inferred from the evolution of the individual organism, must we also suppose

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that there is in the former that which is analogous to their two distinct stages of evolution? In other words, has there been one period of what we might call the *genesis* of Nature (corresponding to that of incubation), during which the chief part of the evolution took place; and a second, during which various limited changes have been produced, these being much affected by the varying conditions of the different parts of the system.

It seems that the whole question resolves itself into the two following separate questions:—First, is there reason to believe that the animal kingdom (for to this part of the subject our inquiries must be confined) has been brought into its present state through a process of evolution of some kind or other? Secondly, is there ground for supposing that conditions or agencies now affecting animal organisms are sufficient to account for the whole evolution, or is the conclusion to which analogy points the more probable and rational, namely, that by far the greater part of the development was effected during a period of genesis, when processes were in operation very different indeed from those of which we have now experience, processes of which we are just as incapable of forming any conception as a man, who had only observed the growth of a chick into a full-grown fowl, would be of understanding how the chick itself is formed within the eggshell.

Before, however, we discuss such questions from the scientific point of view, it may be well first of all to clear the ground of various misapprehensions on both sides of the controversy, by examining the subject briefly from the religious aspect. So far as Theism *in itself* is concerned, that is, quite independently of man's relation to God, it does not appear to be in the slightest degree material, whether we conclude that there has been a separate period of Creation or not. Evolution is merely the order through which God the maker and preserver of all things works, and He would be no less the Maker of Heaven and Earth, through whatever process His universe and all that it contains should have assumed its present condition.

But Revelation, which makes God known in certain definite relations to the human race—relations which, through the coming of the Word of God in the flesh, reach the whole nature and being of man—does undoubtedly speak very clearly and definitely of a genesis or creation of the world of nature as it now is, that genesis culminating in the production of man. It seems impossible to give to the language, figurative and mystical as much of it undoubtedly must be

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supposed to be, any other meaning but that there was a work of God which attained its consummation in man's creation, and which was not continued subsequently. As, however, it is the moral and religious history of man which the Holy Scriptures are given to reveal, and not any of the conditions of nature, except so far as these touch and affect this history, we must not of course expect to find there any information as to the processes by which God works in nature. In its account of Creation, so far as the natural world is concerned, the purpose of Revelation is evidently to expound to us that all was effected by the Word of God and the Spirit of God—that the visible frame of nature did not originate in itself, but all proceeded from the effectual working of Him of whom are all things, and we by Him. It speaks therefore of causes and effects lying out of the sphere of human knowledge, such as it is probably quite impossible to represent to our minds except in ideal or symbolical language. It is sometimes imagined that such a mode of interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis is a theological subterfuge—an explanation forced on those who believe in the inspiration of Holy Scripture by the discoveries of modern science. If it were so, we ought to be thankful to God for His gift of Science, enabling us as it does to form a more rational and worthy conception of the Creator's work than in our ignorance we could have formed. But in fact, long before Science had suggested any difficulties, the more thoughtful and philosophical minds among the Christian Fathers felt that the true relations of the Infinite and Eternal God to His creation made it necessary to regard the language as symbolising, in the ordinary forms of human thought, truths that are, to use the modern phrase, 'unknowable.' S. Augustine, for example, in a remarkable passage in his *Commentary on Genesis in its Literal Sense*, as distinguished from its spiritual and allegorical,[1] expresses his belief that the days are not to be understood as intervals of time at all, but as representing the orderly connexion of causes, through which the work of Creation was completed. Indeed, Professor Mivart, in his work *On the Genesis of Species*,[2] has also

[1] 'Quapropter cum primam conditionem creaturarum cogitamus, a quibus operibus suis Deus in die septimo requiebat; nec illos dies sicut istos solares, nec ipsam operationem ita cogitare debemus, quemadmodum nunc aliquid Deus operatur in tempore: sed quemadmodum operatus est unde inciperent tempora, quemadmodum operatus est omnia simul, præstans eis etiam ordinem, non intervallis temporum, sed connexione causarum, ut ea quæ simul facta sunt, senario quoque illius diei numero præsentato perficerentur.'—*De Genesi ad Litteram*, lib. v. 12, cf. 46.

[2] See chap. i. and chap. xii.

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abundantly shown that Christian writers, both early and mediæval, have maintained that God's creation of the forms of organic life was 'potentialiter tantum,' by His power working through natural things, and educing one from the other; and that in the first institution of nature we are not to look for *miracles*, but for that which nature itself contains. 'It is evident,' he says, 'that ancient and modern venerable theological authorities distinctly assert *derivative* creation, and thus harmonise with all that modern science can possibly require. It may indeed truly be said, with Roger Bacon, "The saints never condemned many an opinion which the moderns think ought to be condemned."' We cannot indeed but believe that the popular ideas of Creation, like the popular ideas on many other religious subjects, are those of a superficial and unphilosophical, and therefore misleading, theology. The ordinary notions about the genesis of the world as a series of successive and distinct creations, are due probably more to Milton's *Paradise Lost* than to Holy Scripture. His descriptions of the beasts rising out of the earth in perfect forms, the tawny lion half appearing, 'pawing to get free his hinder-parts, then springs as broke from bounds, and rampant shakes his brindled mane;' while other animals, 'as the mole rising, the crumbled earth above them threw as hillocks,' and so on, are as untrue and misleading as his representations of far deeper mysteries. When we turn to the sublime language of Holy Scripture itself, we find nothing to justify such puerile notions. There the whole process of Creation is represented as a development from a state in which all was without form and void to its consummation in man. It is, perhaps, the most complete illustration that can anywhere be found of the scientific definition of Evolution, to which we have so often referred as 'a change from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, through successive integrations and differentiations.' Certainly, we have in the Scriptural language, 'along with an advance from simplicity to complexity, an advance from confusion to order, from undetermined arrangement to determined arrangement.' And as regards the creation of animal life especially, the idea of development and derivation is at all events suggested by the language. To render it literally, it is, 'Let the waters swarm with rapidly-propagating swarms of life, and (as the result) let fowl fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.' And again, 'Let the earth produce the breath of life according to its kind (life in its different forms), and cattle and rep-

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tiles and wild beasts of the earth after its kind ; and it was so.' Even the creation of man, by being included in the same day with the final development of the animal kingdom, and coming as the consummation of that work, points to the animal part of man's nature as related to and, it may be for anything that is said, derived from the previous organic forms, as each individual man is evolved from the embryo. But in man, through whatever process his animal nature may have been produced, there is a higher relation and more truly divine origin—'God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' On this relation to God, indeed, depend all the responsibilities of man, and in this his whole moral and religious history begins. Religion, whether natural or revealed, without this relation to God, would have no foundation and no reality.

Such are the general conclusions to which the language of the inspired writings points, and there is certainly nothing in this language to limit or interfere with the investigations of true science in its own proper sphere. The idea that the language necessarily implies acts which we should call miraculous, to the exclusion of the operation of natural laws, has long been abandoned in regard to one part of this genesis of the heavens and the earth. No tolerably well-informed person now considers it irreligious, or in any way inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture, to believe that the earth was at one time a molten mass, which gradually assumed its present form and constitution through natural agencies. Is there any reason why we should refuse to admit the same in regard to the development of the animal creation? As regards the origin of man, certainly there does seem to be sufficient reason. But, as to the animal kingdom generally, the question seems to be, are any natural agencies now in operation, which can be shown capable of producing that evolution of animal life which has, in some way or other, taken place on the earth?

It is certainly impossible to take even the most general survey of the animal kingdom, as it is at present constituted, and not be forcibly struck by the numberless illustrations that it supplies of the law of Evolution; in other words, of the order of development that we trace in the growth of a plant, and of the embryo within the egg. We find an ascending scale of animal life, ascending indeed, not continuously, like 'an inclined plane,' but by easy steps, from the lowest to the highest form. The simplest forms are represented by a single elementary cell, possessing no organ of any kind that the microscope can discover, living either by imbibing fluid

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through their outer surface, or by absorbing solid substance into the homogeneous and gelatinous mass of which they are composed. In other forms again we discover simple organs for locomotion developed; while in some even of the protozoa we discover pulsations of the substance which seem to be the first beginnings of a circulating system. As we proceed to the radiates, we have the polypi, in which the differentiation of parts is, as noticed before, so imperfect, that some of them may be minced up and each separate bit will form a separate animal, while the higher forms have a complicated muscular apparatus. As we pass from these lowest orders to others with a more developed organisation, the characteristics of Evolution, according to its fundamental definition, become yet more apparent; the different parts are more and more unlike one another, each having a use and function proper to itself, which another part cannot fulfil, so as to be in the truest sense an organ. And the several parts are more and more defined; there are distinct bones, and these of the utmost variety of shape, yet so definitely marked and determined, that from its shape and size an anatomist will discover to what animal it belonged. There is also a most elaborate nervous system through the whole frame, and every vital organ is a structure of marvellous complexity. At the same time the body is symmetrical, and has a unity which is not found in the lowest forms. But it is in the body of man that the law of progress attains its perfection. Compare, for example, the hand of man with the paw of any animal, even of that which in its general structure seems to approach man the most nearly, the anthropoid ape, and the characters of perfect development in the former are sufficiently obvious. Observe the variety in the human hand, the distinct definition of the joints and fingers, and, at the same time, the symmetry and expression—that is, the unity of idea—in the different parts of this wonderful organ, which next to the face is the most characteristic of humanity.

Of course it does not necessarily follow, because in the ascending forms of animal life we can trace the same order as we should find in an evolved organism, that therefore there is a derivation of one from the other. Distinct and independent creations might follow the same order, and for all we know, the law of Evolution may be, for reasons which lie beyond human knowledge, the law of creation. But it seems impossible to deny that the correspondence of the various series in the ascending scale of animal organisms with successive changes in the development of the embryo,

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naturally suggests to every unbiassed mind the idea of development, in this sense at least, that different lower orders must belong to the same line of development as higher orders, though the development in a particular direction ceases at different points of the line; as the leaf is a lower development of the same rudimentary form, of which the petal is a higher development. We do not see how the conclusions to which the phenomena of animal life point are to be resisted. 'Evolution is the universal process, not creation of a direct kind,' Mr. Lewes observes;[1] that is, in the animal kingdom no special organ appears in any class, without there being in some lower class a more elementary form from which it seems to have been differentiated. And embryology points emphatically in the same direction:

'Von Baer, who very properly corrected the exaggerations which had been put forth respecting the identity of embryonic forms with adult forms lower in the scale, who showed that the mammalian embryo never was a bird, a reptile, or a fish, nevertheless emphasised the fact that the mammalian embryo passes through all the lower typical forms; so much so that, except by their size, it is impossible to distinguish the embryos of mammal, bird, lizard, or snake. "In my collection," he says, "there are two little embryos which I have omitted to label, so that I am now quite incompetent to say to what class they belong. They may be lizards, they may be small birds, or very young mammals; so complete is the similarity in the mode of formation of the head and trunk. The extremities have not yet made their appearance. But even if they existed in the earliest stage, we should learn nothing from them, for the feet of lizards, mammals, and the wings of birds all arise from the same common form." He sums up with his formula: "The special type is always evolved from a more general type."

'Such reminiscences of earlier forms are intelligible on the supposition that originally the later form was a modification of the earlier form, and that this modification is repeated; or on the supposition that there was a similarity in the organic conditions, which similarity ceased at the point where the new form emerged. But on no hypothesis of creative plan are they intelligible.'

It must be remembered that Von Baer, who only died in 1876, was to the last a vigorous opponent of the Darwinian theory; although, perhaps, more than any man, he contributed to establish the doctrine of Evolution of animal organisms.

But the real question at issue, as we have before observed, still remains,—Was this evolution effected by natural agencies still in operation, or is it necessary to suppose that there was a period of genesis or creation, in which other agencies, to

[1] *The Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 83.

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which we find no parallel in nature at present, were in operation, and that to these the development in its true sense of evolution, as before defined, has been due, although many and important changes in the forms of animal life then developed have been since produced by the variety of the conditions and environments in which these forms have been placed.

Now, first of all, in order to answer this question, it may be well to inquire whether, quite independently of theological considerations, science itself gives us any reason to suppose that there were, at any former period, some agencies—or, let them be called at present, in order to avoid any unnecessary assumptions, certain conditions—which were different from those now existing, and which justify the belief that the genesis of the animal kingdom was caused solely by agencies now present in nature. It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that there is in the present day a general and increasing conviction among the leading scientific men that under no known conditions is a living organism, however simple, evolved from inanimate matter. In other words, there is a general agreement in the conclusion that, whenever animal life began on the earth (and that there must have been a beginning follows from another scientific conclusion, viz., that the earth was once in a state of incandescent heat), there must have been agencies or conditions different *in kind* from any that exist now. Thus Professor Huxley, while denying that there is any evidence whatever of the doctrine of *abiogenesis*, implies that it or something equivalent to it must be supposed a necessary corollary of Evolution, provided we throw the occurrence into some period previous to any recorded epoch of geological time. Again, Professor Thomson says in his presidential address:—

'During the last seven or eight years renewed investigations by most competent inquirers have followed one another in quick succession, from a review of which we cannot but arrive at a conclusion adverse to the theory of heterogenesis, viz., that no development of organisms, even of the most simple kind, has been satisfactorily observed to occur in circumstances which entirely excluded the possibility of their being descended from germs, or equivalent formative particles, belonging to pre-existing bodies of a similar kind.' . . . . 'But admitting that the evidence from direct experiment is such as entirely to shut us out from entertaining the view that spontaneous generation occurs in the present condition of the earth, we are not relieved from the difficulty of explaining how living organisms or their germs first made their appearance; nor are we debarred from attempting to form hypotheses as to how this might have taken place.'

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The first hypothesis he proposes, and the only one which he considers not liable to fatal objection, is—

'That the conditions affecting the combination of the primary elements of matter into organic forms may at one time have been different from those which now prevail; and that, under those different conditions, abiogenesis may have been possible, and may have operated to lay the foundations of organic life in the simpler forms in which it at first appeared—a state of things which can only be vaguely surmised, but in regard to which no exact information can be obtained.'

Again, Professor Virchow, the title of whose now celebrated discourse delivered last September we have placed at the head of this article, affirms that in opposition to the theory of spontaneous generation '*it must be emphatically stated that all really scientific knowledge respecting the beginning of life has followed a course exactly contrary.*' We must observe that not merely is there no positive evidence of the fact, but the progress of science is in the opposite direction. He adds (p. 36):—

'The *generatio æquivoca*, which has been so often contested and so often contradicted, is nevertheless always meeting us afresh. To be sure, we know not a single *positive fact* to prove that a *generatio æquivoca* has ever been made, that there has ever been procreation in this way; that inorganic masses—such as the firm of Carbon and Co.—have ever spontaneously developed themselves into organic masses. Nevertheless, I grant that if any one is *determined* to form for himself an *idea* of how the first organic being *could* have come into existence of itself, nothing further is left than to go back to spontaneous generation. Thus much is evident. If I do not choose to accept a theory of creation; if I refuse to believe that there was a special Creator, who took the clod of earth and breathed into it the breath of life; if I prefer to make for myself a verse after my own fashion (in the place of the verse in Genesis); then I must make it in the sense of *generatio æquivoca*. *Tertium non datur.* No alternative remains when once we say, "I do not accept creation, but I *will* have an explanation." If this first thesis is laid down, you must go on to the second thesis and say, "*Ergo*, I assume the *generatio æquivoca*." But of this we do not possess any actual proof. No one has ever seen a *generatio æquivoca* really effected, and whoever supposes that it has occurred is contradicted by the naturalist, and not merely by the theologian. . . . . If we would speak frankly we must admit that naturalists may well have some little sympathy with *generatio æquivoca*. If it were capable of proof it would indeed be beautiful! But we must acknowledge it has not been yet proved. The proofs of it are still wanting. If, however, any proof should be successful, we would give in our adhesion. But even then it must first be settled to what extent the *generatio æquivoca* is admissible. We should have to

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proceed quietly to the investigation; for no one would think of maintaining that spontaneous generation at all accounts for the whole number of organic beings. It may possibly hold good only for one series of beings. But my opinion is that we have time to wait for the proof. Whoever recalls to mind the lamentable failure of all the attempts made very recently to discover a decided support for the *generatio æquivocâ* in the lower forms of transition from the inorganic to the organic world, will feel it doubly serious to demand that this theory, so utterly discredited, should be in any way accepted as the basis of all our views of life. I may assume that the history of the Bathybius is pretty well known to all educated persons, and with the Bathybius the hope has once more subsided, that the *generatio æquivoca* may be capable of proof.'

It seems, then, that science itself leaves us no alternative at present than to believe that there were powers in operation in the origin of life of which, at present, we have no example. If so, what limits are to be assigned to such operations? Shall we say, Let us at all events reduce these unintelligible operations to the smallest possible limits; one atom of protoplasm is quite sufficient to account for the subsequent evolution of all animal organisms? Or, with Mr. Lewes, shall we contend that the principles of Evolution themselves 'insist rather on the necessity of innumerable starting points,' an endless variety of origins of life? If so, might not an endless variety of forms have been evolved from these? Or must we not proceed a step further, and admit that we cannot refuse to recognise the possibility of the conditions, agencies, powers (call them what we please) which produced life out of dead matter, not being confined to this solitary result—why, indeed, should they be?—but continuing in operation during the whole genesis of the animal kingdom? There is no reason that can be conceived for such agencies ceasing as soon as life begins, unless indeed we argue that they only continued so long as they were required, which means that they were the operations of a Divine intelligence; and in that case they may, for aught we know, have been required to continue until nature was fully developed. And the rational conclusion seems to be, that until some of the natural causes now in operation can be proved sufficient to account for the whole development, we have, as in the case of the origin of life, no resource but to fall back on the supposition that there were energies at work during the period of the genesis of which we know nothing now.

It would far exceed the limits of this article, were we to discuss the theories by which the development of all the families of animal life from elementary organisms are

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attempted to be explained by (what are called) natural laws. Of these, the Darwinian theory of natural selection is best known. But instructive and deeply interesting as this theory is, and accounting as it does, without doubt, for many and very considerable modifications of organic life, yet few, we suppose, would in the present day contend that it is sufficient to explain all the various phenomena in the evolution of the animal kingdom. Other theories have been added, such as that of organic affinity, to aid the Darwinian, but the general result remains unaltered, viz. that while it is not difficult to prove that known causes may have produced very considerable changes, and very easy to infer that they must have produced all, yet, so far as our knowledge reaches, the changes thus produced lie within limits quite insignificant in their extent compared with the whole range of the animal kingdom. The inference that because such causes produce certain limited effects, therefore, if continued long enough, they must be capable of evolving the animal kingdom from a monad, proceeds obviously on the assumption that there never was a period when other causes were in operation: which is as illogical as to argue that because a chick may grow into a full-fledged fowl, therefore the chick may, *exactly in the same manner, and under the same conditions*, have been evolved from the germinal membrane.

And it may be observed also, that the proof is as yet wanting, that the natural tendency of the action of external environments on organic forms is *in the direction of evolution.* Adaptation to external conditions is a totally different thing from development; and it seems to us that the (so-called) advanced evolutionists, in their eagerness to prove that natural causes alone must have been sufficient, often abandon the first principles of Evolution as a science. The fittest of a species or genus to survive are by no means the most perfectly developed; often the very fitness means some arrest of the evolution. A discovery, no doubt one of great interest, which the believers in universal Evolution by natural laws have hailed with triumph, as affording evidence in their favour from those rocks which hitherto seemed to give no witness at all, except against their theories, supplies a curious proof of the truth that the changes produced by such causes as are included in the theory of natural selection, are sometimes in the opposite direction to evolution. We will take the latest account of this discovery from an opening lecture lately given by Professor Sir Wyville Thomson to the Natural History Class, in the University of Edinburgh. He says:—

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'If the doctrine of Evolution be true, we should find in the stratified rocks remains of animals leading by slow degrees from the extinct forms of the older rock systems to species in life at the present day. Here we are again met by the fragmentary nature of the geological record. It is only in very few instances that such series have been detected; but the discovery of even a single series is of supreme importance, and such we seem to have in one of the most highly specialised of living animals, the horse. The fore-foot of the horse is extremely modified. It consists of a single chain of bones, the cannon bone, the pastern, the coronary bone, and the coffin bone, the latter enclosed in the hoof, a hugely exaggerated nail. The cannon bone corresponds with the middle metacarpal bone of the human hand, and the three succeeding bones with the three phalanges of the middle finger. Two small splint bones represent the metacarpal bones of the second and fourth fingers. Five metacarpal bones succeeded by five fingers form the normal arrangement in the forelimb of a mammal, and admitting the doctrine of descent it would seem probable that the horse of the present days is the descendant of a line of ancestry through which the hand has become gradually modified in structure. All the important stages in this gradual metamorphosis have been discovered. In the pleistocene beds of Europe and America the remains of the true horse occur abundantly. In the pliocene beds of America the remains of a horse (*Pliohippus*) are found, which differs very slightly from the recent genus. In the newer miocene series the remains of a horse (*Protohippus*) are found, in which the splint-bones are developed as true metacarpals as long as the cannon-bone, and each is succeeded by a digit of three phalanges; these fingers are, however, small, and appear scarcely to have reached the ground. An older miocene form (*Miohippus*) has three well-developed fingers and a rudiment of a fourth, and one still older (*Mesohippus*) has the splint-bone of the fourth digit, which corresponds with the little finger in man, of considerable size; while *Orohippus*, a horse from the American eocenes, has four digits, the three middle nearly equal in size, and the fourth only slightly smaller.'

Very instructive no doubt, but (we ask with some astonishment) is this the doctrine of Evolution? We trace the history of the horse through past ages, from the pleistocene back to the pliocene, from the pliocene through the miocene, from the miocene into the eocene, and what is the result? That whereas at the beginning of this vista of past ages we find a foot with well-developed digits,—the effect of the inexorable law of 'natural selection,' 'survival of the fittest,' and the like, has been—further evolution? by no means, but—to convert this well-evolved foot into a simple hoof, the chief characteristic of which is a 'hugely exaggerated nail!' We might as well call the flattened hind legs of the seal, which serve the purposes of a fish's tail, an important instance of evolution.

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We have hitherto purposely spoken of the processes, differing from any that exist at present, by which the animal creation was evolved, in such terms as science would use, rather than in the language of religion. Indeed, is not Nature itself one mode of the supernatural? And does not God as truly send the rain and the snow from heaven, by natural causes, as if He rained manna for the Israelites in the wilderness? It may have been, as suggested by Professor Mivart,[1] that in the past history of this planet influences, terrestrial and cosmical—but purely natural—intervened, which produced 'a richer and more various evolution of organic forms, more radically differing than any which could be produced under conditions of more perfect equilibrium:' and if this could account for all the results, no doubt it would be God's work. This, however, is a mere surmise, of which we have not only no proof, but no indication, and we must confess ourselves quite unable to conceive of any influences of a physical kind as being capable of changing inorganic matter into organic. The tendency of modern physical science is, it is well known, to reduce all properties of matter to those of mass and motion; and such a conclusion indicates that the agencies that could introduce organic life must be of a *different order and kind* from all conceivable forms of physical force. And if the same agency continued till man appeared on the earth, we can, and ought to speak of it as a creating power and agency, as different from all the natural forces which now operate, as life itself differs from mass and motion. And this brings us to that which must be the crucial test of every theory as to the production of living organisms on the earth—that which, without doubt, constrains most religious minds to reject almost with abhorrence the Darwinian theory of Evolution by natural selection,—the question, I mean, Does the theory account for the appearance on the earth of man, one with an animal nature, but a rational, spiritual, and responsible being? This difference between man and the lower animals is (it must be remembered) not a question for science, but for the moral sense, the conclusions of which are to be trusted as implicitly, in the legitimate sphere of that faculty, as reason is to be trusted in its own sphere. And certainly our moral sense tells us that the distinction is one not of degree, but of kind. Does anyone doubt this? Let us put it thus. If travelling in unknown regions he had shot in the bush at what he supposed to be an anthropoid ape, and found he had killed a man, what

[1] *Genesis of Species*, p. 235.

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would his feelings be? If he did not feel very uncomfortable indeed at the result of his day's sport, if he could complacently proceed to skin his game, and preserve it for his collection of Natural History, probably we should most of us feel a little uncomfortable in that man's company. In fact, all the moral relations and responsibilities of man towards his neighbour, as well as towards God, are founded on the belief that man is different in kind from one of the mammalia. Murder, adultery, theft, false witness, would not be immoralities unles man were made—how, we know not, and probably never can know—in the image of God, as the Bible teaches. Nothing short of this can give sacredness to human life, and human interests. Any scientific theory, then, that should make an 'inclined plane' from an ape to a man, must be rejected by the moral sense as being, on the face of it, an immoral theory; and if, as is the case with the Darwinian hypothesis, the question of its truth is one simply of probabilities; this immorality, of itself, must give an overwhelming preponderance to the probabilities against the theory, in the mind of anyone who believes that there is a God. In fact, as no one who has reflected on the lessons taught by embryology can feel any difficulty in allowing that man may, as regards his physical system, have been in some way or other evolved from an ascidian and ultimately a moner, according to Dr. Häckel's phraseology, so, on the other hand, no one who is convinced that man differs from the animals at least as widely as a living organism differs from dead matter, will feel any difficulty in believing, that the same power which could bring life out of dead substance, could also make that which otherwise would only be a highly-developed animal organism a partaker of the Divine likeness.

During the past year there has been, in regard to this very question of the origin of man, a protest against the unscientific inferences from the science of Evolution, which is, we trust, a hopeful sign of a reaction from those theories which have of late dominated over science, and in some departments so debased it as to affect its whole character. Professor Virchow, from whose address at Munich last September we have already made some extracts, forms (to use the words of a review of his discourse in the *Times*) 'a remarkable exception in the very highest ranks of science to the assumption that the world has now settled down into the belief that we who are now foremost in the files of time have come to the front through almost endless changes of promotion, from lower to higher forms of life.' It must be observed

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that it is not against the science of Evolution (to which Dr. Virchow himself has largely contributed), but against the unscientific and unfounded inferences from Evolution, as he himself states in his own 'brief but pointed preface' to the English translation, that his energetic protest is directed. We are thankful to learn from himself that, 'with a few individual exceptions, this protest has met with cordial assent from German naturalists. *They feel themselves set free again from the tyranny of dogmatism.*' We have for some years felt assured that science itself must sooner or later break the bonds which threatened to enslave it. And most cordially do we re-echo his hope, 'that men of science in England also will not fail to examine this most serious question, whether the authority of science will not be better secured if it confines itself strictly to its own province, than if it undertakes to master the whole view of nature by premature generalising of theoretical combinations.' For our present purpose, however, it will be sufficient to give an extract from this address touching the particular question of the origin of man, on which Professor Virchow has a right to speak with authority, such as no men of science will challenge, and very few indeed could claim for themselves. He says (pp. 57–63) :—

'There are at this time few students of nature who are not of opinion that man stands in some connexion with the rest of the animal kingdom, and that such a connexion may possibly be discovered, if not with the apes, yet, perhaps, as Dr. Vogt now supposes, at some other point. I freely acknowledge that this is a *desideratum* in science. I am quite prepared for such a result, and I should neither be surprised nor astonished if the proof were produced that man had ancestors among other vertebrate animals. You are aware that I am now specially engaged in the study of anthropology, but I am bound to declare that every positive advance which we have made in the province of pre-historic anthropology has actually removed us further from the proof of such a connexion. Anthropology is at present occupied with the question of fossil man. We have gone back from the man of the present "period of creation" into the quaternary age, the time respecting which Cuvier still maintained most distinctly that, speaking generally, man did not yet exist. But in our day the quaternary man is a fact universally accepted—the quaternary man is no longer a problem, but a real doctrine. The tertiary man, on the contrary, is a problem, the material evidence of which is now under discussion. There already exist objects with regard to which it is disputed whether they are to be accepted as proofs of the existence of man in the tertiary period. We are no longer making mere speculations on the point, but we are debating about distinct specimens, whether they can be acknowledged as evidence of the activity of man in the tertiary period. The question proposed

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receives different answers, according as these material objects are deemed sufficient evidence or not. Eminent Churchmen even, such as the Abbé Bourgeois, are convinced that man lived in the tertiary period. For them the tertiary man is now an actual doctrine; for us, who are of a somewhat more critical disposition, the tertiary man is still only a problem, but we must acknowledge, a problem fit for discussion. Let us then, in what we have now to say, keep provisionally to the quaternary man, whom we really find. When we study this fossil man of the quaternary period, who must, of course, have stood comparatively near our primitive ancestors in the series of descent, or rather of ascent, we always find a *Man*, just such as men are now. As recently as ten years ago, whenever a skull was found in a peat bog, or in pile-dwellings, or in ancient caves, people fancied they saw in it a wonderful token of an inferior state, still quite undeveloped. They smelt out the very scent of the ape—only this has continually been more and more lost. The old troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people prove to be quite a respectable society. They have heads so large, that many a living person would be only too happy to possess such. Our French neighbours, indeed, have warned us against inferring too much from these big heads. It may have been that their contents were not merely nerve-substance, but that the ancient brains may have had more interstitial tissue than is now usual, and that, in spite of the size of the brain, their nerve-substance may have remained at a lower stage of development. This, however, is but the sort of familiar talk which is employed in some measure as a kind of prop for weak minds. On the whole, we must really acknowledge, that there is a complete absence of any fossil type of a lower stage in the development of man. Nay, if we gather together the whole sum of the fossil men hitherto known, and put them parallel with those of the present time, we can decidedly pronounce that there are among living men a much greater number of individuals who show a relatively inferior type than there are among the fossils known up to this time. Whether it is just the highest geniuses of the quaternary period that have had the good luck to be preserved to us, I will not venture to surmise. Our usual course is to argue from the character of a single fossil object to the generality of those not yet found. This, however, I will not do. I will not affirm that the whole race was as good as the few skulls that have survived. But one thing I must say—that not a single fossil skull of an ape or of an ape-man has yet been found that could really have belonged to a human being. Every addition to the amount of objects, which we have obtained as materials for discussion, has removed us further from the hypothesis propounded. At the same time we cannot entirely set aside the consideration, that men of the tertiary period may perhaps have lived only on a particular part of the earth. This might be just as possible as in the case of the remarkable discovery made of late years in North America, that the fossil ancestors of our horses are found in regions where the horse itself has long since entirely disappeared. When America was discovered it was generally horseless. In the region where the ancestors of our horses lived, there was not a living horse

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to be found. Just so it may be that the tertiary man once existed in Greenland or Lemuria, and will still be brought to light somewhere or other out of the depths. Only, as a matter of fact, we must positively recognise that there exists, as yet, a sharp line of demarcation between man and the ape. WE CANNOT TEACH, WE CANNOT PRONOUNCE IT TO BE A CONQUEST OF SCIENCE, THAT MAN DESCENDS FROM THE APE OR FROM ANY OTHER ANIMAL. We can only indicate it as an hypothesis, however probable it may seem, and however obvious a solution it may appear.'

If science were always pursued in this really scientific spirit, the controversy between it and religion would be at an end.

ART. III.—BISHOP SELWYN.

WHOEVER is destined to be the biographer of George Augustus Selwyn will have to face the temptation of drawing a too flattering portrait, and all the more so in proportion as personal acquaintance with the original has qualified him for the task which he has undertaken; for to know the man was to love him; to witness his work for God and the Church was to hold him in honour; to listen to his words, always wise and thoughtful, and often seasoned with bright humour, and innocuous wit, was to be charmed by him; to have studied his noble life, consistent with itself from beginning to end, under many and varied conditions; free from all thought of personal advantage, and full of unaffected simplicity and of earnest sense of duty, was to regard him as a man without parallel in his day and generation. The same snare besets ourselves as we attempt the following briefer and all unworthy notice of so great a man, and we trust that we may keep it before us and avoid it.

With full recollection of the peril of exaggeration, we venture to say that the accustomed shadows of Passion-tide were this year deepened for us all as we received the unexpected tidings of his decease on April 11. Many who had never seen him in the flesh felt a sorrow as at the loss of a personal friend. The position which he occupied was altogether unique. He was not merely the first and only Bishop of New Zealand, and the ninetieth Bishop of Lichfield: true that to no other man in our communion has it ever been given to occupy two sees so widely severed, so different in their

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character, and in the one to stamp on entirely new institutions, themselves his own creations, the impress of his own original mind, and in the other, while succeeding to the traditions of many centuries, to raise, without disturbing, the usefulness and the dignity of an ancient position to a level never attained before; these things he indeed was permitted to do; but to neither nor to both of these positions did he owe the influence which he wielded, and the honour and affection which flowed to him on all sides, in recognition of his personal gifts. His name was a household word throughout the whole Anglican communion; he had grasped as by an instinctive intuition the destiny and mission of that branch of the Church which finds its natural Patriarchate at Canterbury, and he had laboured unceasingly to secure for it the accomplishment of its high vocation: in Australia, not less than in New Zealand, his had for nearly thirty years been the master mind; it had been largely owing to his policy and example that the Churches in those colonies had expanded with a vigorous development, and had been safely consolidated as their rapid growth rendered consolidation doubly desirable; the Churches of the United States he had twice visited, an honoured guest, and had taken part in the deliberations of the General Convention; he had also visited some of the dioceses of Canada; in their time of trouble and distress the South African Churches had found in the great Metropolitan of New Zealand a tower of strength and sympathy; in the Lambeth Conference of 1867 he was the leading spirit, speaking as he could dispassionately, and without the imputation of personal interest in exciting controversies, from which his brother Metropolitan of South Africa was not, and could not be free; from Lichfield many missionary ventures have found a point of departure, and have gone forth with the blessing and counsel of one who more than any other was competent to advise, as none other had equal store of experience; he had undertaken, if health permitted, to preach the sermon on the occasion of the consecration of the new Bishop of Newfoundland, on SS. Philip and James' day, and had invited all the home-coming bishops to rest awhile at Lichfield, and worship in the 'holy and beautiful house' of S. Chad, before taking part in the Lambeth Conference of the present year; and his loss at this important gathering is being realised now while these sheets are passing through the press. As the news of his decease was telegraphed in all directions, we can understand, by the light of the facts already briefly enumerated, how hearts grieved and spirits sank. Many

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bishops, who had not yet started for Europe, felt that one great attraction of their journey had been removed; others, as they learned the news at ports where they touched on their voyage already commenced, felt that their labour was now almost in vain. His two dioceses mourned him, as was natural, as others could not mourn him; even the engrossing claims of Holy Week did not prevent 500 clergymen and more than 1,000 representative laymen from following him to his grave in Lichfield Cathedral, and all alike, whether present or absent, in one hemisphere or in the other, felt that the foremost personage in the Anglican communion had been removed at a time when his ripened wisdom and sagacious counsels had obtained their full measure of weight and honour.

George Augustus Selwyn was born at Hampstead in 1809, the second of four sons of an eminent lawyer. The eldest died an accomplished poet and an honoured Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; the third died young, but not until he had obtained distinction which had all but placed in his grasp a Fellowship at Trinity; the youngest rose to the high position of Lord Justice. The four brothers were educated first at a famous preparatory school at Ealing, and afterwards at Eton. We are not of those who set great value on the anecdotes of childhood, however gifted; but in Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton College*, there is a story of the future bishop too characteristic to be passed by. He was translating to Dr. Keate Horace's account of the auctioneer at the barber's shop, 'proprios purgantem leniter ungues'—'cleaning his own nails' (Ep. 1. vii. 51). Keate corrected him—'cleaning his nails. Go on.' Again and again the boy said 'his *own* nails.' Keate scolded him; but he held out against the less emphatic 'his,' and argued the point thus: 'If you please, sir, Horace lays the stress on the word "*proprios*," because most of the dandies made the barbers pare their nails; and when Philippus saw Mena paring his *own* nails, "vacua in umbra"—though nobody was engaging the barber's time—he thought him a man of some energy, and likely to become a good farmer.' Dr. Keate generously appreciated the criticism, and said, 'Well, there's something in that. Lay the stress, then, on *proprios*.' In 1827 the *Eton Miscellany* was started, and had the future bishop among its contributors, as well as Mr. Gladstone, and many others who have since made their mark in the world.

In due course Selwyn proceeded to Cambridge, and in those præ-athletic days he was distinguished for feats of strength and activity which are hardly surpassed by the

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present generation. It was only natural that a man who bathed every day, whatever the state of the river, should be one of the picked crew which contended with Oxford in the first University race which took place in 1829. In company with Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle he walked from Cambridge to London in thirteen hours without stopping; and there are still lingering traditions among his survivors of wild outings and hairbreadth escapes in an open boat during a long vacation spent on the Devonshire coast. But athletics were not practised by him to the neglect of higher gifts; for in the Class List of 1831 his name was placed second in the Classical Tripos. A Fellowship at S. John's followed on his degree, and in due course he went back to his beloved Eton, 'which he loved with a love surpassing even the love of Etonians,' as private tutor to the present Earl Powis. There were at that time eight or ten young Oxford and Cambridge men holding similar appointments, of whom one of the few survivors has given some of his recollections in a letter to the *Guardian* newspaper of April 24, and has further contributed much valuable information to the writer of this paper. In the opinion of one who was so well qualified a judge—

'Selwyn took the lead—or rather the position of leader was assigned to him—by common consent. It was not that he was pre-eminent only in boating and swimming; he was the life as well as the secretary of the Book Club of the College, and impressed all the members with the idea that he had mastered every book as it went through his hands. In more serious studies he read carefully rather than much; he gave considerable time to languages, reading Hebrew for an hour every morning, after the early swim in the river, with his brother private tutors, and studying at one period both Hebrew and Italian with a Jew who happened to be living in Eton. Hooker he read through each Christmas vacation; and he not only took an active share in the work of Sunday Schools, but his example excited his friends to form a staff of lay district visitors, who also taught in the large day schools of Windsor. He detected the necessity of an Infants' School, while others refused to see it. Baffled for the time by lack of sympathy, he resorted to the convincing argument of figures, and he formed a committee who should make a census of the younger population among the poor. Their returns he tabulated, and triumphantly proved his point, and the school was established. While still a private tutor he became curate of Windsor. The parish was distracted by a miserable squabble about a Church debt of 3,300*l.*, which each party accused the other of having incurred, while neither party made any effort to pay it off. Mr. Selwyn threw himself into the breach, and gave up his own stipend as curate as the nucleus of a fund which should pay off the debt, and then enlisted others to go with him from house to house on the odious task of

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begging for subscriptions. The liability having been shaken off, peace was restored, and the zealous curate saw that he could go about his pastoral work with some hope of its being effective.'

During his residence at Eton his activity made itself felt in many ways: he was the author of a letter, which he published and addressed to Mr. Gladstone, on the question of Cathedral reform, a subject which seems to have occupied very much of his thoughts. At a time when the condition of our Cathedrals hardly justified their existence and continued maintenance, he seems to have grasped a very high ideal of what a cathedral should be, and he certainly produced an embodiment of it when he landed in New Zealand: it is the testimony of his contemporaries that he was always preparing himself, both physically and intellectually, for future labours, of whatever kind they might be, although Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that he had never contemplated work in foreign lands until the call came to him. In all sports which required strength and activity he joined with serious earnestness. 'Although less naturally light of foot than some of us,' writes one of his friends, 'he would successfully compete with us in jumping as well as in running, following over equally broad streams and equally high gates by sheer power of muscle and force of will.' Bishop Abraham has told us, in a letter to the editor of the *Guardian*, that 'having been exposed to a little friendly banter, because he could not ride to hounds, he privately hired horses and literally rode *steeple* chases,' i.e. made across country for steeples, 'at all hazards and with many a mishap, and surprised his friends at the next meet by riding well up to the hounds.' Another friend writes: 'Even if he had no competitor, he would, in an afternoon walk, run at full speed across a ploughed field and back, to improve his wind (as he said), and to open his lungs.' The same friend has kindly supplied the following account of a walk in which he was his companion:—

'Those who have read the annals of his long New Zealand visitations, often made on foot, and with but little food, will recognise the beginnings of such efforts in the following incident:—He invited me once to walk with him to Sandhurst, where a relative of his pupil was under education. We began by going slightly out of our way in order to visit a nursery, where he wished to make purchases for some new planting, and I was astonished at his knowledge here, as elsewhere; he seemed like Solomon to be able to speak of all trees "from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." We then passed by one of the many spots in England called "Cæsar's Camp," to which there

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was no beaten track, but which, knowing the general bearings of the country, he reached by the aid of his compass, on which he so often afterwards had to rely in his missionary journeys. Having seen his young friend and conversed with the Professors, we started homewards, and I soon asked him where we should stop for luncheon. "Oh," said he, with a smile, "don't you think that a couple of apples bought of that old woman and eaten on a gate would be enough?" There was no appeal, and after a walk of thirty-one miles we reached Eton. As we parted, he said, "Now I advise you not to take wine, or beer, or meat for supper. It will only heat you after this walk: take maccaroni or some such light food." His advice was followed (as indeed it always was), and with the most satisfactory result as to sleep at night, and as to freshness on the following morning.'

One great reform he instituted at Eton, which has probably saved many lives. Until 1840, boating had not been recognised as a legitimate amusement of the Eton boys: it was indulged in of course, but the authorities professed ignorance of the fact. The boys used to take guns and other forbidden luxuries in the boats, and casualties were not unfrequent. In May 1840, one of the boys was drowned close to Windsor Bridge, and Mr. Selwyn, backed by Mr. Evans, the drawing-master, made so earnest remonstrance that the healthful amusement was removed from the category of forbidden things, and at the same time restrictions were imposed which robbed it of its dangers. Bathing-places were established, and watermen were engaged to teach swimming, and nobody was allowed to set foot in a boat until he had passed an examination in swimming.[1] In 1839, he married the incomparable and high-souled lady who has been in all respects a worthy and able partner of his labours, even of the hardest and most perilous: and we may here record the fact that when he was invited to go to New Zealand, he said that he could answer for his wife at once, 'as they had married with that understanding.' This opposes Mr. Gladstone's opinion already quoted; but, *pace tanti viri*, we prefer to think that so chivalrous a spirit had contemplated more arduous fields of labour than an English benefice, and we have it on the authority of another contemporary that when Bishop Blomfield's famous appeal was published he made up his mind to go anywhere if he were thought worthy of being selected, and

[1] Mr. Maxwell Lyte, in his *History of Eton College*, says:—'Bishop Selwyn was enthusiastic about rowing, and considered the Thames almost a sacred stream. Being one day in a punt with an Eton master who spat into the water, he exclaimed "If you must spit, why don't you spit into the punt?"'

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that the proposed bishopric of Malta [which was ultimately founded at Gibraltar] had a great fascination for him; and he wrote to our informant, 'Such a noble attempt might be made from thence to rekindle the fires of the early African Churches.'[1]

And now the time had come when he was to go forth on that noble missionary career, which, whether anticipated by him or not, is now familiar to all who care to recognise deeds of high courage and of devout faith. In 1841, the Colonial Bishoprics' Council, under whose auspices our Colonial and Missionary Bishops have increased from nine to sixty-five, was established mainly through the efforts of Bishop Blomfield, and there were good reasons for pointing to New Zealand as presenting the most urgent claim for a bishop of its own. Missionaries had been at work in the islands since 1814, when Samuel Marsden established a footing there in the name of Christ. The Bishop of Australia, Dr. Broughton, had visited the missions in 1838, had administered Confirmation, and held an ordination, at which the present Bishop of Wellington was ordained priest; but that he should repeat a visitation so laborious and extensive, in face, too, of the growing demands of the Church in Australia, demands far beyond the power of one bishop to satisfy, was not to be expected. The clergy felt themselves without a leader, and painfully confessed that their work was crippled for lack of the full organisation of the Church. In 1839 an English company commenced buying land on a large scale in New Zealand; in the following year the three islands became an English colony; a few months passed, and the Colonial Bishoprics' Council was formed, and the bishopric of New Zealand was forthwith established.

The person first selected for the arduous position was a near relative of the subject of this paper. He accepted the charge, and was afterwards compelled, with much reluctance, to withdraw. How the offer was made to Mr. G. A. Selwyn has been related in the *Times* and *Guardian* newspapers by Mr. Gladstone and by Mr. Robert Few; but the letters of these gentlemen, while not inconsistent, are not strictly in accord with each other. We are fortunate in being able to give yet another version of the story, supplied to us by one who was on terms of the very closest intimacy with the future Bishop, and who in 1841 held an official position which both led to his being thoroughly informed of all that occurred,

[1] The letter here quoted is still extant.

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and also impressed the details of the transaction on his memory. It happens likewise that we are not at the mercy of a memory, which after the lapse of so many years may fairly be distrusted. Our informant kept a diary, to which we have been allowed access, and in which every minute circumstance was entered at the time of its occurrence. From this so trustworthy a contemporary record, we gather that Mr. Selwyn was much grieved at his relative's refusal to accept the offer that had been made to him, that he begged the authorities to repeat it even more strongly, and that with the view of influencing the decision of his relative, he offered to go with him 'even as a catechist.' For the rest we content ourselves with extracts from our friend's diary:—

'*May* 24 [1841].—He [G. A. Selwyn] did not know what to do. I never saw him so much depressed. This I mentioned to Harrison at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel dinner. Hawkins had seen G. A. S. at S. Paul's, and had said, "Well, if —— cannot go, we must alter the documents, and you can go." He repeated this idea to Archdeacon Hale at the Lord Mayor's dinner, who immediately repeated the words to Bishop Blomfield (who much liked the idea), and he to the Archbishop (Howley). We assured Hale that G. A. S., if properly invited, would be ready at any moment to set off. Hawkins was for starting immediately, in the morning, to Eton, but I checked this, because I was sure that the proposal ought to come officially to our good friend.'

'*Monday, May* 31.—The Bishop of London received an answer from G. A. S., saying that the same reasons which would have prevented him from seeking the bishopric, would prevent his declining it. The bishop was much pleased, but said he could not hastily take advantage of a spirit so noble. He wished Hawkins to go and see G. A. S. Meantime he had a letter from the Archbishop to Lord John [Russell], recommending G. A. S., which he was to send or not, as he liked. Ernest Hawkins went to Eton, and was confirmed in his feeling that G. A. S. was ready to go. He returned to London, and the bishop sent the letter to Lord John.'

No reply came from the Government for more than a month. At length the tardy document arrived, approving of Mr. Selwyn, but intimating that the Government stipend, 600*l.* per annum, being dependent on a vote of Parliament, might not be forthcoming. On this the Archbishop said that the promise could not be held to be binding until the grant was secured; but Mr. Selwyn said he was 'now determined to go even though no funds were forthcoming.'

The diary from which we have been allowed to make extracts contains many notices of the plans which the future bishop was forming day by day. For one more extract, as

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bearing on matters of wider interest than the fate of a particular diocese, we must find room. It is as follows:—

'A statement of objections to the Patent was sent in by Baddeley and Hope, but was not attended to. The bishop, however, had had a conference with the Crown lawyers, and had carried most of the points for which he cared,[1] especially that his Patent should be irrevocable, subject only to his voluntary resignation, and that he should be allowed to appoint archdeacons by his own authority. He could not get erased the Erastian expression of "the Queen giving him power to ordain;" so he addressed to Lord Stanley a protest against it, which is now in the Foreign Office.'

These preliminaries completed, there was no delay on the bishop's part. Consecrated on October 17, he sailed from Plymouth on S. Stephen's Day. He always acted with soldier-like promptitude; his mind was made up rapidly, and yet he was never in a hurry; his promptitude was the natural result of principles formed long before. With what plans he started for New Zealand, those who can read his famous sermon,[2] preached in Exeter Cathedral a few days before he sailed, may learn for themselves. He had already studied the functions of Cathedral bodies, and had formed a high conception of what a Cathedral should be, which was recorded in his letter to Mr. Gladstone. In his sermon he draws a picture of what Cathedrals had been in the past, when 'they who first planted in England a new branch of the vine of Christ, took care to fence it round, and our Cathedral precincts were made the fenced and guarded vineyards of the Lord, the stationary camp of the soldiers of the cross, the rallying point of baffled and disheartened pastors, the fold of the shepherdless and scattered sheep.' We have no space for lengthy quotations, much as we should like to put on record so admirable a catalogue of Cathedral duties and uses: it is enough to add that the preacher drew from the history of the missionary past of England a cheering answer to the question contained in the text (Ps. 137, v. 4), and declared that he went forth in good heart 'to lay the corner stone of the Church of Christ in the most distant of the isles of the sea.' The concluding words of his sermon show how definite were the plans which he had formed, and on this account we may perhaps be allowed to quote them:—

[1] Letters Patent are now nearly obsolete; but our readers will be surprised to find that in those which are still issued the above obnoxious expressions are found, either in terms, or by implication and reference to former Letters Patent.

[2] *How shall we sing the Lord's Song in a strange Land?* London: Longmans, 1842.

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'May we have both the spirit to preach the Gospel and the strength to arise and build the Temple of the Lord! May we also have our cathedral church in which we may sing the Lord's song with a voice of melody! And may God grant that from that central reservoir we may pour forth streams of living water to feed the sheep whom God has given to our care. There may the young be taught and the servant of Christ be trained up for his ministry; there may the books of the holy Fathers of the Church minister to the godly learning of every succeeding generation; there may the elders of the Church sit in council for the public good, and there may the ordinances of daily prayer and weekly communion shadow forth the unwearied service of the angels of God; there, too, may the hungry be fed, and the naked clothed, and the sick healed; and, above all, there may the poor have the gospel preached to them.'

To anticipate somewhat, it seems right to point out that, although on his arrival in New Zealand he expressed his thankfulness at 'being in a position such as was never granted to any English bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the Church from the beginning according to true principles,[1] the genius of his original and sagacious mind, which in many ways made him unconventional in speech and action, never tempted him to devise new ways, or to think that he could improve on the examples and precedents of antiquity.

The voyage of four months was no idle time with the bishop; for himself he learned two things: (1) the Maori language, which he acquired so perfectly that, on landing in New Zealand, he was able to speak freely to the natives; (2) the art of navigation, which afterwards, on many voyages, enabled him to be his own sailing master in small vessels and on almost unknown seas; neither was he content with studying for his own profit; he had classes every day in Maori, Greek, and Hebrew, with his companions. After four months he landed at Sydney, and took counsel with Bishop Broughton, whose experiences in the pioneering work of the Church in New South Wales, and to a small extent in New Zealand,

[1] As an historical contrast the readers of Arnold's *Life* will remember two passages in his letters which show in how different a light he contemplated the possibility of a colonial see falling to his lot. To Sir Thomas Pasley he wrote January 25, 1840, 'I have often thought of New Zealand, and if they would make you governor and me bishop, I would go out, I think, to-morrow, if there were any prospect of rearing any hopeful form of society'—(p. 505). In his last illness he said to a favourite pupil, 'One inducement I should have if they would send me as bishop to any of the Australian Colonies, that there should be at least one bishop in those parts who would *endeavour to build up a Church according to* MY IDEA *of what a true Church should be*'—(p. 666).

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were of much value. During his stay he preached in what had for many years been Marsden's church, and he received from the son-in-law of the old pioneer, whom Selwyn always called the founder of the New Zealand Church, a copy of Hooker's works which had been Mr. Marsden's property. In acknowledging an address from the bishop and clergy, he alluded to this gift, and said 'he was sure Mr. Marsden would have rejoiced to have seen that polity carried out in New Zealand, and the Church planted there in her fulness.' A delay arose at Sydney in consequence of the ship which was to take him to New Zealand being under repair; the bishop and his chaplain, therefore, started in a small brig, leaving Mrs. Selwyn and the rest of the party to follow, and on May 30, 1842, he landed at Auckland. Although never in a hurry, the rapidity with which the bishop carried out his plans was extraordinary. He refused from the first to accept land from the Government, knowing that the gift would be fettered by conditions and obligations which would render it valueless. He procured and consecrated two large burial-grounds for the church, and obtained from the Governor two similar plots to be divided among other denominations, thus providing from the first against possible Osborne Morgans. Three churches were commenced in Auckland, and thirty acres of land were purchased for the site of the cathedral and cathedral close.

In less than two months from the date of his landing things had so far assumed shape and order in Auckland and in the Bay of Islands that the Bishop felt himself free to visit the more distant parts, and in a small brig he started for Wellington and Nelson. It was about this time that he uttered his famous saying, 'I hope the title of a dignitary of the Church will never be heard in New Zealand;' so when he appointed Mr. W. Williams (who died within the present year Bishop of Waiapu) Archdeacon of the East Coast, he told him that it was 'no peacock's feather to distinguish one clergyman above another, but a pledge binding him to a partnership of helpfulness and work.' He further declared his intention of appointing in all four archdeacons, and thus he secured in each part of the diocese officers distinctly responsible to himself. Thanks to his powers of enduring fatigue, every settlement and every clergyman and catechist was seen by the Bishop before the end of 1842. The first anniversary of his consecration (October 17) was spent in a tent on the sandhills at Wai Pateke, with no companions except three natives, and the comparison with the scenes of the previous year 'brought with it no feelings of discontent.' On Jan. 3,

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1843, the Bishop returned to Auckland, and the following entry in his diary will show in what plight:—

'*Tuesday, January* 3.—My last pair of thick shoes being worn out, and my feet much blistered with walking the day before on the stumps, which I was obliged to tie to my insteps with pieces of native flax (*phormium tenax*), I borrowed a horse from the native teacher, and started at four a.m. to go twelve miles to Manukau harbour. The suit which I wore was kept sufficiently decent, by much care, to enable me to enter Auckland by daylight; and my last remaining pair of shoes (thin ones) were strong enough for the light and sandy walk of six miles which remained from Manukau to Auckland. At two p.m. I reached the Judge's house, by a path, avoiding the town, and passing over land which I have bought for the site of the cathedral; a spot which I hope may hereafter be traversed by the feet of many bishops, better shod and far less ragged than myself.'

It would be an easy task to fill a bulky volume with the interesting details of the Bishop's incessant travels by land and sea; this, however, is far from our purpose. We can only hope that the whole story of his life-long and abundant labours may find a competent chronicler, and may be given to the world in a manner which shall be worthy of it. Having in a six months' visitation grasped the conditions of his diocese as a whole, the Bishop now proceeded to strengthen the centre. At Waimate, 140 miles from Auckland, he established his own head-quarters, making his residence S. John's College, and establishing a Collegiate School hard by. Here he held his first Confirmation, 325 natives presenting themselves. The little college opened with seven students: four were ordained in the following autumn, and were sent to outposts, all the students having placed themselves at the Bishop's entire and absolute disposal. The prospects of the increased usefulness of the college cheered the Bishop, as his hopes of a steady supply of clergymen from England were lessened. The institution was, in 1844, moved to the neighbourhood of Auckland, to which the Bishop had transferred his own residence, although he was rarely stationary there for more than a few weeks at a time. The system of the college was entirely the Bishop's own, except so far as it was a reproduction of ancient examples, for which he had a firm veneration. In his own words, he aimed from the first at 'keeping up the whole framework of the institution, however imperfectly the objects may be carried out, as the staff officers of the militia are retained, when the regiments themselves are disbanded.' There were, therefore, from the first, a large school-building

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and bishop's residence, with library and rooms for the lay workers, a kitchen and dining-hall under another roof, a hospital in charge of a deacon, a chapel and a native industrial school, in which he gathered New Zealand lads from all parts of the diocese, a day school, which Mrs. Selwyn kept, and a printing-house. Apart from the collegiate buildings were the barn, the dairy, the stable, the rick-yard, and the carpenter's shop, 'all intended to catch the earliest dispositions to industry in the line to which the students are naturally inclined.' There were also, after the example of cathedrals in old time, seven affiliated chapels within a radius of five miles, which were served by the college staff.

The whole conception of the college showed an instinctive knowledge of what was best, both for the natives and for the colonists, and above all, for the Church. The system was not understood even in New Zealand, and in Australia it furnished food for ridicule. As to the Maoris, the Bishop foresaw that without careful and systematic training, relapses into the heathenism which they had easily thrown aside would be sure to occur. He wrote :—

'We are apt to forget the laborious processes by which we acquired in early life the routine duties of cleanliness, order, method, and punctuality ; and we often expect to find ready made in a native people the qualities which we ourselves have learned with difficulty, and which our own countrymen rapidly lose in the unsettled and irresponsible slovenliness of colonial life. We want a large supply of Oberlins and Felix Neffs, who, having no sense of their own dignity, will think nothing below it ; and who will go into the lowest and darkest corner of the native character, to see where the difficulty lies which keeps them back from being assimilated to ourselves. They have received the Gospel freely, and with an unquestioning faith : but the unfavourable tendency of native habits is every day dragging back many into the state of sin from which they seemed to have escaped. There is scarcely anything so small as not to affect the permanence of Christianity in this country. We require men who will number every hair of a native's head, as part of the work of Him who made and redeemed the world. It is not likely that men like Mr. Cotton and myself, brought up at the most aristocratic school in England, in the midst of amusement, luxury, and idleness, should have *theorised* a system which reduced us to a style and habits of life altogether different from those to which we had been accustomed ; but the complicated problem of the foundation of the Church in New Zealand seemed to find no other solution than that to which we have been led by the guidance, first of Scripture, and then of Church history and of practical observation. We found a native people, whose bane was desultory work interrupted by total idleness. With them the belief was fast gaining ground, that work

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was incompatible with the character of a gentleman. To waste their occasional earnings, the price of their lands, on useless horses or cast-off dress coats, seemed to be the sum of their political economy. To appear in full dress at the morning service, and then to relapse into the more congenial *deshabille* of a blanket, was the form in which their respect was shown to the Sunday.'

For the colonists he foresaw the peril of false pride and assumption of superiority from the presence of a surrounding race, supposed to be inferior to themselves, and from the degradation to which honest labour was subjected by the class of servile natives who clustered round the Colonial towns.

'This then,'—we are quoting the Bishop's own words—'was the difficult problem. To raise the character of both races, by humbling them; to hinder, so far as positive institutions may avail, the growth of that shabby, mean, and worthless race of upstart gentlemen, who are ashamed to dig but not to beg, whose need never excites them to industry, and whose pride never teaches them self-respect. Such a class is a nuisance at home, but it would be intolerable in a new country.'

In the college, too, with its course of general education, the Bishop saw the only hope of an indigenous white ministry. No pledges were taken or desired. The sons of farmers were trained in manual labour, as well as in those matters which commonly range under the title of 'education,' and always under the Bishop's eye. If in time a youth displayed spiritual qualifications, which pointed him out as one fitted for a course of study, which would lead to ordination, so much the better for the Church. If, on the other hand, it seemed desirable that he should follow a secular calling, again the Church was served, for he went forth trained to do his part as a layman, and the ranks of the clergy were not burdened by an incompetent or ill-qualified member.

Never, probably, was bishop or priest more happy in his work and prospects than was our bishop in the first few years of his residence in Auckland. Frequently he declared that missionary life in New Zealand had no hardships. In his journals, he seems to revel in the beauty of the country, in the prospects of the Colony, and in the gradual working-out of his plans, which lay before his mind clear as a well-drawn diagram.

'Look at the position of Auckland,' he wrote to a friend in England, 'and judge whether it may not justly be called the Corinth of the South, and join with me in the prayer that its people may be our Epistle known and read of all men. On our College estate we have three distinct frontages to navigable waters. Every boy will

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grow up with a familiar knowledge of that element which has protected and enriched the land of his forefathers, and, as there never was a maritime people who did not become great and prosperous, my faith is that New Zealand will be a great country, and it is our duty to strive that it may be as good as it will be great.'

To a man of his physical powers, delighting in outdoor exercise and especially happy on board ship, the life which duty called him to lead must have been, to say the least, congenial. None but a man in high spirits, full of faith and hope, could have written the following passage when starting in a ship of twenty-one tons on a voyage of three thousand miles :—

'Suppose me, on one of our bright moonlight nights, in which a small print can be read with ease, embarked on board the schooner "Undine," twenty-one tons, the successor to the "Flying Fish." In my cabin are several English students of S. John's College, a good store of books, and above all, of writing materials; for the sea is not altogether ἀτρύγετος to me; for here, as you may see by the dates of my letters, I gather in the vintage of my correspondence and express a wine, which, with all its other defects, has not that of being "*maris expers*." The anchor is weighed: we are not long in clearing the harbour, and after many looks at the lights in the windows of the College—which by its commanding position demands a Pharos, as I hope it will hereafter deserve a library, like that of Alexandria—we enter on the first stage of our voyage.'

These pleasant and congenial labours were interrupted by many troubles and anxieties, foremost among which was the oft-recurring land question, and the strifes between colonists and natives that were thus engendered. There were also inter-tribal wars among the natives. As early as 1843 there was the Kororareka insurrection, headed by John Heké, which came to a head in the following year. The Bishop, hearing that the first shot had been fired and that troops had been despatched, followed in his own little ship. After two or three days of skirmishing, the flagstaff, which was supposed to be the emblem of British rule, was cut down, and Heké danced the war-dance in the Bishop's face. This was only the prelude to another outbreak, in which the Bishop endeavoured to act as peace-maker, and an old chief, Te Heuheu, gave a good deal of trouble. H.M.S. 'Hazard' was blown out to sea, and for a week the English were almost undefended. Three hundred Christian natives had come to the Bishop for the purpose of being confirmed, and there were serious thoughts of using them as soldiers—a part which they were by no means unwilling to play. At length the Bishop

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and a Government official went to the natives, who were prepared for the attack, and the old chief rose and said, 'You have acted like gentlemen in coming,' and called on his men to do honour to the Pakeha; in a few minutes the whole party were in retreat and the chance of bloodshed was over, to the Bishop's great joy. These outbreaks, which sadly interfered with the work of the Church, were hard to repress, and the Bishop had his share in allaying them, and more than his share in the anxiety which they caused.

A government of an uncivilised or half-civilised people can rest only on confidence. When we first began to colonise New Zealand our rule was welcomed by both colonists and natives. All acts of the Government were zealously watched by the Bishop and the missionaries, in the interests of the natives; for a long time the Colonial Parliament, as distinct from the Imperial, did not exist: the question who was to be supreme was not settled; even when in the Northern Island the Maories set up a king of their own, non-intervention was still the rule. But in native affairs a double government is impossible, and colonial legislatures, whose members speak of England as 'home,' manage their government as a tenant manages a rack-rent farm: posterity has done nothing for them, and they will repay posterity in its own coin; their policy is therefore limited to the present. Thus it was in 1863, when the 'insurrection,' so called, of William Tamihana was crushed by main force; the Bishop was asked by the Governor to mediate: he attended a meeting on a Sunday, and heard Tamihana preach on the text, 'Behold how good and joyful a thing it is to dwell together in unity,' on which he advocated a fusion of all the tribes in one Maori nation. The Bishop asked permission to preach to the Maories in the afternoon, and took the same text, pleading for the union of Maori and Pakeha and showing that the fusion was possible only by both obeying the same king and the same Lord.[1] His efforts were

[1] His address on this occasion was singularly characteristic. He began thus:—'Here am I, a mediator for New Zealand. My work is mediation. I am not merely a Pakeha, or a Maori; I am a half-caste. I have eaten your food, I have slept in your houses; I have talked with you, journeyed with you, prayed with you, partaken of the Holy Communion with you. Therefore I say I am a half-caste. I cannot rid myself of my half-caste: it is in my body, in my flesh, in my bones, in my sinews. Yes, we are all of us half-castes. Your dress is half-caste—a Maori mat and English clothes; your strength is half-caste—your courage Maori, your weapons English guns. Your soldiers are half-caste—the man a Maori, the uniform and word of command English. Your "mana" (authority) is half-caste—a Maori office with an English name. Your faith is half-caste—the first preachers, your fathers in God, English,

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not successful, and for the colonists the only plan which their wisdom could produce was the confiscation of the land of the (so-called) rebels—an allotment of part of it to military pensioners, who should in return protect the colonists in their placid toil of speculation, a sale of another portion to future immigrants, who should thus defray the cost of the war, and the reservation of the rest for the conquered natives, who were expected at once to give up their hereditary habits, and to settle down as respectable farmers on terms of peace with the Pakeha intruders.

The land difficulty had been much complicated by the fact that the Church Missionary Society's missionaries held nearly 100,000 acres, far beyond the proportion which settlers were allowed by law to possess. The Governor asked the Bishop to persuade the missionaries to accept the terms proposed in order to prevent measures which would be a scandal to Christianity. The Bishop did not shrink from this [or any other] task to which duty called him. He implored the missionaries 'not to alienate the confidence and the support of the natives for the sake of a few barren acres, and to renounce the pride of ownership for the moral husbandry of Christ's kingdom in the harvest of souls.'

In the face of all these external troubles the Bishop was busied in the extension of his work. From the first his orderly and methodical mind prepared for the self-government of the Church. So early as 1844 he held the first synod of the diocese, the first experiment of the kind made in our communion since Convocation was silenced in the mother Church. He was surrounded by three archdeacons, four other priests, and two deacons. The subjects debated were limited to questions of Church discipline and Church extension, and many high authorities in England declared the meeting to be illegal. In 1847 a second synod was held, in which the Bishop read a correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, which proposed a Church constitution in which bishops, clergy, and laity should be represented. In 1850 a meeting of the six bishops of Australasia was held in a timid fashion at Sydney; they scrupulously guarded themselves from the possibility of infringing the royal supremacy;

your own hearts the mother, to whom was born faith. Therefore, I say, we are all half-castes; therefore, let us dwell together with one faith, one love, and one law,' &c., &c.—Cf. *The Maori King*. Macmillan: London, 1864. By J. E. Gorst, Esq., M.A., M.P., Q.C. (a colonist superior to the greed of his class).

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but they put forth a declaration on the doctrine of holy baptism, signed by five Bishops, the sixth, Bishop Perry, publishing his own views on the subject in a separate document. They established a Board of Missions (of which more presently), and they recommended a Church constitution, in which laity were united with the clergy. Two years later the laity of New Zealand, headed by the Governor, petitioned for a share in Church legislation, and in 1859 the first general Synod of New Zealand was held, at which there were present three bishops and a number of priests and laymen. It has been objected that in the welcome which he gave to laymen in synod the Bishop showed himself deficient in a knowledge of Church law and ancient precedent, and surely the average colonist cannot be credited with special gifts which would add much value to his counsel in synod; but, after the unhappy blunder of last year, when in the Kaiapoi case, four Bishops, under the presidency of Bishop Suter, of Nelson, condemned the Rev. H. E. Carlyon for holding doctrine which was 'not the doctrine of the Church of New Zealand,' but which is entirely legitimate in England, the blame and the guilt of affirming stark Zuinglianism lies at the door, not of the laity, but of a majority of the episcopate of New Zealand.

In another way the Bishop from the first consolidated the Church. He did not wait until he found a perfect convert; every baptized Maori was to him a plant bearing seed, and from the first he sent them forth to plead with their brethren. For frequent failure he was of course prepared, but in faith he sent them forth. In 1846 two Maori converts went, at the Bishop's bidding, to preach to a tribe with whom their own tribe had been at war, and the attempt cost them their lives; but their martyr deaths were, as in many other cases has happened, the seed of the Church. In crossing a 'tide-rip' in one of his early visitations the Bishop saw a Maori lad wrap his head in his blanket when danger seemed imminent, and utter a howl of prayer to 'the dragon god;' with Pauline insight he detected in this action a spiritual faculty, and he took the lad under his special care, and in 1853 Rota Waitoa was ordained the first of eighteen Maoris whom the Bishop admitted to holy orders, and of whom not one ever proved unfaithful. What a contrast is this to the progress of an indigenous ministry in India, in Africa, in North America, and still more in Australia, where the very mention of the natives is a scandal to us! In 1848 the Bishop first felt himself at liberty to look beyond the limits of New Zealand proper; the Archbishop of Canterbury had bidden him think

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of the scattered islands of the Pacific; the Colonial Office (in days when competitive examinations had not barred the entrance to the Civil Service) had made a geographical blunder in his letters patent, and assigned to him a diocese from 50 degrees of S. latitude to 34 degrees of N. latitude, and this he took with amused gravity in a literal sense. Accident placed at his disposal in this year a passage in H.M.S. 'Dido.' This primary voyage was limited to an inspection of the missionary work of Romanists and Protestant Dissenters. In 1849 the Bishop sailed in the 'Undine,' visiting many islands, and bringing back five scholars to Auckland; in the following year the same islands were revisited; in 1851 the Bishop of Newcastle accompanied him in the 'Border Maid,' and in this voyage it was that the perilous visit was paid to Malicolo, when the Bishop of Newcastle, from the deck of the ship, saw preparations made on shore for the massacre of his friend who had landed, and could do nothing for him but pray for his safety, for the Bishop never allowed any weapons on board his yacht. The society of Bishop Tyrrell, his old companion in the 'Lady Margaret' boat at Cambridge, was due to the arrangement made in Sydney in 1850, when the Australian churches pledged themselves to share the work of the Melanesian mission, but this was the only occasion on which personal help was given. The Dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle provided the 'Border Maid,' of nearly 100 tons burthen; but Selwyn regretted the loss of the little 'Undine,' 'a friend at once so faithful and so cheap,' which had carried his flag (a mitre and three stars) over 20,000 miles of water, 'with no damage beyond two five-shilling spars.' In 1852 and 1853 the voyages were repeated: the method of the Bishop's missionary work is a thrice-told tale—we need not repeat how he swam and waded ashore, and confronted a crowd of cannibals, awing them by the dignity of his presence, and winning them by the sweetness of his manner. The patient repetition of this work year after year, itself no mean evidence of the greatness of his character, bore fruit in time. The number of lads entrusted to his care increased annually, and the necessity of having a winter school in some warmer zone than that of Auckland became apparent; but it was now also evident that the growth of the Melanesian mission and the subdivision of his diocese, on which his mind was resolutely set, demanded his presence in England, and in 1854 his arrival was welcomed by the whole Church, all classes uniting to do him honour. If much had been

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expected from him when he went forth, he had more than fulfilled the highest expectations of those who knew him most intimately.

The Bishop's addresses both in Church and at meetings gave a distinct lift to the existing sympathy with missions. He had proposed to resign the 600*l.* per annum which the Church Missionary Society had guaranteed to him, and now the Government withdrew the other moiety of his income; but he declared his intention of going back, and 'trying how to live on nothing,' expressing at the same time his satisfaction at not having accepted the recently vacated see of Sydney, as the difficulty of finding a successor to a barren see would have been great. He ultimately divided the Society's grant into two portions, giving 200*l.* per annum to Bishop Williams, of Waiapu, and reserving 400*l.* per annum for himself, which amount he continued to receive as long as he remained Bishop of New Zealand. His chief utterance during his visit to England was at Cambridge, where his four sermons on *The Work of Christ in the World* were masterpieces: of their visible results the most prominent was that Charles Frederic Mackenzie was moved by the arguments of the preacher to offer himself for mission work. The bishop pleaded that the primate should always have about him a band of young men 'ready to go anywhere and to do anything.' It had been his own conviction long ago, and all men knew that his own action had been in accordance with it. 'In the crowded cities of India or China, in the plains of Africa, or among the unnumbered islands of the Pacific Ocean,' he thought there might be found 'outlets for the excited and sensitive spirit of the Church at home,' in which men who were called 'rebels' in England might be free 'to serve God and to win souls.' Everywhere the bishop pleaded for unity and charity. It was a time of great tension. The wrong done by the Gorham case was fresh in men's minds; there were keen controversies on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and the Tribunal which had usurped the supreme jurisdiction on these high matters had already incurred the suspicion, which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has on every subsequent occasion justified and confirmed. The words of the preacher are worth recording:

'Questions like those which now agitate men's minds must be tried by the balance of the sanctuary, or they must be left untried. The coarse and clumsy processes of common law cannot analyse the ethereal elements of the doctrines which link together the life that now is with that which is to come. To bring in aliens from other

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professions to judge on legal grounds alone of the meaning of words which can have no meaning at all but by their inward power and application to the heart, would be to deny to the Church, which will hereafter judge angels, the power to judge herself.'

Probably his strong yearning for union occasionally exposed him to misunderstanding: when, for example, he said, 'in the region of practical duty we find our test of necessary doctrine;' and again, 'the range of necessary doctrine is that which is attainable by all,' he was accused, not altogether unreasonably, of depreciating the queen of sciences, which was surely the last thing he would have done.[1]

In 1855 the Bishop returned to New Zealand, accompanied by Mr. Patteson. It is no slight proof of the force of his character that it attracted to his side, and to a partnership in his labours, such men as Patteson, Whytehead, Cotton, besides others who have survived him. Each and all of these gave up prospects in England bright enough to tempt and to satisfy more than moderate ambition. Although he did not for the next six years resign his personal share in the Melanesian work, the story is so wrapped up with the familiar biography of Patteson, that we shall say no more about it. In 1856 he made a voyage in the new ship, 'The Southern Cross,' in which he reached a latitude farther north than in any previous voyage. On this occasion it was that Patteson showed how well fitted he was for the work, which had led him to give up home and friends. The Pitcairn Colony had been settled at Norfolk Island in the previous year, and Mrs. Selwyn spent eight weeks at this place, while the mission ship was making her way among the Banks' and Solomon Islands. In 1860 the pupils literally had outgrown the college at Auckland, and an estate was purchased at Kohimarama, a little distance from the city. It had been impossible to find a central station at which the Melanesians might live all the year. The Pitcairners and their unwise friends at home objected to Norfolk Island being shared by the mission party. Patteson had spent one winter with his boys at Lifu, but the Dissenters resented this as an intrusion. Another winter he had spent at Mota, and it was not until 1867 that the mission was planted at Norfolk Island.

Meanwhile the subdivision of the diocese on which the Bishop had set his heart had been pushed on rapidly. In

[1] Vide *Memoir of Rev. J. Keble*, p. 408. 'Impossible as it is not to admire and love him, he makes me *shiver* now and then with his Protestantisms, crying up the Church Missionary Society, and abusing Becket at S. Augustine's as "a haughty prelate."'

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1856, the see of Christ Church was founded, and two years later the sees of Wellington, Nelson, and Waiapu. Dunedin waited until 1866 for the consecration of its Bishop, and the unhappy Jenner case gave great trouble both in England and in New Zealand. Bishop Selwyn held strongly that Bishop Jenner had been duly elected, and had been unjustly treated.

In 1861, Mr. Patteson was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia. The question of appointing missionary bishops for countries outside the Queen's dominions had caused great searchings of heart at home. Lawyers, whom the Primate consulted, said that to do so would be illegal, would infringe the Queen's prerogative, and in short, there was no limit to the terrible things which would follow. When, at last, the step was decided on, the Crown lawyers demanded the exact geographical limits of the see of Central Africa, and Bishop Gray suggested the Mountains of the Moon; but at the antipodes none of these momentous questions were raised. Mr. Patteson was consecrated, and his head-quarters were for years within three miles of the residence of the Bishop of New Zealand. We have often heard Bishop Selwyn say that no difficulty ever arose from the presence of two bishops in one see, and that in India, where the Church suffers from a skeleton episcopate, it would be perfectly safe to put down bishops at stations suggested by the exigencies of each locality, such as variety of languages, and the like, with no territorial limits assigned to them as dioceses, but with a general understanding that Nelson's advice to the captains of his fleet, 'whenever you are in doubt what to do, you can never do wrong in bringing your ship alongside of the enemy,' applied to the leaders of the spiritual contest. Wherever, as in the case of Selwyn, the *motif* of an episcopate is leadership in the work of aggression, the result is the extension and vigorous life of the Church. Where, as is too frequently the case, the *motif* is the 'exercise of coercive jurisdiction,' the result is repression of zeal, which either finds abnormal modes of action, or sinks into sullen apathy or morbid discontent.

Though relieved of the burden of the Melanesian work, the Bishop found his troubles increasing on him in New Zealand. The wars, already mentioned as having been intermittent for twenty years, culminated in the Hau-hau superstition, a medley of every creed, in which numbers of the people relapsed into heathenism. This was the heaviest trial that could befall the Bishop, and it was just a trial that showed the true nobility of the man. Amid the cannibalism

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and savagery, to which whole tribes had reverted, the Bishop wrote in 1863 to the Bishop of Adelaide :—

'I have now one simple missionary idea before me—of watching over the remnant that is left. Our native work is a remnant in two senses : the remnant of a decaying people, and the remnant of a decaying faith. The works of which you hear are not the works of heathens : they are the works of baptized men, whose love has grown cold from causes common to all churches of neophytes from Laodicæa downwards.'

In 1867, the Bishop paid his second visit to England. The Lambeth Conference he regarded as 'the most important event that had befallen the English Church since the Reformation.' He avowed that he came as a learner ; but the part which he played in the assembly was that of a leader. He had seen the working out of his plans during the past twelve years, and now he was on surer ground, and he spoke with much more confidence. Events too had happened at home which had abundantly justified his policy, and had thrown the Colonial Churches on their own spiritual constitution. Everywhere his theme was unity between the Mother and Daughter Churches. The Privy Council had shown that the dream of a *Church of England* in Africa, or in Australia, or in New Zealand was a phantom, which mocked law, grammar, geography and history ; and when the legal tie proved valueless, the people who put their trust in law, and who knew nothing of an Anglican Communion extending over both hemispheres, foresaw nothing but chaos. Excellent was the ready retort which the Bishop, who was expatiating on the intense affection of the Colonial Churches towards the Mother Church, made to Lord Harrowby at the Wolverhampton Church Congress. The noble lord interrupted the Bishop by saying *sotto voce*, 'You have cut the painter.' This, indeed, was a rash and unworthy charge often laid at the Bishop's door, both in New Zealand and in England, but the retort was crushing :—

'No ! we have not cut the painter, it has parted of itself, and we are now engaged in forging a more enduring cable, like the invisible and immaterial bonds which anchor the planets to the sun. I have learned in that great Pacific Ocean, on which my islands lie like little gems, to pray for the grace of God to enable us to distil from the great ocean of the Catholic Church this essential salt of unity, and with that salt to season all our sacrifices, whether prayer, praise, or almsgiving, and whether at home or abroad, may that sacrifice be acceptable to God through the One Perfect All-sufficient Sacrifice offered once for all.'

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The Wolverhampton Congress of 1867 was the last appearance in public of good Bishop Lonsdale, and on his death the see of Lichfield was offered to Bishop Selwyn, and at once declined; it was not until the Sovereign and the Primate pressed it on his acceptance that he felt it his duty to yield. To have still held out would have been to contradict the guiding principle of his life, obedience; but how much it cost him to yield only those who were nearest to him know. As he said, at a meeting at Oxford, with a humour that was partly grim and partly sad :—

'It may be objected that I am no fit advocate of Missionary work, seeing that I have forsaken it. All I can say is, I have had nothing to do with the change, except to obey. Twenty-seven years ago I was told to go to New Zealand, and I went; I am now told to go to Lichfield, and I go.'

There was one very painful task before him ere the severance from his great work was complete; it was necessary that he should again visit New Zealand, to set in order the countless trusts and other organisations of which he was the chief sharer, and to arrange for a successor to himself. Before doing so, he organised in his new diocese synodical action in a manner more thorough than the slower progress of other English dioceses had attained after years of effort. He met the clergy and laity in forty-four rural deaneries, in each of three archdeaconries, and in one great diocesan gathering, where there were 1,000 laymen and between 500 and 600 clergymen. His plans were subjected to severe criticism, and much excitement was stirred up. Lord Harrowby objected to the term Synod, and the obnoxious word threatened to split up the meeting; but with a sweet smile, which perhaps covered some lurking contempt for the puerile objection, the Bishop rose and said, 'I had rather be in a conference with my Lord Harrowby than in a synod without him;' and so the difficulty vanished, and the Bishop's scheme was floated. A glance at the Lichfield Diocesan Calendar shows how complete is the system of representation; a record of what has been accomplished will show that these gatherings have achieved useful results in the sphere which was proposed to them, of 'practical, not legislative, work.' Before leaving for his hurried journey to the antipodes, the love of New Zealand colonists now resident in England, took the substantial shape of a pastoral staff, which was presented to the Bishop in London. The fourth General Synod of New Zealand was held under his presidency in Auckland, in

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October 1868; it lasted for fourteen days, and then came the painful severance. On the day of his departure all business was suspended: a farewell service was held in S. Paul's Church, and thousands thronged the streets and the quay to take yet another look at New Zealand's great apostle. The address from the Maori Church was pathetic to the last degree; it ended thus:—

'O Father, greeting. Go to your own country: go, the grace of God accompany you; go on the face of the deep waters. Father, take hence with you the commandments of God, leaving the people here bewildered. Who can tell that after your departure things will be with us as well as during your stay? Our love for you and our remembrance of you will never cease. For you will be separated from us in your bodily presence, and your countenance will be hidden from our eyes. Enough! this concludes our words of farewell to you, from your children.'

Hardly less enthusiastic was the feeling in Sydney, where the Bishop spent a few days.

Of his work in Lichfield we can only write briefly. It is known to the whole Church how from the first he grafted on the traditions of a venerable episcopate the unconventional habits which had been formed among the colonists. His predecessors had lived at Eccleshall Castle, which was remote from the Cathedral city and inaccessible to all, not being near to any railway station; Bishop Selwyn at once made his home in Lichfield, adding to the existing buildings sufficient rooms in which to lodge the candidates for ordination at the Ember seasons, and the other guests who were constantly coming to the palace for counsel and comfort. He established a scheme by which candidates for Holy Orders, who were unable to bear the cost of an University education, or even of a lengthened course at a Theological College, could offer themselves for examination at intervals of six months, remaining in their secular callings, and so maintaining themselves, or working for a small stipend as lay-helpers with episcopal licence, before coming to the college for their final course of study. By this means a supply of clergy was forthcoming, which gave the diocese the services of men well trained for pastoral work under the eye of the Bishop.

From the first all synodical arrangements had been made under a full conviction that the diocese must be speedily divided; this, indeed, the Bishop has not lived to see, but pending the solution of difficulties, some inevitable, some intentionally placed in the way of a consummation so much to be desired, the next best thing has been done. The ser-

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vices of his two suffragans in New Zealand, Bishops Abraham and Hobhouse, have been secured for the diocese, and it will henceforth be impossible to revert to the former system; an amount of work has been done, and machinery has been set in motion which it will now be equally impossible to arrest or for one man to accomplish. It was a disappointment to Bishop Selwyn that the subdivision of his populous diocese had not been accomplished, and we remember hearing him express at a public meeting his great regret that the law would not allow him permanently to alienate from the income of his see 800*l.* per annum for each of the proposed dioceses, as the Bishop of Exeter had been allowed to do in the interests of the see of Truro.

In the midst of the engrossing labours of his diocese, he never lost sight of the Colonial and American Churches, and of the duties which his office of Permanent Secretary of the Lambeth Conference imposed upon him. In 1871 he attended by invitation the General Convention of the Church of the United States, held at Baltimore: his presence and his frequent utterances both in the pulpit and in either House of the Convention caused the greatest enthusiasm. It was determined that a visit so unprecedented should be marked by some permanent memorial, but the Bishop declined to receive anything which should be personal to himself, and the result was a magnificent almsdish, which he was asked to present to the English Episcopate collectively, to be kept by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and used 'on such occasions as might be deemed appropriate.' The formal presentation was made in S. Paul's Cathedral on July 3, 1872, at the anniversary service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and on the next day, a great anniversary in the States, Bishop Selwyn telegraphed the following appropriate message to the Bishop of New York: 'Alms-bason presented yesterday in S. Paul's Cathedral. Independence is not disunion.' Bishop Potter published the message, and added:

'It was a kindly and graceful impulse, on their part, to give such dignity to the reception of our offering of love, and to send to us such a message on such a day, and I am sure it will be warmly appreciated by all the members of our communion on this side of the water. Such is the progress of events since July 4, 1776. Let us hope that peace and goodwill may be maintained to the end of time.'

Before leaving Baltimore, he delivered an address on 'The Principles of Mission Work, and Hindrances to it,' which strikes us as being more remarkable even than his four Cam-

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bridge sermons: it is a most valuable missionary handbook,[1] founded partly on the general rules for the conduct of missionary work which are embodied in apostolic practice; and partly—as illustrating these—on the facts which had confronted himself in his own work. A careful study of the speech leads us to think that had there been more of the Selwyn spirit in those to whom our mission work has been entrusted, and more of his wisdom in those who from afar off exercise some influence, not to say direction, in the work, our tale of missionary effort in India, in North America, and in Australia would have been other than it is. He denied that 'any intellectual or moral incapacity shut out one single human being from the promises of the Gospel.' He had himself seen the Australian blacks and the Erromango natives, who had on two occasions killed the men who had come to them as messengers of the Gospel; he had been present with one of the former race at the time of his execution, and 'I must say,' added the bishop, 'that with all the imperfect knowledge of our language, with all the difficulty of communication with that man that I had, he left upon my mind, at the moment that his irons were being struck off, the impression that he died with just so much of simple faith as was accepted by Jesus Christ from the penitent on the cross.' Neither did wandering habits of any people shut them out from the Gospel, although it laid on Christians the duty of wandering as they roved from place to place. Where this practical zeal had been shown, there had been no insuperable difficulties. He instanced the case of 4,500 Dakota Indians who had thus been won by the American Church on their own western wilderness. He reminded them that the fabled origin of civilisation came from Orpheus, who

> 'went out with his harp into the woods, and played such captivating strains that the wild men of the woods followed him, and built cities in order that they might ever remain within the sound of that music which so touched their hearts. But we say no; we tell these wild men of the woods, "Come into our cities, give up your wandering lives, and then we will play music to you;" so that the music is to be the end, and not the means; that the Gospel is to be preached to them when they have first accepted that total change of manners which nothing but the Gospel can produce.'

Neither was the supply of men any difficulty, if only we accepted the plenary promise of the great Head of the Church to be with it always.

[1] *Principles of Missionary Work, and Hindrances to it.* Published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

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'It was in the faith and power of this promise that S. Paul commissioned Timothy to deliver the Gospel which he had received from him to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also —five generations of the Christian Church comprised in two short verses of the Epistle to Timothy. It was in that strength and in that spirit that S. Paul directed Titus to go to Crete and to ordain him elders in every city. And who were those Cretans? Always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies; and yet those liars were to be the preachers of Gospel truth; those evil beasts were to lie down with the Lamb of God; out of those slow bellies were to flow forth rivers of living water.'

We have quoted from this unique address at greater length than our space warrants, because it was unfortunately little heard of in England, and it is due to the memory of its author that it find some permanent record. The Bishop visited the United States a second time, when the General Convention was held in New York in 1874. He had in 1872 consecrated the Vicar of Tamworth Bishop of Trinidad, thus linking by yet another tie the Colonial Churches with his own diocese and with himself; and in the following year he had moved in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury for a committee to consider the propriety of asking the Archbishop of Canterbury 'to undertake an office, whatever it might be called, equivalent to that of Patriarch in the ancient Church;' and he based his arguments for such a course on the needs and the interests of the Colonial Churches.

To return once more, and for the last time, to Lichfield. His true conception of the episcopate here, as in New Zealand, put him at the head of the workers of his diocese; with genuine workers he had real sympathy, and he knew their value too well to think of reducing their numbers, or of breaking their spirit either by open persecution or by supercilious neglect. It was matter of real regret to the Bishop's friends that he should have allowed the Public Worship Regulation Act to have passed without protest in his place in Parliament, and in that regret we confess that we still share to the full; but in the diocese of Lichfield the unconstitutional statute has been a dead letter, and the moral courage which the Bishop showed in two cases where faithful priests were assailed by puppet parishioners at the instigation of the Church Association was worthy of himself. He knew that 'Chinese exactness' (an episcopal phrase coined a quarter of a century ago in the interests of laxity) could not be attained. His wish was 'that all clergymen in all sections of the Church should bring their service into strict conformity

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with the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer—but,' he added, 'I must use my own discretion as to the time and circumstances in which I should exercise any authoritative interference to bring about this exact compliance.'

In another case, while he thought that 'great caution should be used' in bringing about by legal force changes in ritual to which congregations were attached, he respected the wishes of a minority of the people, to whom he thought it due that services agreeable to their convictions should be provided at certain times; for the minority in this particular parish a minimum of bald services was secured, while the majority enjoyed the ornate worship day by day which they had learned to love, and thus a *modus vivendi* was secured by the Bishop's wisdom and gentleness. The prisoners in Stafford gaol were among the last persons to whom he ministered. The canal population, so migratory in its habits as to defy parochial organisation, the Bishop considered as a special class, and he provided a special mission, intending in person to make the first voyage in the Diocesan barge which he had caused to be built as a floating church.

It is time to bring to a close this all-imperfect notice of so worthy a life. It is difficult in one word to sum up the varied elements of a great and many-sided character. Mr. Gladstone, with a knowledge dating from the days when they were schoolfellows, declared that it had throughout been 'noble;' it is a comprehensive epithet, and covers all that gave to the life so much of beauty and of moral dignity, and it is in no degree extravagant; in all the varying conditions and surroundings of his career there was the same simplicity of life and the same transparency of character. It may be said with truth that he never uttered an evasive expression or gave ambiguous counsel; he saw the bearings of every question with great rapidity; his principles were already formed, and in obedience to them he fearlessly acted, and for popularity he had the grace not to care a straw. The great simplicity of his life which led him to surround himself with no adventitious pomp or dignity, which made him content when obliged to be in London with rooms in the Lollards' Tower at Lambeth, instead of the accustomed town house in a fashionable quarter, was not so much the result of habits formed in a more primitive colonial society as it was the very nature of the man himself. The strict economy which he practised in his personal expenditure enabled him to act up to the maxim of John Wesley, which he was so fond of impressing on others, '*Save all you can, and give all you can.*'

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A friend, whose guest he often was when in New Zealand, writes to us:—

'Whenever he stayed in a settler's house his great desire seemed to be to give no trouble. He would insist on carrying his own travelling bags, would always tidy his room, and make his own bed, and I have known him surreptitiously to wash his own clothes. This was done with the knowledge that in New Zealand servants are scarce, and that the ladies of the household do many things for themselves and their families which ladies are not accustomed to do in England. He also refused to take wine when he was a settler's guest, not on grounds of total abstinence, but because he knew that in out-stations wine was scarce and expensive. His own hospitality was profuse but simple; indeed, he kept open house, every one who came to Auckland was welcomed, and knew that formal invitation was not needed. "I give good advice, but bad dinners," the Bishop used to say to his guests; the badness of the dinner being only a synonym for wholesome roast and boiled.'

At Lichfield, as at Auckland, he was given to hospitality after the same open-handed but unostentatious fashion. On a recent occasion two Sisters of Mercy who had been nursing a Staffordshire clergyman went, when their labours were no longer needed, to Lichfield, intending to spend a few hours in the city before starting on their homeward journey. Walking from the station they met the Bishop, who crossed the road, saluted them, asked them many questions about their work and their community; finding what was their errand he made himself their guide to the beauties of the cathedral, brought them to the palace, gave them hospitality, and when the time came for their departure they were sent off with many kind words and a fatherly blessing. The good sisters hardly knew whether they were awake or in a dream; no bishop had ever spoken a word to them before, and when they told their experiences to the other members of the society, the story seemed like a fable, and the event was chronicled in the records of the community as something wholly without precedent.

The last hours of the great prelate were in beautiful consistency with his life of abundant labour and unselfish devotion. When the pulse was beating slowly, and the light of this life was flickering and waning, his thoughts, even amid the wanderings caused by bodily weakness, were with the distant islands for whom he had done so much, and to whose evangelisation, when his own active labours in their behalf had ended, he had given his son. At one time he would exclaim, with kindling eye, 'A light to lighten the Gentiles;'

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at another he would murmur, 'They will all come back;' as indeed the larger portion of those who sometime apostatised, have already returned; and then, in the soft Maori language which for a quarter of a century was familiar to him as his mother tongue, he would say, 'It is all light.'

In that 'all light' he now walks. It is for us who remain to cherish a memory so bright, and to study an example so precious.

ART. IV.—RELIGION IN MADAGASCAR.

1. *History of Madagascar.* By Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society. In two volumes. (London, 1838.)
2. *Visits to Madagascar.* By Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS. (London, 1859.)
3. *Madagascar Revisited.* By Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS. (London, 1867.)
4. *Twelve Months in Madagascar.* By Dr. MULLENS. (London, 1875.)

FEW English readers have much knowledge of Madagascar but what they have chanced to acquire in their school days. With the exception of a few traders, of the missionaries who are at work in the island, and the statesmen who are interested in the suppression of the slave-trade on the eastern coast of Africa, there is little to attract attention to this large and important island. Many parts of the coast are famed for their unhealthiness; few large rivers flow into the sea, and their entrances are generally barred by sandbanks or coral reefs; the harbours are mostly bad, and the roads—if the tracks which lead from Tamatave, Mahanoro, or Mojangà to the capital may be called roads—are even worse. In addition to this the Government jealously guards the acquisition of land by the foreigner, of whatever nation, and occasionally stops the limited amount of communication which can be carried on by means of bearers between the coast and the capital. When all these drawbacks are considered, the prosperity and civilisation to which Madagascar has attained, especially in its central provinces, is surprising, even though it is true that missionaries were sent to the country as long ago as the year 1818, and have been free, with the exception of twenty-five years—from 1835 to 1861, during which Chris-

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tianity was more or less persecuted—to advance their cause unimpeded by the native Government. Trade, too, has developed, though not to a large extent, owing to the difficulty of carriage; and, besides this, a few young Malagasy have resided for a time in England or in France, and on their return home have given an impetus to the advancement of their country. But, after allowing for all these influences, there can be no doubt that, such as the condition of the country is, it is mainly owing to the Malagasy themselves, and that, though without any great inventive or originative genius, they are very willing to follow the example of other countries. Anyone acquainted with Madagascar and its people can foresee some of the changes which must inevitably take place sooner or later, according as other nations assist or retard its development. But as our object is to set forth its actual condition with respect to the English Church Mission, we shall equally refrain from dwelling on its prospects and history; as also from enlarging on its scenery or geographical peculiarities.

Its population consists of many different tribes, speaking the same language with considerable dialectical variations, but mutually intelligible. The greater number of these tribes acknowledge the Queen, who lives at Antananarivo, the capital of the island, as their sovereign, and present annual tribute to her. Her kingdom nominally extends from Fort Dauphin on the southern coast to Vohimare on the north-eastern; it includes all the centre and eastern side of the island, with here and there a town, such as Mojangà, on the western; but the majority of the inhabitants on the western side and on the extreme northern claim to be independent. These bear the general name of Sakalava, which, however, includes a considerable number of tribes, each with its petty chieftain, who is honoured with the title of king. They are believed to be a wild, savage race, much given to cattle-lifting and predatory excursions, which, when carried on upon the borders, frequently involves them in wars with the Hova.

The Hova, as the inhabitants of Imerina are called, assume the guardianship of the whole territory which acknowledges Ranaválona as queen, and their system is not unsuited to keep the country which they have won. Near the large towns, generally on some eminence overlooking them, they establish what, for want of a better name, we must call a fort. This fort is surrounded by a mound or ditch, or by a palisade, or by a hedge of prickly pear, and although not a citadel formidable to a modern army, is yet

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capable of withstanding any attack likely to be made upon it. In this fort the Hova governor, lieutenant-governor, and a certain number of soldiers, armed with old flint-lock muskets, live, sufficient in number to awe the surrounding neighbourhood :—not that they could suppress any serious revolt against the central Government, but the Malagasy, with the exception, it is said, of the Sakalava, are a peaceable people, and, although fond of grumbling, seldom fight amongst themselves or against the Hova. Such being the state of the country which owns allegiance to Queen Ranaválona, we must glance briefly at the power which is strong enough to inspire a feeling of respect in tribes too far distant, except at great risk and loss of life, to be reached by its soldiery.

A woman, as we have said, is sovereign ; in itself a strange thing in a half-civilised country. Two reasons are given for this—firstly, the wish to be like England, for the Malagasy are very philo-English ; next, the true reason (we suspect) is the feeling that the nation has more control over its administration under a queen than under a king. Be this as it may, the present queen is not the first or the second female who has ruled over what we may almost call united Madagascar.

Next to the Queen, and, in fact, the real ruler of the country, is the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. These two titles, held by one man, have become Malagasy words, and on all formal and official documents appears the name Rainilaiarivony, followed by the titles Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. As Prime Minister he has unlimited control over all the Malagasy, even in the minutest particulars of their daily life. He can order, in the name of the Queen, Government service ; he can, if he chooses, imprison ; and we do not suppose that if he were to condemn to death, there would be many Malagasy bold enough to dispute his sentence. As Commander-in-Chief the army is entirely at his disposal, and the army comprises nearly all the upper class, as well as a large proportion of the free population of Imerina, the ruling province. It may almost be said that the government is an absolute monarchy, in which the Prime Minister, who is also husband of the Queen, is monarch ; and yet this is not quite the case, for below the Prime Minister there is a class answering in a measure to our nobility, who, while dependent on him, serve as a check to his power. The nobles are not distinguished, as with us, by varying titles, but by the number of honours which they possess, the highest number being sixteen, though, with the exception of the Prime Minister, there is only one who has so many—namely, the Chief

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Secretary of State. Until last summer all nobles possessing more than a certain number of honours were free to have an unlimited number of *deka* (aides-de-camp), and this number in a few cases amounted to as many as a thousand, or even to more. The *deka* are men with a smaller number of honours than their chief, and they in their turn have their *deka*. It is obvious that in this way the number of clients attached to a nobleman of the higher rank was very large, and that a coalition, were such a thing possible, would have been more powerful than the Government. This *deka* system was also very prejudicial to the interests of the country, in preventing the rise of what may be called the artisan class. If anyone excelled in any way—as, for instance, in working in silver—he was taken as a *deka*, and thenceforth, whenever his chief claimed his services, obliged to work for him, without remuneration, except what came from his superior's goodwill. Last summer, however, at a large assembly of the people, the Prime Minister limited this right of the nobles, and henceforth they can only have a certain number of *deka*, varying with their rank. Thus a noble of sixteen honours may only have thirty *deka*; a noble of fifteen honours, twenty-five *deka*; and so on down to those of nine honours, who may only have one, holders of honours below that number not having any. The number of men freed from service to their chiefs was thus very large, and most of them were drafted into the army. As, however, many of these *deka* had been teachers in connexion with one or other of the various missionary societies in the island, and as such teachers obviously could not both serve in the army and teach in schools, all such were freed from Government service, and allowed to pursue their occupation of teachers, unless they preferred to be soldiers. The government of the country, then, is as follows: the Queen, who is, as with us, the source of honour; the Prime Minister, who is the real ruler of the country; and the nobles, who have a certain power as a check on the Prime Minister, but very little to originate legislation.

The middle class in the community is represented by the artisans, who are also generally enrolled in the army, and who have therefore honours (for everyone in the army must have at least one honour); the traders, the teachers, and, in fact, all the free population, who, if they are Hova, are liable to be called upon to serve in the army. There is no sharp distinction of classes, as between noble and trader, for the noble is often trader; yet there is a very considerable difference between noble and *borizano* (bourgeois). Every free person is one of the two; those possessing honours are soldiers, with the excep-

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tion of the comparatively small number of *deka*, and all those who do not possess honours are *borizano*. It might seem that, such being the case, the army would be highly popular, and that everyone would wish to be a soldier; but this is not so. Service in the army is compulsory and unpaid, except by an occasional present, and, although active service in the field is not often required, drills are frequent, and to the poor often involves serious loss. Every nation must work out its own problems in its own way, and certainly the manner in which the Malagasy are organising and drilling their army ought to secure them from all fear of their immediate neighbours, and to make them in course of time, with the advantage of position taken into account, a foe not to be despised even by a European invader. We cannot state with any degree of accuracy the number of soldiers, but somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000 would probably be correct.

The slaves form the lowest class in the community. In England much sentiment is spent upon slaves; but it is often the name rather than the real position which excites that sentiment. They are no doubt sometimes much to be pitied, but they are also frequently in a much better position than a poor freeman. In Madagascar the law allows great liberty to the master in his treatment of his slaves, and occasionally abuses occur; but, as a slave represents property which, while in good condition, can either be sold or yield remunerative work, it is obviously to the interest of the master that the slave should be in a condition either to be sold or to do work. Moreover, the English idea of a slave is that of a shrinking, timid creature, afraid to call his life his own, and ever on the look-out for blows or ill-usage. But either the Malagasy slave-owner is more humane than others, or else the Malagasy slave is more independent. As a rule, he is not afraid of his master; he is often very outspoken, and if his master beats him or threatens to sell him, the slave in his turn will threaten to run away. We are not defending slavery as such, but only stating how it exists in Madagascar. The dark side of the case is sometimes seen, especially in the case of the child slave, whom an exacting master may not allow to go to school, or keep on a very small allowance of food; but in the majority of cases the slaves who live in the same compound, or in the same house, with their master are free to come and go as they like, and to work for themselves. If they take a situation with a foreigner, they are expected to give their masters a certain proportion of their wages; but, should they refuse, all that their master requires from them is to help him

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in any work he may chance to wish done, and this, except at the seasons of planting or reaping rice, or unless he is making a house, is very little. While slaves they have a claim on their masters for food, and after death for burial, and, so far as we know, this claim is always held sacred. No doubt in time, as knowledge increases, slavery in Madagascar will cease; but were it to be forcibly suppressed to-morrow, it would be no gain either for master or slave.[1]

This is by no means an exhaustive sketch of the different classes in the country, but it will enable the reader to understand the general relations of the population to one another and to the Government. The slaves are bound to their masters by the right of proprietorship, and the masters, who are either soldiers or liable to be soldiers, are in immediate dependence upon the Government—that is to say, upon the Prime Minister. The slaves have no feeling of degradation which is likely to make them rise against their masters, and the masters, although they may occasionally feel sore at the amount of Government service imposed upon them, are attached to the present order of things and to the Government. Many of the nobles are connected with the Prime Minister by ties of family or of friendship, and although there is a party which eyes him with suspicion, and would overthrow him if it dared, he has immensely strengthened his position by his recent changes, and so long as he retains health and vigour the country has every promise of uninterrupted quiet.

We next proceed to the relations of Malagasy to the different forms of worship which are offered them. There are several missions at work in the island. These vary as widely as possible, from the ritual and ceremony of the Roman Church to the absence of ritual and ceremony characteristic of the Independents and the Friends; and between these stand the English Church mission and the Norwegian Lutheran mission. The Independents have been longest at work, and having established themselves at the capital, and until recently devoted their energies to Imerina, have much the strongest hold upon the capital and the surrounding district. The Roman Catholics (French) have missionaries everywhere—in Imerina, in Betsileo, on the eastern, and on the western coast. The English Church mission, which began its work about thirteen years ago on the eastern coast, was imperatively forced by circumstances to take up a position at the capital. Many of our readers will remember that a bishop was sent out nearly

[1] The above refers solely to Malagasy slaves. The practice of holding Africans in slavery has been prohibited by law.—(ED. *C. Q. R.*)

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four years ago, commissioned to the capital, though not exclusively, and although there had been a solitary missionary at work there for about two years previously, the English Church could scarcely be said to have come before the nation until then. The Norwegian mission occupied Betsileo, the district to the south of Imerina, with the exception of Fianarantsoa, the chief town of the province; but it, too, found it necessary to have a representative mission at Antananarivo. The Friends, who practically combine with the Independents, are also stationed at Antananarivo; so that all the missions have their head-quarters at the capital.

If it be asked, why is this so, why does not each mission take a separate district and work for itself, without apparently rivalling other Churches? the answer is simple. A mission which is not represented at the capital is hindered in other quarters of the island. This arises from the habit of mind of the Malagasy, who are very dependent upon the central Government, and who take their tone from it to such an extent that a hint that any form of worship is unknown, or is disliked by the Queen and her advisers, is sufficient to make the work of its propagators futile. In addition to this, the large towns in each district of the country have Hova governors, who coming direct from the capital, and knowing the feeling there with regard to the different Churches, have a very considerable following, and exercise great influence over the surrounding population, even though of a different tribe. Thus the Hova governor at Tamatave or Mojangà could throw many obstacles in the way of the Anglican or the Roman missions at work there, if he was persuaded that either form of worship was eyed with suspicion by the authorities at Antananarivo; and it is only natural that a nation which is but slightly acquainted with other nations should suppose that a system which it did not understand might have some political significance, or threaten in some way the freedom of the country. This alone is enough to justify all the missions in selecting Antananarivo as their centre. But is there enough work for so many missions in Imerina? Do they not rather impede one another? Far from it. The population of Imerina is reckoned at 500,000, and it is scattered over a very large area; and, speaking very roughly, there are perhaps fifty European missionaries of all denominations at work. In addition to these there are the Malagasy who have been taught to act as catechists, or preachers, or schoolmasters; but of these there are only a few who have sufficient attainments to discharge rightly the duties which, for lack of better instructed

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men, must be entrusted to them. A Malagasy speaker or preacher is considered clever or the reverse according as he can introduce a larger or fewer number of proverbs and hyperboles; and a speech made by one of those who are considered the best speakers is almost entirely composed of proverbs cleverly joined together. In addition to this the parabolic mode of speech is very common, and a Malagasy will relate by a simile a most ordinary occurrence which might far better have been told in a simple and straightforward manner. Thus it is no wonder a Malagasy who has been brought up to think such a mode of speaking the height of eloquence, and who has not very many ideas as to the meaning of the Bible, should fall back upon the style to which he is accustomed, and should preach a small amount of the Gospel mixed with a large amount of proverb, or if he should introduce some story which he may have heard, often rather ridiculous, under the form of a parable. Although, however, it may not be said that native assistants are of no use, and although there are some who as preachers or as teachers would not disgrace an English pulpit or national school, yet the number of these is small, and every missionary complains of the inefficiency of the natives, and feels that it is impossible to rely upon them beyond a very limited extent. When, then, a missionary has sixty, seventy, or even as many as eighty congregations to oversee, extending over a district of perhaps a thousand square miles, or even more, what must the condition of some of these be? The teachers are in many cases very incompetent, and if so, what must be the condition of the taught? It is not too much to say that in many cases they are hardly one degree removed from heathenism; the idols have been destroyed, and so far the chief obstruction in the way of Christianity has been taken away, but beyond that very many have not advanced, and there are still many in Imerina who could not make the confession which was made by the Ethiopian eunuch to Philip.

Such being the condition of the faith and education of the people, the condition of their morals is much the same. As the idols have been put out of the sight, though not out of the hearts, of the people, so too with immorality. Even this is a clear gain. Morality has thus much hold upon the people that it compels immorality to hide its head. Shame is the homage which vice pays to virtue all over the world, and Madagascar is happily no exception to the rule, so that things which in former years were done in public are now done only in private. But to suppose that because vice does not show itself openly it is therefore abandoned, would be a great mistake. Every

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now and then a Malagasy of the better sort who has taken to heart the meaning of the seventh commandment startles the missionary by some painful disclosure about his countrymen, showing how deeply ingrained are the old customs and habits. It is only thus that a European can know the truth, for everything is smoothed over before him and kept out of his sight, and a true estimate of the morals of the people can only be learned privately from those he trusts. It is necessary, both for the sake of Church discipline and in order that he may not live in a fool's paradise, that the missionary should know the true state of things, and though the awakening is often rude and unpleasant, it is only by such an opening of the eyes that a new and better order can issue forth. On this subject we are obliged to deal in general terms, both for the sake alike of individuals and of our readers, but no one who has lived in Madagascar for any length of time can speak otherwise. Whether, therefore, we consider the population, the standard of education, or the state of morals—it cannot be said that even yet the missionaries at work in Imerina are nearly sufficient for the population.

And yet it may be urged that, however bad the condition of the people may be in the central district of the island, the state of the tribes to the north and south of Imerina is much worse, and that therefore these more imperatively need assistance than the former. We have in part answered this above, but there is yet another answer. Christianity and civilisation will, in all human probability, flow from the centre to the extremities, not from the extremities to the centre. When the heart beats strongly the life-blood will flow into all the members; and, therefore, when once the people and Government at the capital feel and know their privileges and their duties toward their weaker neighbours, the evangelisation and civilisation of the whole island will not be long delayed. It must be obvious that no foreign nation, much less a society or societies which only represent a portion of the nation, can convert a people which numbers probably about 5,000,000. Foreigners can give the impulse, and can lead the way for a while, but so many difficulties and jealousies hamper the foreigner which sleep peaceably in the case of a native, that no hope can be entertained of the permanent subjugation of the Malagasy nation to the yoke of Christ until they take the matter in hand themselves, and this can only be done from the capital. The Hova have had the great advantage of a longer education than the other tribes, they are clearer-headed and shrewder than the people on the coast, and they are more

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immediately under a Government which is quite alive to the political advantages arising from Christianity and education. The coast tribes, on the other hand, and perhaps all the inland tribes, with the exception of the Betsileo, are brutalised to a large extent by drink imported by European traders or made on the spot, and are altogether behind the ruling tribe in intellect and in cultivation, so that it seems impossible that any good impulse should emanate from them. In addition to this, in many of the coast towns the creole element is increasing to such an extent as to threaten in time wholly to absorb the native population, thus furnishing another reason for looking to the Government and people of Imerina rather than to the coast population to originate a movement which shall enlighten the whole nation.

Are there, then, any signs that the Government is awakening to its responsibilities in this matter? We think that there are, and that the Hova Church is the germ of the Malagasy Church of the future. By the treaty of a few years back between the English and Malagasy Governments, every subject of the Queen of Madagascar is at liberty to follow the form of religion which seems right to him or to her, and no one may be persecuted for his or for her choice. But the Malagasy as a nation are not yet sufficiently advanced to think for themselves, and there cannot be the least doubt that if the Queen and the Prime Minister were openly to give in their adhesion to any one form of worship in preference to the rest, they would be followed by a large majority of the nation. As yet the Queen and the Prime Minister have not done so; the chapel attached to the palace and within the palace enclosure has not been formally opened, and, if reports may be trusted, they are watching the different forms of religion in order to decide which is the best and truest and most in accordance with the Bible. That now adopted is, as might be expected, closely akin to that of the Independents, and it may be that, while allowing freedom of conscience to all, they will elect that as the religion of the State, and will constitute a State Church on the basis of Independency.

Many things seem to indicate that ere very long there will be a State Church of some sort: there are more than 150 churches in the country in connexion with the palace church; which, considering the limited time in which it has been accomplished, is a very rapid growth. Of course these might be infinitely increased, but whether anything would be gained by such increase seems doubtful until the time shall come for the formation of a State Church. It may not be of much use

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to attempt to forecast what line this Church will take if it should become an accomplished fact instead of an expectation, but there are one or two probabilities of which it may be well to take account. Whatever form of worship it shall adopt, we think there will be very close connexion between it and the State: if, for instance, Independency, then the preachers and teachers would be sent out by the State, and would most likely be paid by enforced rates upon the people of the place in which they were located; if Episcopalian, then too the bishops would probably be appointed by the State.

It may seem almost like an absurdity to suppose that a disintegrating system, such as Independency, could exist in the form of an establishment, or that in the nineteenth century we are likely to see the foundation of an established Church under any form. Madagascar, however, is an exceptional country; it has advanced rapidly in many ways, while still backward in others. *Praying* is part of the State system, and all the Queen's subjects are ordered to pray, and to send their children to school to be taught. It is, in fact, part of the Government service to do so, and in parts of the country which are far beyond the reach of the missionaries, unless on an occasional tour, chapels may be seen in which it is the custom of the natives to assemble on Sundays. These meetings are often the very reverse of prayer meetings; there is frequently no authorised person to conduct the service, and consequently what ought to be worship addressed to God degenerates into praise of the Queen and of the Prime Minister, or into gossip about local affairs, or, in parts of the country still further removed from supervision, into drinking bouts. It is sad to think that there are places in Madagascar where the rum-barrel is introduced on Sundays, and where the people meet simply for the sake of drinking, but such is the fact; and it is easy to see how it has arisen. The Queen and the Prime Minister, and all the higher class in Madagascar, live at Antananarivo, the capital of the country. They are baptized, with probably only a few exceptions, and are professing Christians; they celebrate monthly, without the assistance of Europeans, the rite which they call the Supper of the Lord. Occasionally, also, large masses of the people are assembled to hear a Queen's message, and they are told to pray; they are also familiar with the expression adopted by the Queen, 'My kingdom relies upon God,' and they know that it is the custom at Antananarivo to meet on Sundays and to pray. But while they know this they are totally ignorant of the meaning of *the praying*, and therefore, while they assemble on

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Sundays because they are expected to do so, and because they wish to do as the Queen and the Prime Minister do, they have no teacher to tell them what it is and what it means, and therefore instead of praying they gossip, or sing Malagasy hymns, or, worse than all, drink native rum.

Thus then it is no wonder if the more enlightened should think that it would be well to adopt some form of worship which could be definitely recommended to their countrymen as the religion of Madagascar. Until now, with the exception of sending out a limited number of teachers from the palace church, and the general encouragement given to the missionaries in their work, no serious effort has been made by the Malagasy themselves to promote the spread of Christianity and education. But a considerable sum of money has been lately collected by the Queen, and though it is not yet definitely known how it will be spent, it is generally believed that teachers will be sent to the more distant parts of the country, either immediately by the Government or mediately through some of the existing organisations. However this may eventuate, it must be welcomed as an acknowledgment on the part of the sovereign that Imerina, which has already received some of the blessings of Christianity, should not be backward in extending those blessings to the less favoured tribes.

We have said above that many circumstances point to the fact that the Malagasy are feeling after some basis on which to build a national Church, and that, although they may arrive at a wrong conclusion, they are, to the best of their ability, seeking after the truth. But here we are met by two questions—firstly, What knowledge have the Malagasy of the truth, and what means have they of judging between different forms of worship, or of determining which should be followed and which should be rejected?—and secondly, Are there any external influences to influence their choice of the form of worship which is to be the basis of the Malagasy Church? To answer the latter question first, the Malagasy are a very aristocratic people, much influenced by clanism; feudalism, in a modified form, exists among them, the chief of the family, or clan, being a sort of protector to the less influential members. Hence there would not be nearly as much free choice on the part of the bulk of the people, when the question as to the form of worship to be adopted is mooted, as there would be in an older country, such as England or Germany. We do not mean to assert that actual compulsion would be used to induce the people to accept this or that form of worship, but that they would almost as a matter of course accept that

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which their rulers might think most suitable for them. The compulsion now exercised among the Malagasy is not great, the treaty in this respect being fairly carried out, and though some petty persecution still exists, no undue influence is brought to bear from head-quarters. Speaking, therefore, as outsiders, we should say that no form of worship would be acceptable to the Malagasy which contradicts their theory of government. It is possible that, in course of time, the country will arrive at a democracy, but at present it is very far removed from it, and the point under consideration will be decided not by the voices of the many, but by the wishes of the few. And it is quite natural, or even necessary, that this should be so, for what means do the many possess of arriving at any conclusion? They see the different *forms of worship* as exhibited by the different Christian bodies, but of their history, doctrines, and discipline they are ignorant, except of certain rudimentary points which necessarily appear on the surface.

When, however, we say this we do so with certain modifications, to which due weight must be allowed. We must, however, in the first place, guard against a misconception which might arise, lest it should seem that what follows contradicts what has been already said with reference to the abilities of the Malagasy. There is a small class of men —partly teachers and partly others not engaged in teaching, resident chiefly at Antananarivo—who are decidedly in advance of their countrymen; it is to this class of men that we refer, for the best educated in the community is not the highest class, or their sons, but the class next below them, who have, however, no share in the government. It is this class of men and their children who learn in the various schools and other places of instruction at Antananarivo; it is this class also from which teachers and preachers are drawn, as far as their numbers will supply the demand or their unwillingness to leave Antananarivo can be overcome, and it is this class which is most inquiring. Their difficulties, however, are great; with the exception of the Bible they have scarcely any books to guide them, and consequently they have to submit every question touching faith, or morals, or religion generally, to the Bible, whether it be one which they are likely to find answered there or not. Of Church history their knowledge is very limited, except as to the Reformation; the whole period between the close of the Acts of the Apostles and that event being nearly a blank. On such questions, therefore, as Church discipline they have no guide from history; and when the question of episcopacy is mooted, the

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only point which is generally raised is, whether Timothy and Titus held positions analogous to that of a modern bishop or not. Still, however, the class of young men whom we have mentioned is inquiring more and more into these matters; they do not like the idea of a new Church any better than that of a Church whose teaching is not in accordance with that of the Bible. When, therefore, we say that the Malagasy are trying to find out for themselves which form of worship they ought to follow, we mean that they are inquiring which is most in accordance with the Bible and with antiquity; and we believe that whichever they shall find to be so, as far as they have opportunities of judging, they will adopt with such modifications as will suit the country and the people. If it seems surprising that there are any Malagasy who are sufficiently advanced for this, it must be taken into account that they are naturally sharp-witted, that they are very anxious to be independent of foreign teachers, and that religion is at present looked upon as part of government. To illustrate this: every free person in Madagascar is considered the Queen's slave, and is, therefore, liable to do her personal service if called upon to do so. The soldiers do theirs by military service; the *borizano* do theirs by fetching, or making their slaves fetch, wood, or bricks, or anything else which the Queen may want; the workers in stone, silver, or iron, &c., do theirs by executing any orders which the Queen may give them in their several trades; the young men who have learnt in the schools or colleges do theirs by going out to the various towns as teachers or preachers. In the last case, however, the service rendered is sometimes direct and sometimes indirect: if direct, the Queen herself stations them wherever she may think fit, pays them their salaries, and they are responsible to her for the progress of the children or congregations under their care. When the service is indirect, they are sent not by the Queen, but by one of the missionary bodies in the island, in which case they are not responsible to the Queen, but to the missionary. There is, however, no certain guarantee that they will be able to remain permanently at their work, unless they have been formally freed from Government service by the Prime Minister. Thus the Malagasy are constantly engaged in State service, often from a very early age, and youths are frequently given to the missionaries, both in the central provinces of Madagascar and on the coast, in order to be taught, so that when they have acquired a certain proficiency they may in their turn become teachers. The number thus engaged in teaching is large, and though they may prefer the form of

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worship with which they are connected, or in which they have been brought up, they are so dependent upon the Queen and the Prime Minister that any change or form of worship which these might prefer would probably be accepted by a majority of the teachers, not from compulsion, but because it is their habit of mind to follow their leaders.

At the same time there must be a very large amount of reflex action between rulers and ruled. No ruler can afford to disregard the wishes of his subjects, any more than the ruled can disregard, except at their proper risk, the commands of the rulers. We should, therefore, be exceedingly loth to say that were the Queen to choose a form of worship for herself, which would thereby become the Church of Madagascar, she would either compel the assent of her people or go counter to their wishes. But on this point there are none sufficiently educated to have any definite wish, except the class of men above mentioned; and we think that while the rulers are considering which form will be best politically for the nation, and which will afford the firmest support to the existing state of things, the better class of young men are feeling their way, very darkly it may be, to a comprehension of the bases on which the various Churches rest, and of their doctrines.

If the above view be correct, and if the rulers arrive at the same conclusion as the educated class in the country, our generation even might see a flourishing national Church in Madagascar. Such a Church would by degrees win its way into the dark mass of heathendom and vice by which the central provinces are surrounded, and would accomplish better, and in a much shorter time, the work of regenerating the nation, than it would be possible for any number of societies, though backed by English or French money, to do. But if, on the other hand, the rulers wish one thing and the people, or rather the better educated of the people, wish something different, they must waste their power and energy in conflict. The Government could, it is true, carry matters with a high hand, and compel outward conformity; but history teaches us that nothing good or noble ever issues from such a state of things, especially in matters connected with religion. And, in addition to this, there is perhaps nowhere a people more ingenious than the Malagasy in eluding unpleasant orders, or in rendering ineffectual an unpleasant command by dilatoriness. It is, therefore, very much to be hoped, both for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in Madagascar and also for the future well-being and progress of the country, that when the time comes for selecting the form of worship which

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shall constitute the basis of the Church of Madagascar both rulers and ruled may be of one mind, and may be directed wisely in their choice, and that the country may not be torn asunder by religious differences, or suffer as so many European countries have suffered from this cause.

We by no means suppose that this State Church is on the eve of being an accomplished fact, but are only pointing out that the Malagasy are feeling their way towards it, and what are the ruling considerations by which they will probably be guided. We have said above that the wish to escape from foreign influence is one great motive in this direction, and that, while looking to the Bible as the chief guide in their choice, there are a few who wish also to learn what they can from history. These may be called primary causes of their future selection; but there are also secondary causes at work to urge them on or to assist their choice. The young Malagasy is proud of the progress which his country has made, and certainly not without cause. Not more that sixty or seventy years ago the country was in the condition, so far as civilisation and knowledge of the external world were concerned, in which New Guinea is at the present day. Except at one or two seaports there was no communication with other nations, the language was unknown, the religion of the country was idol-worship, trial by ordeal—namely, that of the *tangena*—was in common use, and the constant occupation of the petty tribes was warfare and cattle-lifting, such as still exists among the Sakalava on the southern and western coasts. But now the greater part of the island is under a settled Government, the language is well known by missionaries and traders, naturalists have explored a considerable part of the island, and Christianity is the recognised religion of the ruling tribe. In addition to this trades are in a fair state of advancement; at the capital the Malagasy have learnt to build good brick houses and to work in stone under European superintendence, and little, in fact, is wanted to secure their further progress in all the more useful trades except the uninterrupted enjoyment of the profits. It will, therefore, become almost a point of honour with the Malagasy to prove that in religious matters they can think for themselves, and that while in trade they are advancing towards independence, so in religion they are arriving at maturity. Of causes which would operate favourably or unfavourably towards the spread of certain forms of worship in preference to others there are two which should be noticed. Like all Eastern nations, or nations living in hot climates, the Mala-

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gasy marries when he is very young; it is not uncommon for men to marry when no more than twelve years of age, and sometimes younger even than that. It cannot be said that in the few instances where a man has not married young he is considered disgraced, but rather he is pitied because he cannot make up his mind. Relatives urge upon him the importance of marrying, and missionaries often find it the wisest course to do so also. Thus it is a very rare thing to find a Malagasy of more than sixteen or seventeen years of age who is not married, and if older than that, even supposing that there may be no wish on his part to marry, his friends and relations will put the advisability of it before him so strongly, and, in fact, will use so much pressure, that he will seldom be able to resist. Thus, then, when the Roman Catholics bring before the Malagasy a system of which the celibacy of the clergy is a necessary part, they run counter to the feelings and habits of the people, and enormously increase the difficulties in the way of making the nation accept Roman Catholicism. While we are upon this subject we may illustrate, from the change which has come over the country, the difference between natural morality and enforced morality. There is no difficulty in making the people acknowledge that it is wrong for a man to have more than one wife, or for a woman to have more than one husband; but they cannot understand why it should be wrong for a clergyman to marry. The one case appeals to their innate sense of right and wrong; the other is one which, in time, they may be brought to allow, but which, up to the present, rather provokes ridicule than any other sentiment. And, secondly, the Malagasy is intensely fond of preaching; vain to a degree, as many of them are, there is, perhaps, nothing in which their vanity is more manifested than in their desire to show off their oratorical powers. In most countries there are many opportunities for display of this kind, such as, for instance, in England, the houses of Parliament, the law courts, public meetings all over the country, public dinners, and the like; but in Madagascar, except to the few, there are none such. It is true that there are large gatherings of the people now and then to hear a Queen's message; but on such occasions no one speaks, with the exception of the officer—generally the Prime Minister or some one high in authority—who is appointed to deliver the message, and a few celebrated speakers who answer for the people. There is nothing in the country analogous to pleading in the law courts, to which we are so well accustomed in England, and there is scarcely anything which can be com-

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pared to speaking at a public dinner. But the wish for distinction in this line remains, and the pulpit is looked upon as a good safety valve; it is regarded as safe, because utterances from the pulpit, except very seldom, do not trench upon the business of the State, for if a Malagasy were to attempt to make use of it for that purpose he would be at once warned that he must not do so again, and that it was no business of his to talk about matters connected with the State in a church. It is easy also to a Malagasy to speak in public, however difficult it may be to an English curate when first ordained; for shyness is, perhaps, an English virtue, if that can be called a virtue which makes both speaker and listener very uncomfortable, and which must always detract from the effect of the words spoken. But as in the Malagasy language there is no word by which 'shyness' can be translated, except the ordinary word for 'fear,' so in the Malagasy character the quality does not exist. It is therefore much easier on the one hand to the ordinary Malagasy to preach than to the ordinary Englishman; whilst on the other the audience is not so critical as an English congregation. Except in the capital, or some considerable town, the teacher or preacher is the one person present who can lay claim to any education, and he, therefore, preaches with the comfortable conviction that if he makes mistakes there will be no one present who will be able to find fault with him. But this is not all: the majority of the native preachers, though they may not have much knowledge of the meaning of the Bible, beyond what appears on the surface, have a very extensive knowledge of Malagasy proverbs, and of so-called parables, and these are both their ordinary way of speaking, and are the language which the congregation will best understand and will most appreciate. If, then, the amount of teaching contained in a sermon is not large, it can be easily supplemented by proverbs or parables; and want of education is very seldom considered a sufficient reason for abstaining from preaching. Further than this, the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who re-introduced Christianity into Madagascar, have fostered this love of preaching, and at each of their churches there is a considerable number of men who are preachers. This, then, is another of the forces which must be taken into account, and which will largely influence the decision of the Malagasy as to which form of worship will best suit them. Another of these secondary causes is the relationship which is to exist in the future between the Government and the people, or between the mother churches at Antananarivo and the daughter

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churches in the country. The palace church is mother to a very considerable number of churches outside the town, and it discharges its duty towards them by sending out teachers, and by contributing the whole or part of their salaries. So, too, the churches in connexion with the London Missionary Society, the funds of which Society, administered by the missionaries, help the country churches to provide teachers. There is, therefore, a very close connexion between the palace church and the daughter churches, or between the church at which the missionary presides and the daughter churches in the country. But if a Church of Madagascar should be formed in the future, it would be a very doubtful question whether a connexion of this sort could exist when each church would be responsible for its own maintenance.

It would scarcely be fair to ask the question whether Independency could exist as an established Church, for the words 'established Church' would be misleading to English readers, who naturally are perplexed when they try to dissociate the idea of an establishment from the form in which they see it in England; but it is fair to question whether Independency would not have to alter its fundamental idea before it could become the State Church of Madagascar. Independency rests upon the congregation as its unit; and though congregations are more or less feebly bound together by a union, there is in this no real bond of cohesion, but only an artificial one, which is liable to break at any moment, inasmuch as it rests on no principle. But such a union as this would clash with the main idea of Malagasy government, for the Hova power has won its way slowly over the greater part of the island which now acknowledges the Queen. If, therefore, the Church of Madagascar were only an aggregation of units, independent of one another, except so far as similarity of worship might unite them, the central Government at Antananarivo would not be in a position to regulate the affairs of distant churches.

We are very far from saying that Church affairs should in any way be dependent upon Government, but in the present instance we are not reviewing things as they ought to be, but as they are, and as they are likely to be for many years in Madagascar, unless some external power should step in to interfere with the process of self-development. There can be no doubt that the chief idea of Government at the present time in Madagascar is centralisation and the dominance of the Hova throughout the country; and if this idea is to be carried out, it must pervade not only the business of the State, but also religious worship. The Malagasy are clever enough to

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recognise the fact that education tends more than anything else to settle the country, and that the only tribe which has either the inclination or the power to educate the remainder is the Hova, and they know also that in their country education and religion must go hand in hand, for they have not yet learned the theory of more advanced States—namely, that religion is no part of the State's work. Taking all this into consideration, it is hard to see how Independency can become the Church of Madagascar, unless while the name should be retained the form should be largely altered. We have entered upon the discussion of this question chiefly because the Independent form of worship is that to which the Malagasy are most accustomed, which they have known longest, and which has therefore been more upon its trial in Madagascar than any other. Were Independency based upon a sound system, and one not liable to such defects as it is, it would obviously be the religion which the Malagasy would adopt; but it is, we think, just because they are aware of these defects that they have not adopted it, and because they have now the opportunity of observing other forms of worship that they are still in a state of uncertainty. The Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Norwegian Lutheran Church are free from many of these defects, and therefore start from a better basis, and offer to the Malagasy the spectacle of Churches with their own doctrines and discipline, capable of development while retaining unity. It may, therefore, be said that these also are now upon their trial, that the Malagasy are intently watching their different systems, and are meanwhile learning, as far as they can, the doctrines peculiar to each, and the capabilities of their ritual and discipline for adaptation to the tastes and wishes of the people. The Roman Catholics certainly labour under disadvantages, some of which have been pointed out previously, and they are also more directly under the influence of foreign rule. The facts that they do not allow their clergy to marry and that they have only put a small portion of the Bible into the hands of the people are damaging to them; but, notwithstanding that, the cause of the Roman Catholic Church is ably advocated by a large number of Jesuit missionaries, and is without doubt making its way among the people. The Lutherans confine their sphere of operations to the Betsileo, a large tribe immediately to the south of Imerina, and to the western coast of Madagascar, with the exception of a representative church at Antananarivo, which they were forced to establish for the sake of their other missions in the country. The English

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Church mission, about which we wish to write more fully, has its head-quarters at Antananarivo, the capital, and has a certain number of stations, though not a large one, in Imerina; it has also English missionaries at three points on the east coast—namely, at Vohimare in the north, at Tamatave in the centre, and at Andevoranto, seventy miles farther south. We do not wish now to enter at all fully into the question as to whether it was right or not to send a bishop to Madagascar, with his residence at Antananarivo. It was warmly contested at the time when he was sent, four years ago, on the grounds that the London Missionary Society had been first in the field, and was able to provide fully for all the religious wants of the centre of Madagascar. It is sufficient to say on this point that every succeeding investigator, with the exception of Dr. Mullens, who was only twelve months in the island, puts at a higher figure the number of the population dwelling in the central provinces. Apart, however, from this, as we have shown above, a Church which is not well known to the Queen and the Prime Minister, and to the better educated and more influential of the Hova, has no chance of succeeding in its work, and though it may do a certain amount of good to the tribes among which it labours, it will never have a permanent influence on the country. While, however, we are upon this subject, there is one point to which it may be well to refer—namely, the understanding at which Bishop Ryan, of Mauritius, and Mr. Ellis, of the London Missionary Society, arrived with regard to the different tracts of country which the missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Church missionaries should occupy. Mr. Ellis gives an account of this conversation in *Madagascar Revisited*, pp. 126–8, but the understanding at which the Bishop and Mr. Ellis arrived has been crystallised into the form of a regular agreement, and the Church missionaries are almost regarded by some in the light of treaty-breakers in venturing to take up work in Imerina. We have, however, good authority for believing that if Bishop Ryan were asked whether he had made *an agreement* pledging the Church of England not to commence work in Imerina, he would deny it, and would also deny that he had any authority to make such an agreement. It is unfortunate that the chance conversation of Bishop Ryan with Mr. Ellis should be regarded by some as an agreement; for though, no doubt, Bishop Ryan, while in Mauritius, controlled to a great extent the Church missionaries in Madagascar, it is obvious that, even if he had wished, he could not pledge the English Church on such a point without reference

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to home authorities. It is very different when we ask why the English Church delayed so long to send missionaries to Madagascar. All who come to Madagascar are surprised that the richest Church in the world, and one which in other countries has not been backward in missionary enterprise, is so feebly represented in a country which was well worth the trouble, and would have well repaid the expense, could we look upon the conversion of souls in so miserable a light.

There is nothing in the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England which is repugnant to the Malagasy, but, on the contrary, as far as can be judged from so short a trial, they admire the order, whether of the discipline or of the services of the Church, and there are some who are feeling after a higher doctrine than that which was offered to them in the first instance. It is sometimes objected that the Malagasy have been brought up to Christianity unadorned, that they dislike anything partaking of the nature of ritual, and that the English Church mission in Madagascar is, by way of contempt, called 'the Ritualists' Church.' It would be waste of words to answer this, inasmuch as no ritual is practised in Madagascar by the missionaries of the English Church which might not be seen in many churches in England that are never considered anything but most moderate, and it is only ignorance, or a culpable desire to make capital out of that which is hidden from the knowledge of English readers, that could have been the object of such a misapplication of words. It was of course to be expected that there would be some who would look upon the planting of an English Church mission in Imerina with disfavour. But in Madagascar, although the corporate spirit might not allow any of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society to welcome it, we believe that the more candid minds among them, when looking at the work to be done even in and around the capital, would allow that there is more than enough for all to do. Now that a start has been made, many must regret that it has been so long delayed, and that Bishop Gray's scheme for securing a bishop in Madagascar was not carried out when he planned it, twelve or thirteen years ago. It is, however, possible that difficulties then existing have disappeared, or that influences which were powerful at that time have lost their weight. Whatever view may be taken of this subject, it is impossible to charge the English Church with being the first to intrude on Independency as the sole representative of Christianity in Madagascar, for, as has been already stated, the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans had established missions in the central pro-

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vinces before the entrance of the English Church. We are not, however, writing its apology; the battle has been already fought, and after three years and a half of trial, there seems no reason to regret the step, and if the progress made during that time may be taken as a fair test, we may say that in a measure it has been won.

The relations exhibited by the Malagasy towards the English Church must now be examined in three respects—namely, as to its doctrine, its discipline, and its worship. In doing this we shall carefully avoid imputing to the Malagasy sentiments which they do not really entertain.

Firstly, then, as to doctrine: we have said above that the Malagasy were feeling after something higher than they had yet received, and we think that this is shown negatively by the very little difficulty which they feel in accepting the doctrines of the English Church. If a man changes from Independency, it is scarcely ever the point of doctrine upon which he hesitates, but he wishes to be informed about the origin of episcopacy, or the meaning of something connected with episcopal forms of worship. We were informed, some time back, that certain leading Malagasy preachers in the capital asked the Independent missionaries why it was that if the Lord's Supper were nothing more than a memorial feast the unworthy receiver was thereby condemned. The missionaries, after contesting the point for a while, fell back upon the argument from authority, and told them that though it might be hard for them to understand it, they must accept it for the present, and that it would become clearer when they had greater knowledge. We only give this as an illustration, stating at the same time that our information was derived from a Malagasy whom we have no reason to distrust. The Church's doctrine that the Holy Communion is not only a memorial feast, but also a participation in the Body and Blood of Christ, is in no sense a stumbling-block to the Malagasy, but being easily proved from the Bible, is in accordance with their own reading of it and with their unaided understanding of passages which have perplexed thousands and have been the cause of more bitterness of feeling than any other words in Holy Scripture. There are, we believe, many who, while adopting the Independent form of worship and of administering the Sacraments, do not accept their teaching on this point; but with regard to the corollary to the Anglican teaching on the Sacraments—namely, the necessity of being lawfully called and sent before there is authority to administer them—it cannot be said that the Malagasy are equally

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advanced, and there are very few indeed who as yet comprehend the meaning of the words, 'I believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.' This proceeds chiefly from their ignorance of Church history, for such Church history as they have been taught has had for its object the support of an idea or belief at variance with much that must otherwise have forced itself upon their attention. The same remarks will apply to the Malagasy view about baptism. They are surprised that our Lord, while upon earth, should have instituted two great ordinances, and yet that one should be only a parable or mark, while the other should be only a memorial feast. When, then, they are told that both are realities, and real means of receiving grace, there is no *à priori* prejudice in their minds to be rooted out before they can accept such teaching. So, too, in their studies, some have felt the want of dogmatic teaching whereon to build their faith, and while accepting thoroughly the Bible as the Word of God, they would be thankful for the help to understanding it which is derived from dogmatic teaching. They have yet to learn that no systematic study of theology is possible without dogma, but there is nothing in the Malagasy character to hinder them from so studying, and nothing in the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England which they cannot accept. Until now, however, there has been little opportunity of judging much in detail; the diversity of the teaching of the different Christian bodies about the two Sacraments is necessarily the first to appear, and if these may be taken as a test there need be no fear that the Malagasy will refuse the teaching of the English Church on this ground.

As to discipline, we must write rather more fully. There can be no doubt that the English Church was wise in sending a bishop to Madagascar as soon as it commenced work at the capital, for that was a guarantee that there was nothing in its constitution which was kept back from the Malagasy, and no further development of discipline to which their assent would be asked after they had accepted it so far as this. It may be questioned whether it would be judicious to send a bishop to a totally uneducated people, or to a people without any established form of government; but to a nation in the state of advancement at which the Malagasy have arrived at the present time it would have been very unwise not to have done so. Merely viewed from the outside, without further knowledge of the discipline of the Church, it was thought at first that a bishop was a Government official with some political mission, and as such to be received with due caution; and

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this was the prevalent idea at the time of the arrival of the bishop in Antananarivo. It was not long, however, before the Malagasy found out that the bishop had no political mission, that he had not been sent by the Queen of Great Britain, but that his position in the country was purely ecclesiastical. The next opinion was that episcopacy was a new form of Church government, devised for the sake of the Malagasy, but not an office which has its roots deep down in the heart of the Catholic Church. It cannot be said that the Malagasy received with open arms, or demonstrated any liking for, an office which was totally new to them. There may have been a few who remembered Bishop Ryan's visit to the capital, at the time of the visit of the British Embassy to Antananarivo, on the occasion of the coronation of King Radama II.; but if so they probably did not associate the name with an office, but with an individual, and perhaps the fact that he accompanied a diplomatic embassy may have fostered the idea that a bishop was a government official. Under such circumstances, there is nothing surprising if this part of the Church's discipline was some time before it made its way into the good opinion of the people. Besides this, in the Malagasy version of the Scriptures the word 'bishop' naturally does not appear, but only the title *mpitandrina*, or overseer; and this, while being a fair translation of the Greek word *episkopos*, has reference to an officer who in some respects only can be said to bear a position analogous to that of an *episkopos* in the Early Church. The Malagasy *mpitandrina* is, it is true, the guardian of a church; he is chosen by the congregation, as a rule; but no form of election or confirmation to his office, such as the laying on of hands, takes place in the majority of cases. When, then, the Malagasy are told that there have been in the Church from the earliest times three orders of ministers, no appeal which would carry much weight with them can be made to the Bible; and since, up to the present time, no good Church history has been translated into Malagasy, they have not as yet got over the suspicion with which they viewed the appearance of an officer holding a title and claiming a position different from that of other missionaries. To show how little the name is yet understood in the country, it will be sufficient to say that the less educated people do not even now attach the name to an individual or to an office, but to the Church. The Church of England mission is known by the name of the 'Church of the Bishop,' and in a general way such as belong to it, whether clergy or laity, are called bishops, while the bishop is known as the 'big bishop.' When,

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however, the *office* is explained to the Malagasy, there are several points which catch their attention, and which go far towards making it acceptable to them. The obvious analogy in the Jewish Church and in the Early Christian Church can be pointed out, and the Bible can be adduced to prove that there were offices differing in authority even in the time of the Apostles. Still the question must ultimately be decided by an appeal to history; and when treating of a subject on which Robertson, Lightfoot, and Wordsworth have written, it ought not to be difficult to show that the office has existed from the earliest days, though modified by circumstances and surroundings. Another question as to episcopacy which the Malagasy are very fond of asking is whether there are bishops in Queen Victoria's Church; for there is no sovereign in the world, except their own, whom they respect so much as the Queen of Great Britain. They take great pleasure in thinking that England and Madagascar are ruled by women, and that in both the Prime Minister is the most important person in the kingdom next to the Queen and the Royal Family. It is not, therefore, an unmeaning question when they ask whether there are bishops in Queen Victoria's Church, but one which interests them, and the answer to which carries very considerable weight. When they hear that Queen Victoria is a member of the Church of England, and that the Church of the Bishop was sent out by the Church of England, they are in a fair way towards getting rid of their old suspicions; and not only this, but when they examine the constitution of the Church they see that it is in harmony with the constitution of governments all over the world. There are some who apprehend this, and accept it as a sufficient reason for the existence of the office; and when, further, they are shown that Christ came to found a kingdom upon earth, and that for the progress of any kingdom which is composed of human beings order and discipline are necessary, they acknowledge that the office is at any rate a beneficial one. But analogies, though often useful, ought not to be weighted too heavily; and it cannot be expected that the Malagasy will accept this office, or the discipline of the Church on this point, until they shall know clearly its history from the earliest times, and shall also understand that the continuity of the Church as an historical body rests upon the continuity of the office of bishops.

There is less difficulty about the two lower orders of the ministry; to the office of deacons the Malagasy have long been accustomed, and the word *mpisozona* (one who performs a religious ceremony) has received a religious meaning from

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its use in the Malagasy Bible to explain the office of the chief priests, and of our Lord as the great High Priest. It was not, however, applied to the office in the Christian Church previous to the arrival of the English Church mission in the country, and now, though in use in ordinary conversation, it has been thought better to adopt the word *presbytera* than to retain the Malagasy word, owing to the associations connected with it. Although, therefore, this office cannot be said to be new to the Malagasy, the different degree of authority possessed by the priest, especially in the matter of celebrating the Holy Communion, is one upon which they remark. Under the Independent form of worship this distinction is nearly lost, and there is in each church some one authorised by the congregation to perform this office; and so it becomes obvious that they cannot understand rightly such distinction, unless they previously understand the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Where the idea of the latter is lowered the responsibility of the person offering it must be lowered also; and it is therefore unreasonable to tell the Malagasy that they have no right to celebrate the Lord's Supper, so long as they have no higher idea of it than that of a memorial feast; when, however, they shall more thoroughly understand the nature of the Holy Communion, they will probably inquire as to the source of the authority of the person to celebrate it. So, too, with regard to licensing men to be preachers. We have spoken above of the attraction that preaching has to the Malagasy mind, and the reasons for it; but in a more organised system of Church government it would be impossible for the wish to preach to be taken as a guarantee for the power to preach, or for a congregation to be allowed to appoint an unlimited number of preachers, irrespective of their ability to exercise so important an office. On this point, therefore, if discipline is to be maintained, the current of popular opinion must be stemmed, or at least crossed. Nevertheless there is something to be said on the other side, and it would be very unwise to reject the aid which may be derived from this source. The Roman Catholics allow no lay preaching, and the effect is seen in the number of young men who leave them, after they have been educated, to attach themselves to some other body. The English Church mission, on the other hand, neither rejects lay preaching entirely nor allows it in the same degree as the Independents; for although, up to the present time, there have been only three natives admitted to deacon's orders, there are a considerable number of catechists, both in town and country, whose duty it is to teach the schools, to conduct

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the service, and to preach on Sundays in the absence of the missionary. It is thus within the power of a missionary, with the consent of the bishop, to place a promising man as catechist either in the country or at his own church in the town, and thereby to give him an opportunity of exercising his gift to advantage, and in this way to avoid running counter entirely to the wishes of the people, while, on the other hand, a considerable control can be exercised over the preachers. The English Church has learnt many hard lessons from the defection of her children, and not least has been the lesson that earnestness and zeal, though often misdirected, should not be thwarted but guided. Whether more use can be made than is done at present of this love of preaching remains to be seen; it certainly is one which must have very considerable influence on the future of the Malagasy Church, and one which requires to be most carefully handled. As far, then, as the discipline of the English Church is concerned, it may be said that the Malagasy have not yet probed it, but that they need more thorough and complete information on many points. There are some things in it to which they were not accustomed, and to which they will not take, without good reasons given. Anyhow, before they can fully adopt its discipline, there must be a great wrench from their old habits, and we are far from saying that they will bear such a wrench; but at the same time there is nothing which is insuperable or which is in opposition to their form of government.

Then, thirdly, with regard to the worship of the English Church: the first thing which strikes a Malagasy as different from that to which he has been accustomed is that at certain parts of the service the whole congregation stands, and at certain other parts it kneels, while it is only occasionally that it sits. This, as appealing to the eye, necessarily attracts the attention, and often leads a Malagasy of a thoughtful and enquiring turn of mind to ask the reason of it, as well as of other practices which he may have observed. He will learn that God has given to man a body, a mind, and a spirit, that the object of worship is to call forth all the energies of these different parts to worship Him, and that no worship is perfect in which each does not bear its part. We have heard from Malagasy that when Christianity was first re-introduced into the country the missionaries taught the people to kneel, but that in course of time it was given up; and that when, after a while, they sought to introduce it again, the Malagasy resisted it as an innovation, and no doubt also as not suiting their indolent habits. When, then, a Malagasy stranger enters

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one of the Anglican churches, he does not follow the custom of the Church, but remains sitting during the prayers and hymns unless the force of example shames him into compliance with the usual custom. Probably the majority of the Malagasy who come once, come no more, in consequence of this very thing; but there are some who have thought it over, and have been forced by their own minds to allow that it is more consistent with the honour which is due to God to show Him at least as much reverence as they would show to their Queen or to one of the chief officers of the State. To many, however, it seems a piece of ritual which involves a considerable amount of exertion; and, as they have been taught that God does not look to the outward mien, but only to the state of the heart, they consequently think that it is no matter whether they display reverence by the posture of their body or not. With a people such as the Malagasy this is undoubtedly a great mistake, for, like all Eastern nations, they are very indolent of body, and, whether they are talking or waiting, invariably seek something upon which to lean or to sit. They are also very absent, or rather apathetic, and one thing which should be specially aimed at, whether in teaching them or in talking to them, is to excite their attention and arouse their interest. If, then, they are allowed to sit quietly the whole time, they often sink into an abstracted state of mind, without thinking of anything in particular, unless they are aroused by the words of the preacher or by a hymn which they happen to know. It is, then, a part of training which by no means should be given up, as tending to interest them in the services; and even if there were no other reason than this, or if God's honour did not demand more outward reverence than is shown by continually sitting while engaged in worshipping Him, the increased amount of earnestness which is thereby gained would be well worth the difficulty of overcoming the dislike which the people have to the exertion. It must be admitted that hereby the Church is running counter to the prejudices and habits of the Malagasy, but we think that in course of time the best of them will acknowledge the truth of the Church's mode of action, and if their leaders do so the rest will follow. As the service proceeds the observer finds that a prescribed order is followed, and that the prayers are not said extempore, but as they are arranged in a book; and this gives rise to many questions as to the authority of the Prayer Book and the advantage of using such a regular form in preference to extempore prayer. This is not the place to answer any such questions, as the English nation has for a very long time assented to the

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principles of the Prayer Book; and though there are many who do not know much about its origin, they have been brought up to it, and accept it on such ground if on no other. But to the Malagasy it is quite new, and an enquirer will wish to know the reason for its adoption before he parts with that to which he has been accustomed. It cannot be expected that the Malagasy, as a nation, will accept the Book of Common Prayer as the basis of their devotions without a much greater knowledge of it than they at present possess. Some of the Independent missionaries have, however, advanced so far as to advocate tentatively the compilation of a litany or form of prayer for the Malagasy; and if this is their experience, it seems to point to the fact that extempore prayer, in their opinion, is not entirely adapted to the wants of the people. There must also be some things in the English Prayer Book which are not suited to the genius of the people; but though they may never adopt it in its entirety, it will probably raise their ideas as to what constitutes beauty in prayer; and if at any time they should try to adopt a form of worship, they will be in a better position to do so than they would be if they had no other model but extempore prayer upon which to work. Another point which ought to be noticed briefly is the Daily Morning and Evening Services, for this again is something new to them. They have accepted the fact that 'the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God,' and the way in which Sunday is observed in Antananarivo and its immediate neighbourhood would put to shame many parts of England. But they do not understand that all days alike are God's, and that prayer is equally their duty upon the other days as upon the Sunday. It might have been expected that they would have shown their disapproval of week-day services by staying away; but, on the contrary, daily prayers are well attended, and are looked upon as one of the distinctive marks of the English Church. Many other points there are which might be mentioned under this head; but, with the exception of certain prominent features, there has not as yet been time for the Malagasy to understand the teaching of the Church. Looking at it as a whole—at the progress which has been made during the last three years, and at its relation to the Government and the people—there is no reason to believe that there is anything in the doctrines, or discipline, or worship of the English Church which the Malagasy will be unable to accept when they have become accustomed to it. There are many things which as yet have been accepted only by a few; there is also much to be

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done before its distinctive teaching and position can be widely known; but whatever form the Malagasy Church may take in the future, it will not be wholly uninfluenced by the English Church. The latter probably entered upon its work in Madagascar too late to become the religion of the country, but there will most likely always be a body of Christians in communion with it, unless the time should come that they should be absorbed into the Church of the nation.

No sketch of the work of the Church in Madagascar would be complete in which no mention was made of the Prayer Book, for English ideas of Churchmanship are so bound up with it that any other Church would hardly be accepted as in communion with it unless it recognised the Prayer Book as the basis of its religious worship. As to the advisability of introducing the English Prayer Book into another nation by translating it word for word, as the Bible would be translated, opinions necessarily differ. There are some portions of the Prayer Book, such as the General Confession and the Litany, which are admirably suited to a people in a rudimentary stage of religious knowledge; and there are some portions also which are difficult to be understood, except by an educated congregation. This, then, might well be a question when commencing work among a totally uncivilised people, and one too which would probably be best answered in the negative; but it could scarcely be doubtful as to what was the right course to pursue in Madagascar. We have shown that the Malagasy must not be viewed in the light of an uneducated nation, and we have given reasons for thinking that it was necessary as soon as possible to let the Malagasy know clearly the fundamental doctrines of the English Church. Had the Prayer Book been suppressed the same doubts would have arisen as would have been the case if a mission had been commenced in Imerina without a bishop at the head of it. Many would have waited to see what the book was like which professed to be the exponent of the Bible, and much inconvenience would have been caused by being obliged to answer questions as to its nature and contents. It seemed good, therefore, to put the Prayer Book, as far as it was finished, into the hands of the Malagasy, and to remedy such deficiencies as existed as quickly as possible; and though difficulties might arise from issuing a book containing a form of worship new to the people, it was considered better to risk that than to delay the issue of the Prayer Book until the Malagasy should be fully prepared for it. A few short

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remarks upon the state of the translation at the present time will put the reader in possession of all the facts necessary for a full understanding of this part of the subject. The first translation of a portion of the Prayer Book was made, strangely enough, by a missionary of the London Missionary Society; but this, owing to the fact that the translator was in Australia at the time, was very imperfect, and called aloud for a revision of its contents; but, notwithstanding this, it served until the arrival of the bishop in Madagascar three years and a half ago. The whole of the Prayer Book, however, was not contained in this, but only the Morning and Evening Services, the Litany, Collects, and Communion Office, also the Epistles and Gospels (not translated afresh, but taken from the Malagasy Bible). In addition to this, missionaries of the two Church societies at work on the coast had translated all the occasional services, so that the whole Prayer Book was in the Malagasy language, with the exception of the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings and the Order for the Ordaining of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. All of these, however, needed a thorough revision, for some had been translated in Mauritius—and no translation made out of the country can hope to be very good—some on the coast, where the language is neither so pure nor so well understood by the natives as is the dialect used in Imerina. When, therefore, the mission was started on a new basis, it was felt necessary that the Prayer Book should be thoroughly revised, and those parts should be translated which were still wanting. A tentative revision of the Morning and Evening Prayers and of the Litany had been made, but this too wanted further amendments, and therefore the missionary who had been longest in the country was appointed to revise where revision was possible, and to translate where no previous copy was in existence. A preface was kindly supplied by Dr. Bailey, Warden of S. Augustine's College, Canterbury, which was in every way suitable to the Malagasy, and in which he showed the Scriptural authority for the various parts of Divine worship. The revision was in its turn revised by a committee with the assistance of Malagasy assessors, whose opinion was asked on all questions of correctness of language or where there was a difference of opinion among the English missionaries. In acting thus the example of the committee now at work upon the revision of the Malagasy Bible was followed, the chief difference being that in the latter case all the missionary societies now at work in the island are represented, with the exception of the Roman Catholic, whereas in

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the former the work belongs exclusively to the Church of England mission. It cannot be expected that the translation should be perfect; but it is certainly a great advance on any that have preceded it, owing partly to the fact that in this case the labours of others have been available, both as a guide and as a warning, and also that, as the work is being carried on at Antananarivo, the best Malagasy assistance is close at hand. With but few exceptions the English Prayer Book has been followed as nearly as the exigencies of translation would allow; occasionally, however, rubrics had to be altered, so as to suit the case of a Church which, unconnected with the State, exists only as a voluntary body depending upon the consent of its members. A few minor changes of no great importance have been made to suit the country, but these are not such as to affect in any way the principles of the Prayer Book. It has been completed as far as the Psalms, and it is hoped that it may be possible to give the Malagasy the entire Book within six months. Until the Malagasy Bible is revised the existing version will be used, as it seemed useless to attempt a revision of the Psalms for insertion in the Prayer Book, when it would have to be changed in a few years, when the Bible Committee now at work in Antananarivo shall have completed its labours. This time cannot be fixed very definitely, for though the Committee has been four years in existence, Genesis, Exodus, and S. Matthew's Gospel only have been completed, owing principally to the absence of the chief reviser in England on furlough. When the Prayer Book is finished a new era of the Church's work in Madagascar should commence, for many Malagasy are looking for its appearance in order to examine its doctrines, but who will not take the trouble to collect the various services, which cannot be bound into one until the completion of the whole.

We have touched above upon the question of ritual, though only in passing, and in order to say that no extreme ritual has been introduced by the English Church mission into Madagascar. This is such a burning question in England at the present time that it will not be out of place briefly to discuss the question in its relation to the Malagasy. How far is it wise to introduce advanced ritual among them? As a general rule, nations in an early stage of civilisation are much more easily taught by the eye than by the ear, and this rule undoubtedly holds good among the Malagasy. Anything which appeals to the eye is noticed and remembered, while it is very difficult, without constant repetition, to make them remember facts or theories which they learn from oral

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instruction. Symbolism is a great help to them, and it is a noteworthy fact that in teaching nothing engages their attention so much as types, while history has but very little attraction for them. If, then, any assistance can be derived from ritual, it certainly should not be hastily rejected; and any curtailment of the ritual of the English Church would be a mistake, for they are quick to notice, and have no hesitation about enquiring into the meaning of things. Further than this, their religion is without sentiment, except such sentiment as still lingers around the names of those who suffered in the persecutions of Queen Ranaválona I. They know scarcely anything about the martyrs and saints who were put to death or endured imprisonment in the early ages of the Christian Church; and though such knowledge is not essential, it can scarcely be denied that it is a good thing for mankind to have before them such patterns of goodness as are furnished by the lives of holy men and women. Ritual is often blamed as putting sentiment in the place of reality, but the absence of all ritual often leaves the reality cold, barren, and unimpressive. That this is a danger into which the Malagasy are very ready to fall is undoubtedly true; many worship without having any idea why they do so, and attendance at the Lord's Supper is frequently looked upon more as a certificate of good conduct than as a means of grace. Anything which tends to invest the services with more solemnity, and to make the Malagasy appreciate their reality, should be welcomed; and a moderate amount of ritual is certainly an assistance to this end, for they are, as a nation, very quick at noticing and appreciating anything of this nature; but at the same time it is very obvious that it can easily be pushed too far, and that the Malagasy mind is not capable of appreciating the subtle distinction which the Roman Church draws between the cultus of the Saints or of the Virgin Mary and the worship which is paid to God. They also fail to distinguish between the images of the saints and their own idols of former days. And it would be highly injurious to the national character to foster a belief that any rite or ceremony could stand in the place of individual piety and holiness, for this would agree only too well with their natural indolence. Ritual, therefore, in Madagascar may be looked upon as a means of teaching the natives reverence for holy things, and of leading them to enquire more deeply into their meaning; but, if we have gauged the national character aright, it would be dangerous to adopt too ornate a ritual, lest eye service should take the place of heart service.

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We have tried to give our readers a sketch of religious thought in Madagascar, and especially in its relation to the English Church mission in that country, but it must be remembered that much of what has been said refers not to the mass of the people, but only to those who are the leaders of opinion. The majority are still incapable of having any views of their own upon many of the points here discussed, but there is certainly a movement of thought going on among the better educated, and a feeling after what is true with a view to its adoption. There are few in the country who would deny that this exists, and that it will take shape some day, though the day may still be a long way off, and will eventuate in a Church of the nation. It is impossible to say how far such a Church will be Independent, or Roman Catholic, or Lutheran, or Anglican: probably it will not exclusively follow any one of these different systems. We have indicated, as far as may be done without falling into 'that most gratuitous form of error,' prophecy, some of the forces which will influence the Malagasy in their choice, but the result of the combined working of these forces cannot be foreshadowed with any certainty, and must therefore be left to be developed by time.

ART. V.—DANTE AND GOETHE.

1. *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri.* (Venice, 1491.)
2. *Faust, ein Trauerspiel von Goethe.* (Vienna and Stuttgart, 1823.)
3. *The Early Italian Poets, &c.* Translated by D. G. ROSSETTI. (Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861.)
4. *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret.* Translated by JOHN OXENFORD. (London, George Bell and Sons, 1874.)

AMONG the various subjects which artists have chosen for illustration, we are a little surprised that no one, so far as we know, has ever made choice of the following scene, described by Eckermann in his *Conversations with Goethe*, which brings the two great poets, of whom we are now about to speak, literally face to face. 'Goethe,' says the narrator, 'was seated before a table, on which burned two lights, which

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illuminated at once his own face and a colossal bust which stood before him on the table, and at which he was looking. "Now," said Goethe, pointing at the bust, "who is this?" "Apparently a poet, and an Italian," replied I. "It is Dante," said he. "It is well done; a fine head, and yet not very pleasing. He seems old, bowed down, and peevish; the features are lax and drawn down, as if he had just come from hell. I have a medal, struck during his life, and there everything appears much better."' Goethe is then described as dilating on the grandeur of the face; on the life and works of Dante, of whom he speaks with great reverence, but with so strong a sense of his 'obscurity,' that he turns at last with a friendly air to Eckermann, and adds, 'To you the study of this poet is absolutely forbidden by your father confessor!'

We cannot help thinking that the contrast between the cold, white marble, with its austere, sorrowful, and thoughtful expression, and the living human countenance, with its brilliant eyes, and the majesty, vigour, and energy of which even old age could not rob the 'Jupiter-face' of the greatest poet of modern Germany, might, in the hands of a painter of any genius, be made one of the most instructive and suggestive of all pictures, especially if he contrived to hint at some of the accessories of comfort, cultivation, and Court-favour with which Goethe's life was enriched, while he left it to the imagination to surround the form of Dante with sterner and wilder imagery.

Be this as it may, we cannot think of Dante and Goethe together without feeling not only that they are representative men, but that they represent two periods of history, two schools of poetry, two temperaments, two attitudes of the human mind towards religion and morals which concern ourselves most closely in the present day. We all feel the change which has come over the world since Dante's time—an inner change far more important than all that science has done for our outward life; we long to understand it, but its complexity overwhelms us; it meets us at every point, and yet we may find it hard to analyse it; its phenomena are so numerous that we find the process of sorting them almost interminable. Yet if we take the lives of these two representative men, and place them side by side, we may find that the study of their contrasted lives has done a good deal to answer the questions which we ask ourselves.

For man is at once the product and the producer of his age, as a gardener is fed by the fruits of the garden he cultivates himself; or, he is to it as a great painter who developes,

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if he does not create, the expression on the face which he depicts. It is impossible to act on an age without being in sympathy with it; it is useless to act on an age unless a man can see beyond it, and carry his contemporaries farther than they ever would have gone without him.

We may contrast Dante and Goethe first in their lives, and then successively under the following heads; others, no doubt, might readily have been found, but we will content ourselves with these:—Reality: moral earnestness: nature: love. And first to speak of their lives.

Dante was of ancient and distinguished family (cf. his dialogue with Cacciaguida, *Par.* xv., xvi.);—born in a chivalrous and adventurous age, when, in the midst of melancholy discords and divisions, of terrible crimes and disgraceful scandals, there was (as in our own land in the 'growing age' of which Shakspeare writes) a sense of youth and progress, of resources still to be developed, of power not yet fully put forth, of genius still in the bud (*Purg.* xi.);—an age in which scepticism, though far from unknown, is apparently confined within comparatively narrow limits, when *ennui* is a word still uncoined, when moral responsibility (in theory at least) is fully recognised, and when, though the discipline of the Church is in a lamentable state of decay (cf. *Purg.* xxxii.), her doctrines are in the main received without serious question.

Dante grows up a man of strong affections and aversions. We see in his face 'the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love,' of which a modern poet has told us. Pride and sensitiveness, keen critical power, fine sarcasm and contempt, are all in his nature; only balanced by intensity of inward gaze, depth of passion, fervour of devotion, concentration of thought, subtlety of disquisition, the philosopher's brain, the painter's eye,[1] and the poet's heart.

He has many friends and fellow-students, and one ideal, supreme, unforgetable, one dares not call it unhappy, love. He takes a vehement part in politics, both by action and writing; his character is too manly to be merely speculative at such a time; his love of his country is only second to his love for his lady. In his great poem, 'Firenze' is apostrophised with almost as much pathos as Beatrice. But he is evidently a man of no popular gifts; he cannot accommodate himself to those he has to live with; he has no pleasure in society; there is not a vestige of humour in the whole of the *Divina*

[1] Dante's friendship for Giotto, and its probable effects on the art of the latter, is not likely to be soon forgotten by those who have ever visited Padua or Assisi.

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Commedia;[1] and the characteristic repartees preserved of its author are haughty and ungracious. The poet who could place Farinata among the flaming sepulchres (*Inf.* x.), and Forese in one of the severest ordeals of purgatory (xxiii.), must have been in real life a most uncompromising judge. To say the least of it, his presence at the Courts of Ravenna or Verona must often have been as silent a rebuke as that of Christian and Faithful among the booths of Vanity Fair.

The life of Goethe was, as is well known, the greatest possible contrast to all this. What books were ever more unlike than the *Vita Nuova* and *Aus meinem Leben*, not only in the incidents which they narrate, but in the relative pitch of the writers' minds? Perhaps if we were asked to define in one sentence the weak point in Goethe's character, we should say that he missed the training of being brought face to face with the greatest realities, and that, with enormously wide experience, he lacked intensity. Compared with Dante, he makes us think of the lines—

> 'Weak eyes on darkness dare not gaze,
> It dazzles like the noonday blaze;
> But he who sees God's face may brook
> On the true face of sin to look.'

The puppet-show, of which he tells us in his childhood, went on more or less during his whole life. It was not so much 'all the world's a stage' as 'the stage is all the world.'

Yet Goethe had little or none of the highest dramatic power. We have only to contrast his *Egmont*—elaborately constructed as it is, and representing a most conscientious study of the manners and history of the period—with any of Shakspeare's historical plays, to feel this lack of vivifying genius.[2] One is like a glass eye, exquisitely imitated from nature, but with a cold, dry gaze, and mechanical motion, or

[1] Perhaps the nearest approach is in *Par.* xvi., where Beatrice is compared to the female attendant of Guinevère, with her warning cough.

[2] Perhaps this may be better brought out by our trying to fancy how Shakspeare would have treated any of the great situations in such a piece as *Egmont*. Of course if we could do this effectually, we should be Shakspeares ourselves; but we think ourselves justified in observing that Goethe's characters invariably make the most obvious speeches (so obvious that one cannot call them *false*), while Shakspeare's are like Nature's self in their elasticity and *unexpectedness*, and yet their perfect fitness to time, place, and character. We know perfectly well that if a single day of our lives turned out exactly in every respect as we had thought it probably would turn out, it would savour of the wildest improbability of all. Something the same sense of unreality is given us by Goethe's drama as compared with Shakspeare's.

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no motion at all; the other like a living human eye, with the sparkle of life and intelligence, the unaccountable whims and freaks of humour, the twinklings of laughter, and the hot tears of feeling. Like Byron,[1] Goethe could do little more than reproduce himself under various personages. A great dramatic poet (as he has made his own Tasser say of Homer) must be absolutely self-forgetful, like Shakspeare, and the master-spirits of the Greek stage; but this was the last quality which could be ascribed to Goethe. And when self is unduly realised, everything else becomes proportionately unreal. So Goethe seems to have lived among great things without being able to throw himself heart and soul into their spirit.

The Seven Years' War was going on during his youth (he himself, indeed, tells us of his early admiration for Frederick II.); the War of Separation between England and America, the French Revolution, and Napoleon's great campaigns during his maturer life; but it is astonishing how little they seem to have practically touched him. How different is the placid, pictorial treatment of war in *Hermann and Dorothea*, from the burning words of Dante, written, we can almost fancy, by a hand indented with the very scars of battle! To mention only two—the passages concerning Manfred (*Purg.* iii.), Buonconte (v.), and we may add the terrible picture of Ugolino (*Inf.* xxxiii.).

Goethe's position as Privy Councillor at Weimar was mere child's play when compared with Dante's part in politics. His own sense of this is, perhaps, unconsciously expressed in the lines—

'Deutschland? aber wo liegt es? Ich weiss das Land nicht zu finden,
Wo das Gelehrte beginnt, hört das Politische auf.'

And we may compare the well-known anecdote of the excitement he was in about the rupture between Cuvier and Geoffrey de St. Hilaire,[2] on purely scientific matters, at a time when the rest of the world could think and speak of nothing but the Revolution of July 1830.

His early life at Frankfort was that of the comfortable, half-patrician *bourgeois*, less devoid of objects that could act on the pictorial imagination—such as the old Römersaal, the Jews' quarter, and the neighbourhood of the Rhine—than of influences which could form the character. One misses the

[1] Goethe's remarks on Byron, in some respects curiously applicable to his own character, are well worth reading. See *Eckermann*.

[2] *Eckermann*, p. 480, Eng. edition.

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public school element, the parliamentary element, the adventurous element, which tell so much on the training of young men in our own country. And one pities the children whose early ideas of the sublime were taken from Klopstock's *Messias*, and whose religion was the dreariest German Protestantism. The same fate pursues him at the University. The effect which Goethe's academic training left on his mind is most effectually summed up in that scene in *Faust* where Mephistopheles, arrayed in the doctor's gown, ridicules one department of human learning after another, and especially Goethe's own special study of jurisprudence (and so *Götz v. Berlichingen*, act i. 4).

Contrast with this the wonderful description in the *Paradiso* of the double circle of lights, representing human wisdom consecrated, beatified, and purified, and further comment on this subject will perhaps hardly be needed.

But it is, above all, in love, as we shall presently see, that Goethe seems to have been peculiarly incapable of rising to the heights and sounding the depths of what was the purification of Dante's whole nature.

On the other hand, it must be said that the 'genialisch' period of Goethe's life presents him to us as one of the most popular men of his day—singularly handsome, not negligent of effect in dress and bearing, ready to talk and make fun, delighting in stage representations, epigrams, *vers de société*, good at out-of-door amusements (compare his mother's delicious description of the skating scene); a passionate, if a fickle, admirer of female beauty, as well as the centre of a noisy and lively group of male friends; a man who dabbled in everything, and was easily interested in a variety of subjects; a man with considerable power of enjoying the talent of others—always in itself a note of superiority[1]—with a devoted mother and sister, and, as time went on, an almost boundless circle of friends and admirers. In some respects—like his great contemporary and frequent reader, Napoleon—he seems to have had the power of making himself beloved without giving nearly as much as he received. When we contrast his autobiography with the most affecting and suggestive of all autobiographies—the *Confessions of S. Augustine*—we look in vain for passages of such depth and pathos as those on the death of his early friend, or of Nebridius, or those relating to Monica; though there is, we think, real affection in Goethe's

[1] It is delightful to read his enthusiastic admiration for his great contemporaries, Scott, Byron, Manzoni, and others. At such moments one feels inclined to pardon him everything.

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account of his sister, and in some of the passages relating to Fräulein von Klettenberg; and no one can read without delight of his generous conduct to Schiller, notwithstanding the unfavourable beginning of their acquaintance; or can help being moved by the genuine sorrow which he, after his wont, rather smothered than displayed at the death of one whom many men would only have hated or avoided as a rival.

Nor can we pass over his steady, life-long friendship for Karl August on the one hand, nor, on the other, his forbearing and persevering kindness to some who, in all respects, were immeasurably beneath him. But he was all his days rather a man whom others wanted than who wanted others, and from thence in part arose his wonderful power of toleration.

Let us try to reconstruct for ourselves the age in which Goethe grew up—the age of powdered hair and silk stockings, of dulness, stiffness, and long-windedness, of formality and unreality. On one side Voltaire and Rousseau, already beginning to lose their power over the rising generation; on the other side, such influences as those of Klopstock and Lavater, Fräulein von Klettenberg, on her sick-bed, with her face full of hope and devotion, gazing at the crucifix; and Stilling, burning charcoal or cutting out suits of clothes (*Aus m. Leben*, i. 447), with a heart made happy by the most absolute faith in a personal Providence. On one side scepticism, on the other pietism. Heroes there were none, unless Frederic II., the idol of Goethe's boyhood, could be called so. There were no picturesque tales of Jacobite adventure, no hoards of rich materials, pathetic, humorous, or heroic, such as lay ready to be kindled at the touch of Scott.[1] There was little to answer to the exquisite home-life of England, which under one aspect or another charms us in the tales of Jane Austen, in the poems of Crabbe and of Cowper, and which contributed to so much of what was best in Wordsworth. There was not the aristocratic pride and chivalry of Byron. There was none of the brilliancy which had made even vice attractive at Versailles. There was (as Goethe himself complained[2]) no grand Church ritual, no antique liturgies, no great princely prelates, no links with apostolic Christianity, little of the grace and dignity of religion.

It is no doubt possible to conceive of a man brought up as Goethe was, and yet endowed with a loving, reverent spirit, a depth and yet a loftiness of soul which should

[1] For Goethe's own sense of this, see *Eckermann* (Bohn's Eng. edition), pp. 100, 171, 528.

[2] *Aus meinem Leben* (Stuttgart ed. 1866), vol. i. pp. 347–9.

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triumph over all obstacles and open for itself immortal fountains even in the heart of the desert. Such men are always rare; such triumphs are difficult to achieve; but, making every allowance for circumstances, we cannot but think that Goethe's nature was as much at fault as any of his surroundings. 'How far we can help our nature?' is a question hard enough for each of us to solve in his own case, and which has wisely been made impossible in the case of others.

'Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
Decidedly can try us,'

says poor Burns, whose own position was certainly none of the easiest; but it seems impossible to believe that there is not some time when man is not master of his fate, in other words, of that character which is destiny.

That Goethe, great as he undoubtedly was, somehow missed the highest possibilities which lay before him at the outset of his life, we think can hardly be denied. A minute observer of details, he could put together admirably, but he could not give the breath of life to his creations.[1] With a real genius for lyrical poetry, he touches everything *but* the heart.[2] Gifted with a strong sense of the absurd, he does not know what true, hearty humour is.[3]

To take now the contrasts between the two poets somewhat more in detail. And first as regards *Reality*. We have already noticed some of the causes which prevented Goethe from being real, and which may help to account for the falsetto strain which runs through his writings wherever his own personality is not the prominent figure. What, on the

[1] It is with a sense of almost unpardonable boldness that we venture to call in question Schiller's letter to Goethe on Goethe's own genius, where he says:—'As you had passed over from immediate contemplations (*i.e.* the study of things in detail) to abstractions, you had now to transform your conceptions back again into intuitions, and your thoughts into feelings; because it is only by means of these that genius can bring forth,' etc. It is in the last half of the process that Goethe (except for obvious reasons in *Faust*) seems usually to fail. 'Intuitive' is just exactly what he is not, at least when he is not talking about himself. But he had extraordinary insight and foresight in the concerns of real life. See (*e.g.*) his almost prophetic language as reported by Eckermann about United Germany and the Suez Canal (223–350).

[2] Perhaps we ought to make an exception in favour of Gretchen, in *Faust*. Yet the situation is one so pathetic from the nature of things that it would have been difficult *not* to have made it touching. As Dr. Johnson said of Clarissa Harlowe, 'Give me a sick bed and a dying lady, and I'll be pathetic myself.'

[3] See, *e.g.* in Lewis's *Life*, the account of Goethe's 'adaptation' of the character of Mercutio for the German stage.

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other hand, is the power which gives us a sense of truth, distinctness, and breadth, in situations the most unlike ordinary life, throughout Dante's most wonderful lay, such as, perhaps, has never been, among uninspired writers, equalled but by John Bunyan? Dante is of course thoroughly *synthetic*. He does not take existing phenomena to pieces in order to understand the laws which give rise to them; but he sees in them parts of some magnificent whole to which they, and all things else, are tending. Classical ideas are regenerated by him as if in the baptistery of his *bel San Giovanni*. Saul and Niobe, Arachne and Rehoboam, are all alike his tributaries (*Purg.* xii.). Nimrod, Antæus, and Briareus reappear in grander proportions than ever beneath his touch; while his deep reverence for the great pre-Christian (we cannot call them pagan) singers, is shown in that most exquisite fourth canto of the *Inferno* describing the limbo of the unbaptised, and the 'prato di fresca verdura'—

> 'Genti v' eran con occhi tardi e gravi,
> Di grand' autorità ne' lor sembianti;
> Parlavan rado con voci soavi.'

and in the episode of Virgil's meeting with Statius, which forms one of the most affecting scenes in the *Purgatorio*. Again that wonderful apostrophe,

> 'O sommo *Giove*
> Che fosti 'n terra per noi *crocifisso*.'—*Purg.* vi.

is an inimitable expression of Dante's whole attitude as regards all that is noble in classical belief and language. For it was impossible for him to meet with nobility anywhere, and not make it his own. 'When Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him.'

The same remark applies to all that was highest in Greek philosophy. His references to Plato and Aristotle, direct and indirect, are tolerably numerous, though he gently reproves their desire for too much knowledge:—

> 'State contenti umana gente, al *quia*,
> Che se potuto aveste veder tutto,
> Non era mestier partorir Maria;
> E disiar vedeste senza frutto
> Tai, che sarebbe lor disio quetato
> Ch' eternamente è dato lor per lutto:
> I' dico d' Aristotile, e di Plato,
> E di molt' altri; e qui chinò la fronte.
> E più non disse, e rimase turbato.'—*Purg.* iii.

So with his beloved science of astronomy. He takes it at

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the point to which the researches of his own day had brought it, and idealises it by his genius in a manner compared with which the starry legends of the old world seem bald and childish. He peoples the planets with beatified spirits. 'Wherever I am,' he is reported to have said when in exile, 'I can still see the sun and the stars.' *How* he saw them, *what* he saw in them, none but himself can fully express, as he leads us on from light to light, from sphere to sphere, in canto after canto of his *Paradiso*, adding image after image of brightness, heaping up bliss upon bliss, till at last he leaves us alone with the music and light of his grand climax—

'L' amor, che muove 'l Sole e l' altre stelle.'

In Goethe's case all this is reversed. Notwithstanding his own protests, his mind, especially in early life, is thoroughly self-conscious, analytic, and irreverent. He has, like his own Mephistopheles, a faculty of spoiling, disintegrating, and pulling to pieces. As a boy he reads the Bible in order to tease his tutor with hard questions (*Aus meinem Leben*, i. 146). He studies the Book of Job, and from one of the grandest passages of inspired writ produces what, if one of the wittiest, is also surely one of the most blasphemous of modern effusions, his prologue to *Faust*. He reads *Hamlet*, and embodies some able and singularly characteristic criticism in a book which we should think would be found most uncongenial, if not unreadable, by anyone whose literary taste had been formed either on Shakspeare or any other confessedly great poet, or whose moral sensibilities had not been lamentably blunted. He reads the *Vicar of Wakefield*,—certainly the most perfect work of its class then existing, the work of a man who, with all his infirmities, inconsistencies, and follies, had a generous nature, a tender heart, the finest reverence for true womanhood, a deep sense of what may be called the religion of the fireside, added to an original genius which was almost like Shakspeare's in its unconscious facility and playfulness, its delicacy of touch, and its intuitive sense of fitness; —and the result is a wretched parody of the story in real life, which has left one of the worst blots on Goethe's memory, and which shadowed the whole existence of one of the most unselfish of women.

Lessing, Winckelmann, Heyne, and others have awakened a taste for classic art in Germany. Goethe studies it attentively, but gods and heroes are never *real* to him as to Dante. He does not make them live again, though he knows all about the limbs and muscles of the Laocoon, and writes classical

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tragedies[1] which even his influence and personal presence cannot make popular. 'Here in Weimar,' he says, 'they have done me the honour to perform my *Iphigenia* and my *Tasso*, but how often? Scarcely once in three or four years. *The public finds them tedious.*'

He seems to have been unable to distinguish simplicity from vulgarity, solemnity from dulness, accidents from essentials, the impressive from the absurd. We must do him the justice to remember that he himself acknowledged the exaggerations and extravagances in *Werther*, which laid themselves open to the rich parodies in the *Anti-Jacobin* and elsewhere, probably to be remembered when Werther himself, blue frock, yellow waistcoat, floods of tears, pistols, and 'Butterbrod,'[2] are all forgotten.

Hermann and Dorothea is, perhaps, Goethe's *chef d'œuvre* as regards artistic finish—an exquisite piece of painting, if not a heart-stirring narrative. Somehow one feels as if the poet was perpetually asking himself, 'How would Homer

[1] See some interesting remarks on this subject in Lowell's *My Study Windows*, in his essay on Swinburne.

[2] We doubt whether Homer himself would have felt equal to the amount of eating and drinking that goes on within a few pages of *Werther*. First (in p. 8) we have the hero seated under the inevitable lime-trees, sipping the inevitable coffee. Next day (p. 9) the return of the peasant-mother, who has been out to buy sugar and other necessaries, is signalised by the present of half a bun to her second boy, who has been nursing the baby in her absence. In the next page, however, the children endear themselves still further to Werther by going shares in sugar, bread and butter, and any other good things that may be to be had. On p. 11 there is more coffee under the lime-trees. Page 12 gives us Werther's ecstasies on his first sight of the heroine, chequered, however, by a recollection that it is time for his 'Butterbrod zu Nacht.' Page 14 introduces us to the famous scene of Lotte cutting black bread for the children (with due regard for the age and appetite of each) before she starts for the ball. But not even the delights of waltzing with the object of his affections can make our hero unmindful of other claims. With more than his usual thoughtfulness he has some oranges handy, and his pleasure, as it seems, would have been complete if Lotte would only not have shared them with a tiresome lady near her. The evening winds up with a game, started by Lotte during the thunderstorm, the interest having been greatly quickened apparently by the hope of 'ein saftiges Pfand'—a juicy forfeit—possibly another of the oranges. We fear, however, this expectation was not destined to be realised. As a specimen of the grace with which Goldsmith could treat even so trivial a subject as eating and drinking, cf. *Vicar of Wakefield*, 'If the cakes at tea ate short and crisp, they were made by Olivia; if the gooseberry wine was well knit, the gooseberries were of her gathering; it was her fingers which gave the pickles their peculiar green; and in the composition of a pudding, it was her judgment that mixed the ingredients.' What a difference between his *touch* and Goethe's!

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have put this?' instead of throwing himself into his characters. When we compare it, as we can hardly help doing, with such a poem as the *Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich*, we cannot help thinking that Clough cared far more sincerely about his subject. *Hermann and Dorothea* may be a triumph of execution, but our real sympathies are awakened by the Oxford man and the Highland lassie. Perhaps what Goethe succeeded in best were short lyrics and ballads. His exquisite ear, his quick susceptibility, his wonderful power of condensation, and his skill in choosing materials here all came to his aid. It was Coleridge, we think, who said that he would have given anything to have written the lines—

> 'Und Marmorbilder steh'n und seh'n mich an;
> Was hat man dir, du armes Kind, gethan?'

So again *Der Sänger*, and the lines, 'Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,' also in *Wilhelm Meister*, the introductory stanzas to, and many fine passages in, *Faust*, and the ballad of the *King of Thule*, are confessedly among the most musical in the German language. But the best proof of the charm of Goethe's productions in the song and ballad form is that they are on everyone's lips and in everyone's memory, thanks to Beethoven, Schubert, and Mendelssohn (*his* Casellas!); and yet Goethe, writing in German, seems like a Demosthenes practising with pebbles in his mouth. What would he not have done with a more plastic language?

Many of Goethe's epigrams, too, are exceedingly happy—little worlds of practical or speculative wisdom:—

> 'Betrübt euch nicht, ihr guten Seelen,
> Denn wer nicht fehlt weiss wohl wenn andre fehlen;
> Allein wer fehlt, der ist erst recht daran,
> Er weiss nun deutlich wie sie wohl gethan.'

This represents the good side of Toleration, of which Goethe was the apostle, as Dante was of Conscience. And this brings us to another point of difference between the two, and one which is affecting the society of our own day to an incalculable degree: we mean their different conceptions as regards *morality*, or a sense of absolute right or wrong, and of our consequent duties.

Dante's belief in this lies at the root of his whole nature, and is the axis on which his great poem may be said to revolve. Nothing can turn him aside from the conviction that man has free will and personal responsibility, and that he is rewarded

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or punished according to his exercise of that power. It is the change of *will* alone that releases sinners from purgatory (xxi.), and it is not what a man appears to be, but what he is at heart, that God regards (*Par.* iv.). The exceeding horror of sin, its inevitable punishment, and the absolute need of repentance are ideas ever present to Dante's mind, and he never flinches from looking the most terrible truths full in the face. Goethe,[1] on the other hand (like a true disciple of Spinoza), never fully realised, and never adequately taught, the responsibility of the human will.[2] His autobiography (whether avowedly his own or veiled under the name of some fictitious hero) is that of a man surrendering himself to one attraction after another, or working out some inevitable law of nature, or borne along by some external fate, as in Egmont's celebrated speech (act ii. sc. 2) about the car of man's destiny. The austere virtues of self-control, self-denial, the idea of living according to some fixed moral laws, were, for the most part, foreign to his mind.

How, to illustrate what has been said by an example, would Dante have treated a character like Marguerite in the first part of *Faust*? She is supposed to be saved; but why? She has been abundantly miserable, but has made no effort to forsake the sin which brought her into trouble, or to forswear the companionship of her betrayer:—

> 'Doch—alles was dazu mich trieb,
> Gott! war so gut, ach! war so lieb.'

She prays before the Mater Dolorosa a sentimental prayer, without a word of amendment of life. She faints away during the Dies Iræ in the cathedral, but the thought of judgment and wrath to come does not appear to bring forth any fruit in action; and the horrible closing scene leaves us still in doubt whether she has made a single good resolution, or whether there is any real *μετάνοια*, any change of character which would have made her act differently another time.[3] Compare this, on the one hand, with the picture, terrible in

[1] Cf. the article on Pantheism, the Vedas, and Spinoza, in the *Church Quarterly* for April 1877, which the writer had not seen till after the present pages were transcribed.

[2] See Lewis's *Life*, especially the chapter on Goethe's marriage.

[3] For the very different spirit in which such a subject could be treated by one of Goethe's greatest contemporaries, see *The Heart of Midlothian*, where Scott's power of character painting comes out in its superiority to Goethe's as strongly as does his moral and religious temper.

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its sincerity, of Paolo and Francesca, in the *Inferno*, and the high standard of virtue in the exquisite canto about Piccarda in the *Paradiso*; and we see what a misfortune it is for the world that some modern writers should take Goethe's vague sentimentality and utter moral feebleness, instead of Dante's thorough, distinct, masculine, honest, and therefore most pure and most delicate treatment of great ethical questions, for their guide. 'There is a time when true love must be stern,' is a doctrine too little attended to at present.

A word or two may be said here about the mistaken use of such terms as 'nature' and 'natural,' both in Goethe's day and our own—the reaction alike against theological dogma and religious discipline, which makes itself felt not only in our libraries, but in our drawing-rooms; not only in our churches, but in our police-courts; not only in our schools and universities, but in our political and national life.

Dante is natural always, without knowing it or thinking about it. Goethe wants to be, and misses it. As he says in his *Musen und Grazien in der Mark*:—

> 'O wie freut es mich, mein Liebchen,
> Das du so *natürlich* bist!'

And again:—

> 'Wir sind bieder und *natürlich*,
> Und das ist genug gethan.'

And compare numerous passages in *Werther*, as well as, of course, in *Faust*.

Fancy Dante complimenting any of his friends on being natural! One might as well congratulate a native of Middlesex on being English. What else should he be? Dante never loses his firm hold on the essential idea of anything which presents itself to him. He never startles, though he often overwhelms the mind. He has no stage tricks, no sudden 'unrehearsed effects.' Like nature herself, he is 'ever averse to pantomime.' He is always in earnest, always single-eyed, a master of true sublimity. One of the principal factors in his character is the power of looking up to something outside himself. Scornful as he seemed, he was enthusiastic and devout to a degree which is rare indeed in modern times. His very bitterness came from an unfulfilled ideal. Florence was too dear to him not to break his heart when she was foolish and wicked. The great churchmen, against whom he is so unsparing in his invective, were faith-

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less to a high trust. No one would have reverenced them more than Dante had they been worthy of it. If he is more than ordinarily impatient of female follies, it is because his ideal of woman is unapproachably high. If he has no pity on the vicious, it is because he knows the real worth of virtue. If he uses a friar's cord in the *Inferno* as a bait for Geryon, he pays the most splendid of tributes to Francis and Dominic in the *Paradiso*.

Goethe had little reverence, and therefore was incapable of righteous indignation. Consequently he is incapable of true dignity or sublimity. Even his descriptions of nature are full of vague generalities. Coming to them with our mind's eye fresh from the Elizabethan, or the great modern English poets—to say nothing of Chaucer—we feel as an artist might do who had to go back to our pre-Turnerian landscape after feasting on the best art of the last forty years. Dante is, as we have said, *real* in his most transcendental moods. Goethe, on the other hand, in *Faust* introduces an element of nightmare into ordinary life. As Madame de Staël expressed it, 'c'est le cauchemar de l'esprit que cette pièce de *Faust*, mais un cauchemar qui double sa force.' We hardly need recall how pantomimic, how theatrical Goethe is in this his most characteristic and famous work, with his big dog swelling up as high as the ceiling, his magic books and phials, to say nothing of the phantasmagoria of his witches' sabbath, and his black horses snorting with the breath of hell. All this—strangely fascinating as it is—may make us laugh or shudder according to our temperament, but it gives us no sense of awe. How could it, when the poet had it not himself?

Contrast for a moment the sing-song Easter hymns introduced into *Faust* with Dante's grand diction, clothing the highest themes with a fitting garment of words. Contrast the juggling nonsense about the badly-drawn pentacle on Faust's door-step, and the 'lord of the rats and mice' who are summoned to nibble it, with the grave, more than Miltonic earnestness which leads us on from depth to depth of the *Inferno*. Even the scene with Malacoda and Draghignazzo is perfectly serious. Dante has seen the boiling pitch in the Arsenal at Venice, and amidst the crowd of sailors and shipwrights, amidst the noise and movement, the seething and rocking, the sound of the hammers, and the uproar of the voices, he, and he alone, has beheld the terrible antitype of this earthly scene. He tells us about it without the shadow of a smile, it is all true to him, as Ezekiel's homely imagery, so distinct, so awful, so minute, and, above all, so intensely

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real.[1] Or he sees a silkworm in its golden cocoon, and he thinks of a beatified spirit—Charles Martel, of Hungary—invisible through the very glory which surrounds it:—

> 'La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,
> Che mi raggia d'intorno e mi nasconde,
> Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.'—*Par.* viii.

Again. Dante's conception of the Devil is that of a traitor; with Goethe he is, above all things, a scoffer. Such an idea could only have been sympathetically developed in a late and highly artificial age, when there was much pretension and little reality, when form had taken the place of feeling, and the belief in God and goodness had been greatly weakened, and could only have been worked out in so masterly a manner by a writer who had seen its prototypes more or less in real life. Mephistopheles is evidently treated *con amore*, and we must not forget that Goethe was in the habit of applying this nickname to one of his early acquaintance.

So, again, Goethe himself is of course speaking behind the mask of Faust in such lines as these (compare his own account of the composition of the drama, *Aus m. Leben*, book x. vol. i. p. 500):—

> 'Statt der lebendigen Natur,
> Da Gott die Menschen schuf hinein,
> Umgibt in Rauch und Moder nur
> Dich Thiergeripp' und Todtenbein.'

Nature! How passionately she was invoked at the close of the last century in England, France, and Germany! Under how many false images was she ignorantly worshipped, and how strangely diverse were the replies given to the cry for her which burst forth simultaneously in so many tongues! How many professed seekers of nature contented themselves, like Faust, with welcoming the tempter, and his offers of unbounded freedom from the restraints of tradition, custom, law, and conscience; of entire self-pleasing, and of ridicule for all that had hitherto been held honourable and sacred in the world! And observe, there is here no way out of the difficulty, Faust has nothing to set against the offers of Mephistopheles. He says himself:—

> 'Aus dieser Erde quillen meine Freuden,
> Und diese Sonne scheinet meinen Leiden,

[1] For other instances of Dante's wonderful grasp of the outer world and its inner meaning, see Dean Church's inimitable essay, and a well-known passage in Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, vol. iii.

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Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,
Dann mag was will und kann gescheh'n,' etc.

Alas! that such words should be only too true an expression of the feelings of many most cultivated minds among ourselves, and that nature 'should only represent to them a refined and beautiful form of "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!"'

As far as we know, Goethe had no antidote to offer to the evil which he paints so vividly and sympathetically. He has given us, in one of the most unconsciously pathetic passages of his life, a reminiscence of the period of his first communion, when his mind was unusually susceptible to religious impression (*A. m. L.*, book vii.), and he came to confession ready to place his doubts and difficulties in such a light as would have made it easy for an intelligent listener to have helped and advised him.

'As soon as I got into the old choir of the convent church, and approached the wonderful latticed cupboards in which the clergy were usually to be found on these occasions, when the sacristan opened the door and I found myself shut up in such close quarters with my spiritual grandpapa, and heard his weak nasal tones bidding me welcome, all the light went out from my heart and mind, the carefully prepared form of confession vanished from my lips; I opened in the hurry of the moment the book which was in my hands and read off from it the "first-best" short formula that presented itself, and which was so general in its expressions that anyone might have used it with an easy conscience. I received absolution and took my departure, feeling neither warm nor cold, went two days afterwards to the Lord's table with my parents, and for a short time behaved as was proper after such a holy ceremony.'

The whole context is most instructive, as showing what the Protestantism and Biblical criticism of Germany could *not* do for one of the most gifted, eager, and inquiring of her sons. 'We were taught that we were much better than Catholics, for the very reason that at confession we were not expected to mention anything special; indeed it was not *comme il faut* to do so even if we desired it.' Can we be surprised at the pictures Goethe incidentally gives us of German society at a time when the ten commandments were hardly to be mentioned to ears polite, while offences against them were the familiar experience of almost every household?

In Dante's time there was no attempt to throw the veil of an uneasy, self-misgiving respectability over flagrant crimes. Strong things were called by strong names. Sin was only to be washed away by repentance. The merits of saints

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seem scarcely to have any place in the *Divina Commedia.* Salvation is to be purchased by the blood of Christ, to be worked out by each man with fear and trembling. He makes no attempt to stifle nature, on the one hand, still less on the other hand to deny her corruption, her weakness, and her need of divine grace and human vigilance. Happily for us, too, in England, when the great revolution came at the end of the eighteenth century, both nature and religion did their work for us. Even in the dreary days which preceded those vast changes, we had not been without our prophets. The very deadest time of English literature had given us Bishop Butler to teach us how 'nature' should be interpreted, how trained, how developed, how guided, and how elevated. The age of Congreve and Dryden had also been the age of Bunyan and De Foe. The great Methodist movement, whatever may have been its drawbacks, was at least one more outlet for the voice of nature, of simplicity, of truth-loving earnestness, and personal religion. The fine ladies and beaux who quoted Cowley and Waller, and admired the *Essay on Man*, were not without an immortal witness to the truth and beauty of *Chevy Chase.* Even the *Beggar's Opera* was a sign that the love for nature was alive and stirring. So were the works of Fielding, of Hogarth, and, as we have already said, of Goldsmith.[1] Even Reynolds turned from his coquettish actresses, powdered noblemen, and hooped and be-ruffled ladies, to watch with delight the untaught attitudes and free, graceful movements of children. The great poetical burst in this country at the end of the last century bears considerable analogy to the religious and political changes in England compared with the rest of Europe, showing the common sense and continuity of the English character and the beneficent influences of the English Bible and English Church. But this was, unhappily, not the case in Germany, where, as we have seen, simplicity was scarcely to be distinguished from poverty or bad taste, nature from self-indulgence, religion from formality or sentimentality, freedom from excess, or knowledge from wisdom. 'Kein Geistlicher hat ihn begleitet' is the significant termination of *Werther.* 'The hero of this piece unites in himself

[1] Cf. Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, part iv. ch. xvii., when he points out that Molière's introduction in the *Misanthrope* of 'Si le Roi m'avait donné Paris sa grande ville' was 'the first definite lesson read to Europe of that school of simplicity of which Wordsworth was the supposed originator among the mountains of Cumberland.' The whole scene in the *Misanthrope*—a favourite play of Goethe's, by the way—well repays reading.

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the three greatest characters upon earth; he is a priest, an husbandman, and the father of a family,' is the equally significant termination of the *Vicar of Wakefield*—'one whose chief stores of comfort are drawn from futurity.'

On one other topic we must touch, though our space forbids us to do it at any length, and that is the very striking difference in the estimation of woman and in the emotion of love in Dante and Goethe. Goethe's love poems, so far as our acquaintance with them extends, are in some respects *worse* than heathenish; they lack, for the most part, the wit, the grace, the light sunny playfulness, the untranslateable felicities of style, the richness of allusion to self-sown myth and legend of the ancients, and they have none of the deeper feeling of the poets of Christendom to take their place. What his life was is, alas, only too well known. The woman who for the time engrosses his affections is 'ein schönes Kind,' to become probably in the sequel, 'ein armes Kind.' Love with him is of the earth, earthy—something to be played with, to be enjoyed, a refuge from *ennui*, a passion, degraded and degrading, not an ennobling unselfish affection. With Dante the earthly passion is transfigured, idealised, divinised. The little girl whom he sees almost in childhood, the maiden who is snatched from him and from the world in the flower of her loveliness revives for him as the personification of all that is beautiful, wise, pure, and good in human nature, till he beholds her at last enthroned above, and gazing on the beatific vision:—

> 'Cosi orai, e quella sì lontana
> Come parea, sorrise e riguardommi,
> Poi si tornò all' eterna fontana.'

In a word, as *Faust*[1]—the crowning work of Goethe's genius—represents to us human love in a low and corrupt form conspiring with unsanctified human knowledge for the ruin of female innocence and the destruction of man, so the *Divina Commedia* may be said to have for its principal theme Love, consecrated and divinised, leading man through his devotion to womanhood in its highest and purest aspect—not as sufficient in itself, but as merged in the highest worship of all—to the fruition of heavenly wisdom and blessedness in the presence of God.

One word as to the conclusions deducible from what has been already said. We see in Dante and Goethe strongly

[1] Our remarks on *Faust* are confined to the first part, as the best known and most intelligible.

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brought out the difference between a first-rate and a second-rate poet. The first-rate poet (though gifted with an instinct of beauty higher than all art) cares more for what he has to say than for what people will think of him, and of how he says it. The second-rate poet looks on the world not as a place full of great realities, but as containing available materials for art. It does not much matter whether it is his own passions and feelings, the Bible, the classics, the events of history and contemporary life, so long as they afford him good 'motives.' Like Titian he can paint equally well a Madonna or a Venus. His pulses are cool, his mind is collected, his eye and hand are steady, and as he does not wear himself out with unnecessary emotion, there is no reason why he should not live on comfortably to a good old age. But what is the world, after all, the better for him? What has he taught? What noble spirits has he stirred up? What abuses has he quenched? What great principles has he put forward? What impulses has he awakened for good? What hindrances has he placed in the way of evil? What will posterity be able to thank him for? In Goethe's case, speaking of him, not from his scientific, but purely from his literary side, we should really be puzzled to say, unless it be for the wonderful example of conscientious and many-sided industry in the unsparing cultivation of the faculties and the careful study alike of books, men, and physical nature—the 'ceaseless activity,' in fact, not to call it restlessness, which he himself makes Faust's passport to heaven, a singular preparation, one would think, for the beatific vision of God, and the contemplation of His Divine excellences! On the other hand, the man who can put down the *Divina Commèdia* without breathing some aspirations towards a nobler life, must be, indeed, in a pitiable condition. And if we are to have great poets in our own time, or what is better still, the stuff out of which great poems are made in each and all of our lives, we must forget ourselves and be in earnest. We must have reverence, faith in Holy Scripture as the Word of Truth and the guide of life—not merely treat it as a collection of beautiful legends, stirring poems, and more or less trustworthy philosophies—we must seize the best and innermost life as contrasted with the outer form of all mythology and history; we must not only cherish virtue, but hate sin with our whole hearts; we must recognise the responsibility of the human will, the seriousness of human life, and the worth of every human soul; we must love deeply and sympathise fully; and we must look on nature, not with the cold, vague speculative

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gaze of the Pantheist, but with the quick, warm eyes of gratitude, affection, and wonder, as we recognise in it not only the handiwork of a personal Creator, but the symbolic expression of the wisdom of the Divine mind.

ART. VI.—LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

1. *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth Palace.* By H. J. TODD, Archdeacon of Cleveland. Folio. (London, 1812.)
2. *A List of some of the early printed Books in the Lambeth Library.* By S. R. MAITLAND, D.D. 8vo. (London, 1843.)
3. *An Index of English Books printed before the year* 1600. By S. R. MAITLAND, D.D. 8vo. (London, 1845.)
4. *Art Treasures of the Lambeth Library.* By S. W. KERSHAW, M.A. 8vo. (London: Pickering, 1873.)

OUR countless stores of literature would be comparatively useless but for the exertions of that class of literary workers who arrange and bring them to light.

The monastery had its 'scriptorium,' where the labours of the scribe collected the scattered documents of mediæval times and the compiler of to-day has a no less easy task before him.

The earliest indications of arrangement are found in a MS. catalogue of the printed books at Lambeth Palace, made about 1610. A copy of this catalogue was, at its publication, presented to each Cathedral body of England, to the national libraries and learned institutions, so that its contents may fairly be known to the world.

Such work has been subsequently carried on by the learned Colomesius, Henry Wharton, author of the *Anglia Sacra*, Drs. Ducarel, Wilkins, Gibson and others, who respectively had charge of the literary treasures of Lambeth. No printed catalogue appeared until the above-described, by Archdeacon Todd, who in examining and making an abstract of some 2,000 MSS. (each in detail) has rendered a most valuable service to the ecclesiastical and historical scholar. This catalogue is prefaced by an excellent introduction, giving

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the history of the acquisition of each series of documents respectively known as the Lambeth, Gibson, Carew, Wharton, Tenison, and Miscellaneous MSS.

Dr. Maitland, who was librarian during the primacy of Archbishops Howley and Sumner, ably extracted the titles, with notes, of all the foreign and English books printed before the year 1600. These 'Incunabula' are amongst the greatest rarities of the collection; and have supplied abundant material to the student of early dramatic, controversial, and political learning. Their value, as examples of typographical art to the collector, is much increased by Dr. Maitland's notes and references to the opinions of Matthaire, Panzer, Herbert, Ames, Dibdin, and similar pioneers of bibliography. The examination of the artistic treasures of the collection has lately been made by S. W. Kershaw, M.A., whose treatise on the illuminated MSS. has exhausted this interesting section of the library.

A prominent object in the picturesquely grouped buildings of Lambeth Palace is that commonly known as Juxon's Hall, now the library, rebuilt by that prelate about 1660. This fabric, probably erected by Archbishop Boniface in the thirteenth century, and afterwards re-edified by Archbishop Chichele, is, externally, a brick structure, and from the centre of the roof rises the elegant lantern, surrounded by the arms of the See of Canterbury, impaling those of Archbishop Juxon. The interior is remarkable for its magnificent roof, somewhat resembling that of Westminster Hall, Eltham, and Hampton Court Palace. It is principally of oak, adorned with the arms of the See and various other devices.

Ancient hospitality as dispensed by the Archbishops of the Elizabethan period, would bring to recollection this Hall as one of many, where rich and poor were alike entertained in the houses of the great, an ordinary custom of English life in the sixteenth century. The banquets given by Archbishops Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, at Canterbury, at Lambeth, and at Croydon, attest both their splendid hospitality in honour of their Sovereign, and also their no less open welcome to others of humbler degree, learned men and strangers.

It was on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Archbishop Parker, that the Queen heard a sermon from Dr. Pearse from 'an upper gallery looking towards the Thames,' and these galleries or cloisters are probably the same which formed the site of the Library before its removal to the present hall. Visits of Royalty were also combined with several

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incidents in the world of letters. The patronage and employment of literary men and artists was one of the features of the Elizabethan age, and Archbishop Parker, in becoming a mighty collector of books, gave the desired impetus to literature. He retained, among others, in his service, John Daye, the printer, Richard Lyne, the artist, and Hogenberg, the engraver, all of whom are associated with books and portraits still remaining in the collection. Archbishop Parker also edited and compiled many works, a detailed account of which will be found in Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops.* Archbishops Grindal and Whitgift's literary works, both printed and unpublished, were numerous, and it cannot be doubted but that the efforts of these prelates and their predecessor Parker greatly fostered the gathering of that library which first took tangible shape in its foundation by Archbishop Abbot in 1610. Most of the large collections owe their origin to some one lover or patron of literature—the Bodleian Library, raised by the influence of Sir Thomas Bodley; the Cottonian, Harleian, and other collections, now in the British Museum, have been the result of private enterprise, by acquisition, purchase, or bequest. We must, however, look for a beginning of the library at Lambeth in earlier times than those of Archbishop Bancroft, because history records books as belonging to the Primates Warham, Pole, Cranmer, Parker and Whitgift. Though the libraries of these Primates were not actually placed at Lambeth, there are indications of their existence in the archives at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere; Archbishop Parker's books and MSS. having all been bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Some of Cranmer's books have found their way both to Lambeth and the British Museum; thus, we may reasonably infer those of other Archbishops have been elsewhere deposited. The troublous times of the civil war were close at hand, and the Library, equally with the Palace, was in danger. Archbishop Laud's MSS. and books were given to the Bodleian and S. John's College, Oxford, a few only remaining at Lambeth. With the civil war, came the general dispersion of property: the Palace was in the hands of the regicides, several portions of it despoiled, and the great Hall nearly razed to the ground. Meanwhile, the library founded by Archbishop Bancroft, in 1610, had, by that Primate's will, been carried to the University of Cambridge for safety, where it remained until reclaimed by Juxon, but not actually replaced at Lambeth before the time of his successor—Sheldon, in 1678.

The books were then restored to their old quarters in the

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galleries over the cloisters which were taken down about 1830. The Archbishops immediately succeeding Sheldon, continued, for some 150 years, to increase the Library by large donations. Archbishop Tenison bequeathed part of his library to Lambeth, the rest to S. Paul's, and to that school in Leicester Square known as Tenison's School. Many of the Lambeth books have his notes or handwriting. To this Primate we owe the fine series of the Gibson MSS. bought by Dr. Tenison and bequeathed by him to his chaplain, Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, who gave them in 1748 to Lambeth Library.

Connected with the Archbishops Tenison, Wake, and Herring, is the mass of papers relating to the French and Vaudois Protestants, preserved at Lambeth. The correspondence between these Primates, foreign ministers, and other nobility, for the relief of the refugees (many of whom settled in England in the eighteenth century) is of the most interesting description. Not the least is that which relates to the existence of the French Protestant worship as sanctioned by Queen Elizabeth, in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral. That service begun by the little foreign settlement of the sixteenth century and continued to this day, warmly countenanced by his present Grace (Archbishop Tait), is a historic monument of the wide-spread kindliness of the English Church; which, under the very shadow of that grand Cathedral, gave freedom and protection to the followers of those whose heroic sacrifices for conscience' sake lent dignity to their cause in France.

Archbishop Cornwallis will be remembered as the donor of many historical pamphlets from the time of Henry VIII. to Queen Anne. Two names associated with this century have been the Primates Manners-Sutton and Howley, the former purchasing and presenting the collection of the late Professor Carlyle, chiefly Greek and Biblical MSS. from Syria, and furnished by the Patriarch of Jerusalem from his library at Constantinople. In the memory of many living, the name of Archbishop Howley (1828–48) is connected with a large bequest of pamphlets, also with having the present Hall fitted with bookcases and arranged for use.

From very small numbers the Library now reaches nearly 30,000 volumes, while the MSS. and records are about 2,000. The student of ecclesiastical history will find endless sources of information in the MS. literature, especially in the ancient Registers of the See of Canterbury extending from Archbishop Peckham, 1279, to Archbishop Potter, 1744. These

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ponderous volumes, finely written on parchment and vellum, contain records of consecrations and the official acts of each Primate, generally dated from some of the manor-houses of the See, which in the middle ages were very numerous, in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Interspersed with these official documents, are many ancient wills, proved before the Archbishop's court and throwing much light on the customs, manners, and archæology of the time. The labours of Dr. Ducarel have added an index to these valuable registers, and the herculean task of looking for recondite information is thus materially lessened.

In general importance, the Wharton MSS., the collection of the learned Henry Wharton, compiler of the *Anglia Sacra* and of other works, are of great value to the scholar, antiquary, and historian. Another class of documents is that known as the Carew, some forty-two volumes, relating to the history of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth and James, and lately 'edited' under the commission appointed by the Master of the Rolls. A third series is the Bacon and Shrewsbury papers, several of them revealing many historic incidents connected with Lord Bacon and his brother Nicholas. In the Shrewsbury letters, great interest attaches to the accounts of the wearisome journeys and imprisonments of the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots during her captivity in Derbyshire and at Sheffield manor-house. This correspondence is interspersed with original notes of the great Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Shrewsbury, besides a mass of curious particulars relating to the habits and customs of the period.

The MSS. bequeathed by Archbishop Tenison (before mentioned) exhibit a wonderful insight into the state of religion in Europe, especially among Protestants, in the times of the Commonwealth, the Stuarts, and the epoch of William III. and Queen Mary.

The strength of the Biblical and Oriental MSS. will be found in the Manners-Sutton collection (given by the Archbishop of that name), where, besides Greek versions of the Scriptures, will be found Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. To this series belongs the celebrated Koran of Tippoo Saib, beautifully illuminated, and acquired at the capture of Seringapatam, presented by the Governor-General of India (Marquis Wellesley) to Archbishop Cornwallis, who bequeathed it to the library. The all-stirring times of Archbishop Laud are best represented at Lambeth, in a correspondence between that Prelate and Bishop Williams. In the same documents (No. 1030) is an original letter from John Hampden, with

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several of the Royalists and Parliamentarians; the entire record of this period forming a rich historical series.

Ownership and associations add largely to the interest of any collection, be it of books, paintings, or other treasures.

The copy of the second edition (1632) of Shakspeare, originally belonging to Charles I. and used by him in his captivity at Carisbrooke, is now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. This book of uncommon interest was lent by her Majesty to the Caxton Exhibition of 1877. It was a present from the Master of the Revels to King Charles I., and these links of possession greatly enhance its value.

At Lambeth is preserved Prynne's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, on the fly-leaf of which book is the autograph of Charles I., with his words, '*dum spiro spero*.' This episode, small though it be, marks a connexion which history has for ever endorsed in the life of the King and the Primate during those eventful times. In the MS. diary of Archbishop Laud at S. John's College, Oxford, reference is made to a book at Lambeth, as '"on vellum," fair written, containing the records which are in the Tower, and concern the clergy; this book I got done at my own charge, and have left it in my study at Lambeth for posterity.—1637.'

Canterbury, that earliest seat of Christianity in England, was also the cradle of literature, for there, to Christ Church monastery, some theological works had been brought by S. Gregory and S. Augustine. In such association, we could possibly trace the means whereby that most precious of all the Lambeth MSS., the 'Gospels of Mac-Durnan' (of the ninth century) became the archiepiscopal property. A note on the fly-leaf states, 'This MS. was a present from King Athelstan to the city of Canterbury;' there are pencil-marks which may be those of Archbishop Parker or his family. Parker was a great collector, and was persuaded that he possessed some MSS. which had belonged to his remote predecessor, Archbishop Theodore.

We can fancy this learned Primate released from official routine, enjoying his retirement at Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, where, according to Dean Hook, 'he had a small, yet elegant residence, when he desired to retire from the bustle and turmoil of public life.' Otford, Mayfield, Ford, Croydon, Wrotham, with several others, were the manor or country houses of the Archbishops in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Another chain in the somewhat eccentric disposal of literary property can be traced in the vicissitudes of the copy of the Book of Private Prayers, printed by John Daye, in 1578,

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formerly in possession of Queen Elizabeth, and now in Lambeth Library. This choice volume, with designs after Holbein and Dürer, remained (after Elizabeth's days) in the 'Wardrope, at Whitehall,' till the time of Cromwell, when, after passing through several owners, it came into the possession of Queen Anne, and was by her presented to Archbishop Tillotson, who gave it to the Lambeth collection. Thus a book, which by ordinary means should have remained in Royal hands, has after many years descended to the ownership of the Primate, whose precedence follows close to Royalty.

The dark days of rebellion which succeeded the death of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud occasioned the disturbance of both civil and ecclesiastical possessions. This crisis called forth changes causing many documents bearing on the new arrangements of church and other properties to be drawn up. Particulars of this period are to be found in the volumes at Lambeth, known as 'The Parliamentary Surveys of Church Lands.' In these documents, a succession of names and places of importance in history are brought before the inquirer by that scrutiny, which the Crown Commissioners exercised. Minute details as to the acreage, rents, tithes, and impropriations, interest the antiquary and satisfy the legal inquirer at that disturbed period of history, when the smallest particulars are of great moment. Here and there, the eager eye will come across a long-sought autograph, or a marginal note—a link of family history, or some curious custom as to property, lineage, and locality.

If the Lambeth records and MSS. are valuable, the rare books *printed* before the year 1600 afford equal study to the church historian, the connoisseur of early literature, and the typographical enthusiast. These volumes mostly have on the outside the arms of certain Archbishops, chiefly Bancroft, Whitgift, Abbot, Sheldon and others, who must have collected them. Precious, and indeed unique are some of the books, whose notoriety, the late Dr. Maitland, in his catalogue, greatly extended.

Their interest is contemporary with the productions of that brotherhood of early printers, who, learned, busied, in the toil of daily life, combined in a wonderful degree the skill of engraver, binder, corrector of the press, with much artistic excellence in type and material.

It is sufficient to recall the leading names of Gutenberg and Faust, Koberger, Sweynheim, and Pannartz abroad, with Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Rastall, Grafton, Day, Barker, and others of eminence at home, whose work is visible

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in most of the Lambeth books. These men and their foreign brethren have rendered famous the noble art of printing: the cities where they lived and worked were *one* with the typography they practised; and Bamberg, Cologne, Lyons, Nuremberg, Strasburg, and Venice, retain to this day the memorials of their excellent handiwork. Some of these craftsmen (really artists in their way) were attached by residence to the Court or to Royal patrons of learning, and the name of 'Queen's printer' worthily descends in the present time to the eminent firm of Messrs. Spottiswoode. One name found in all noted libraries is our great English printer, William Caxton, who is represented at Lambeth by six works, more or less perfect.

Caxton, after labouring some years in the service of the Dukes of Burgundy in Flanders, acquired from Colard Mansion, the printer of Bruges, much insight into foreign type and workmanship, and returned to England about 1477.

Born in the Weald of Kent, thoroughly English in his feelings and associations, Caxton set up his press under the shadow of the mighty Abbey of Westminster, and there produced those books which have ever linked his fame to the first annals of printing, and, nationally, to the English world of letters. His life was representative, combining as it did the functions of diplomatist with the man of business, those of the author and printer with the merchant and scholar.

The Lambeth copy of the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower, and printed by Caxton, at 'Westminstre,' is said, according to Dr. Dibdin, to be the finest extant. Another Caxton, *The Dictes & Sayinges of the Philosophers*, printed circa 1490, is at Lambeth. The date of the first edition of this work (1477) was made the pleasing incident on which partly to celebrate the Caxton Exhibition of 1877, an interval of 400 years having elapsed since the first appearance of the work.

Nowhere, nor ever again, can such an exhibition of Caxton's works be collected—displayed, as they were in order of printing, and according to the types used by him, so that a regular succession of his literary efforts was presented to the eye.

The spread of printing began to tell on that period, when religious discussion and doctrinal controversy were preparing the way for the Reformation in England.

From the dissolution of the monasteries to the reign of Elizabeth, history hardly records a more eventful period in

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the annals of the Church. The press was struggling with the superstition of the age, foreign reformers were invited to England, and Erasmus, Bucer, Peter Martyr, John à Lasco are well-known names, whose memory has long lingered in our two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: perpetuated (it must be admitted) not merely by the learning, but also by the divisions which they introduced into the country which received them. It is probable that no library contains more writings of such men than Lambeth, into which, from its ecclesiastical pre-eminence, would naturally be collected the first-fruits of the new learning.

In this connexion we may name the *Catechism of Archbishop Cranmer*, the *Institution and necessary doctrine*, the Proceedings of the Divorce of Henry VIII., Bishop Fisher's *Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms*, and many other well-known treatises, such as Bishop Gardiner *De verâ obedientiâ*, the letters between Henry VIII. and Bullinger, Sir Thomas More's writings, and the doctrines of Tyndale and others.

It is hardly requisite to add that the printed Ritual books of the Romish Church, as the Missal, Breviary, Psalter, and like services, are included in the category at Lambeth.

The influence of certain sects in the later history of the Reformation period is strikingly illustrated by the productions of the Martin-Marprelate tracts, the writings of the Brownists, &c. The vast range of literature brought into being by the religious and political changes of Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reign cannot be unnoticed. We need only refer to the successive editions of the Prayer-Book, the reformed Liturgy, and the different versions of the Bible. Their production called forth the best efforts of typography, combined with the labours of such men as Cranmer, Coverdale, Tyndale, and other divines. One special event of the Reformation period was the 'setting forth' of the English Bible. Then there was the whole group of books 'set forth by authority,' such as the *King's Primer*, and works of devotional instruction, as *Cranmer's Catechism*. The origin, development, and duration of such books, passing as they did through the fiery ordeal of Queen Mary's reign to the calmer days of Elizabeth, forms a chapter of itself.

For the last four centuries and a half, the Bible has been the means of exhibiting the development of the art of printing in a remarkable manner. Gutenberg, Faust, and Schöffer, Koberger, Grafton and Whitchurch, Barker, and several other printers of fame, on the Continent and in

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England, are a representative group, by whom the rare and early editions of the Bible were mainly brought forth. To Gutenberg belongs the foremost honour of producing, circa 1455, some few copies on vellum, known as the 'Gutenberg' and sometimes inappropriately the 'Mazarin Bible,' from a copy having been found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. The New Testament portion only of this priceless book (on vellum) is at Lambeth, perfect copies exist in the British Museum, Paris, Berlin, and in private collections. Nearly all the early Bibles were huge folios, some sumptuously printed on vellum, while others displayed on paper great beauty of type, with wood-cut illustrations. The designs of Albert Dürer, Holbein, and other artists, enriched the title-pages and borders, while, following the precedent of the earlier illuminated MSS., pictures, by the aid of wood-engraving, explained and adorned the contents. 'The text itself a picture, the picture a homily, where text and picture alternately take up the sacred tale.' The New Testament, as well as the Bible, also claimed the best work of the printer. From Erasmus' Testament produced about 1516–35 in Greek and Latin, followed by the versions of Tyndale, Coverdale, and others, a chain of interest, both as to scripture learning, typography, and artistic detail is brought before the patient investigator. The greater freedom permitted to printing on the continent (during a certain period) resulted in numberless versions of the Bible, specially in the city of Antwerp, where, under certain privileges of its citizens, were produced many choice editions. When, however, the way had been finally opened in England, the number of Bibles and Testaments produced in England outnumbered those of any other nation. The first complete *English* Bible, finished in 1535, marked the period from which commenced a succession of editions, culminating in the celebrated 'authorised version of 1611.' The editions of 'Matthews,' 'Coverdale,' the 'Great Bible,' 'Cranmer,' the 'Geneva,' are as landmarks in this history. Their revision employed the most eminent divines, and their production the best printers, and only for a time was the work suspended during the Marian persecutions, when many, from fear of detection, either went on publishing under a false name, or were compelled to fly to the continent.

The existence of so many rare copies is one of the glories of English collections, both public and private. The Duke of Devonshire, Earls Spencer, Jersey, and Leicester, Mr. Francis Fry, of Bristol, with others, possess unique editions. Besides the National Library, the British and Foreign Bible Society,

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the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Edinburgh, the cathedral bodies, with several of less fame at home and abroad, have noted examples.

Lastly, the Archiepiscopal collection contains most of the rare and early copies, with the following of unusual merit:—Bible in Sclavonic language [1581], in Icelandic [1584], and in Welsh (printed by Barker) [1588].

The connexion of America with England in ecclesiastical matters naturally finds some amount of illustration in the contents of the Lambeth Library: though, perhaps, not quite so much as might have been at first expected, owing to the largely puritanical element in many of the early movements of colonisation, which, we may as well here remember to mention, did not issue from England only, but included many French Protestant refugees, and not only so, but Germans, and even Hungarians. The consequence is that it is only with the eighteenth century that American Church history, so far as it is represented either in MS. or printed books at Lambeth, begins, and its commencement dates from the appointment of Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, first Bishop of the Church of England in the United States, which thus fixes an epoch from which the two countries have been coming into an ever-increasing fellowship.

Three volumes, numbered in the catalogue 1123, and ranging from the years 1642 to 1763, are the principal American MSS. in the Library; there are also among the vast tract collection several which relate to the New World. The subjects treated are varied and representative; much prominence is given to the working of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, by detailing its operation in the correspondence of Archbishops Herring, Wake, and Secker with the emissaries of the society in America.

The last-mentioned prelate took so much interest in the society, as connected with America, that we find in these MSS. the most careful particulars as to disputed points, differences in ecclesiastical government being referred to him as arbitrator, and a variety of minor matters, all of which efforts tended, through the agency of this society, to strengthen the bond between the two countries.

A considerable part of these MSS. concerns mission work; here again the Archbishops took a prominent part by encouraging learning in the foreign plantations, so as to induce the clergy to accept a mission in those parts. The locality of Barbados as an estate for building a college is fully dis-

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cussed, and the Bishop of S. Asaph's letter on the subject in 1760 is here preserved.

It will not be surprising to find among the papers at Lambeth many particulars as to the foreign Protestant refugees who fled to America.

The following extracts will best illustrate the matter:—

'Letters and printed matter concerning the Palatines in Germany, who from the year 1682 arrived in Pennsylvania. Address to the Archbishops and Bishops for their assistance.

'Representation from a Synod in Holland to the Dutch Ministers in London, on behalf of the Palatines in Pennsylvania.'

And many others of similar import.

The whole bearing of the Lambeth papers points to the advancement of religion in America, through the several agencies co-operating in England; for example, the following:—

(*a*) 'Representation from the College and School of Philadelphia for aid from England.'

(*b*) 'Application of Independent Ministers in New England to hold a regular Synod.'

(*c*) 'Various Petitions, Addresses, References, &c. from the American Ministers to the Archbishop for redress.'

(*d*) 'Tabular statements of members of different religious persuasions settled in Pennsylvania.'

(*e*) 'Special correspondence of the Archbishops Herring, Potter, Secker, and Wake on the above matters.'

The subject of missions is treated in detail, whereof a few extracts will show what a fuller investigation would bring to light:—

(*a*) 'Account of the missions in Philadelphia, delivered at a Convention of the Clergy of that Province, 1760.'

(*b*) 'Letters from the missionaries in New England, and correspondence as to their appointments, to all of which Archbishop Secker's supervision and interest is supremely devoted.'

The printed literature ranges over much the same period as the MS., and is chiefly restricted to the pamphlet collection, in which the *civil* rather than the ecclesiastical element prevails: but it is to be observed that these pamphlets touch on singularly *leading* points in American history; and their existence at Lambeth may be traced to the reciprocity of feeling, through the aid of those Archbishops, who, as we have seen, worked for the welfare of the church in New England.

Matters of interest are the following, of which a few extracts may suffice to induce further research:—

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(*a*) 'Captain Whitburn's discovery of Newfoundland, 1620.'
(*b*) 'A defence of the Scots abdicating Darien.'
(*c*) 'The mutual claims of Great Britain and the Colonies.'
(*d*) 'The state of New England from the beginning of that Plantation in 1689.'
(*e*) 'Various Papers on the Quebec Act, the Stamp Act, and during the War of Independence.'

The existence of so many documents on the 'new country,' in the library of the Primate under whose auspices the Pan-Anglican Synod is convened, must naturally awaken great interest in all attending the great Congress, which is assembling while these sheets are passing through the press: a feeling which cannot but be still further extended by the publication in a contemporary (the *Guardian*) of a history of the *first* Lambeth Synod in 1867, from the pen of one of his Grace's clergy.

In the visit of its members to the Cathedral church of Canterbury will be found a further union in thought and association between the old and new country. In that ancient city, where Christianity was first preached by S. Augustine, and in the noble Minster that adorns and dignifies all around, worshippers from the Old and New World will be gathered together by one common faith, and by one undivided motive, and by a common hope for the success and usefulness of the Pan-Anglican Synod of 1878.

ART. VII.—HOME REUNION.

1. *Papers of the Home Reunion Society:—*
   i. *On the Relations of the English Church to Nonconformity.*
   ii. *A Short Review of Canon Curteis' Bampton Lectures.*
   iii. *The Church and the Nonconformists.* By JOHN SHELLEY.
   iv. *Sermon by the* Bishop of WINCHESTER.
   v. *Lecture by* Earl NELSON *and Accounts of two Meetings on Home Reunion at Salisbury.*
   vi. *Address delivered at the Ipswich Conference.* By R. DENNY URLIN, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
2. *Christian Churches.* Bicentenary Prize Essay. By JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D.

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3. *Origin and History of the New Testament.* By JAMES MARTIN, B.A.
4. *British Quarterly Review* for January 1878. Art. 'Comprehension.'
5. *Theological Review* for July 1848. Art. 'The Leicester Conference on Free Communion.'
6. *Lectures on the Holy Catholic Church.* By Canon ASHWELL.

THINGS and persons at our very doors are often those we are least acquainted with, that is if we use the word acquaintance in the sense of anything more than surface knowledge; and this is especially true in a busy, crowded society like that of modern England, where most of us have more than enough to do to keep pace with the demands of our own work and our own section of the social system. And what is thus true in general, becomes more particularly so when, as in the case of our separated religious bodies, whole sections of the community have now for generations been moving on different lines, each with its own inner life and modes of thought, each with a history of its own, with which the stranger meddleth not, each developing more and more an individuality of its own and a corporate spirit of its own, which the outsider has to make an object of definite study if he is to comprehend it or treat with it. It is to such a pass as this that things have now come between Church and Dissent. Churchmen and Dissenters are now kept apart by something more than the questions of doctrine or of discipline which formed the original grounds of separation; there is the whole accumulated specialty of *ἦθος*, which has been forming through generations of separation, an *ἦθος* not merely of character but also of intellect, for the moment that you come to close quarters with the sincere and hereditary Nonconformist, you find him regarding as axiomatic propositions which, to say the least, you would have regarded as arguable, and your first difficulty is to find a common basis of discussion. In a word, it has to be admitted that, as things now are, Churchmen seldom understand Dissenters, and Dissenters seldom understand Churchmen.

In writing this, it will of course be understood that we refer not so much to that outer fringe of Dissenting life which (and it is very large) sits but loosely to its old traditions, as to that inner core which forms the strength of every society, to those who have really assimilated the traditions of their sect, and have been moulded by them as nothing but

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religious ideas *can* mould the mind and character. To take only the simplest illustrations:—to such persons it comes with the force of a new discovery, that it is possible for members of a State Church (as their phrase is) to be otherwise than 'worldly,' that it is possible for the tone of religion in it to be otherwise than very 'cold,' as compared with what they have known in their own body; and nothing has astonished those who have returned to the Church more than its warmth of spiritual life, which till then had been to them simply inconceivable.

No doubt it is melancholy to have to write thus, but we have to deal with facts, and our first duty is to realise the facts. One of the primary obligations of the Church is to take care that, so far as in her lies, all who believe in Christ as GOD shall be united in the One Church of Christ. It follows, therefore, that the Church in England is wanting in her duty if she does not do all she can to reclaim separatists to her fold; it is part of her duty to God, it is part of her duty to separatists themselves. All this being so, it is surely high time that something like concerted and intelligent action be taken towards them; and, to this end, the circumstances being what they are, the first step must necessarily be to take an accurate measure of the facts. Even on the very point we have just named, *viz.* the duty of Unity, there is a radical diversity of view between us and them. To the Churchman the duty of unity is axiomatic. But so soon as you come to deal with the Dissenter you find yourself in another atmosphere. He does not see the duty, at least not in our sense. You read him Our Lord's prayer the night before He suffered. The Dissenter answers that the unity for which He so earnestly prayed is sufficiently attained by any number of visibly separated 'churches,' invisibly united by faith in a common Saviour. Nay, the typical Dissenter will even argue that a *visible* unity could not have been meant, that an *invisible* unity alone satisfies the conditions, inasmuch as there is an inherent inconsistency in the idea of a visible Body with an invisible Head; and this in spite of the fact that Our Lord was praying for such a unity as might be a witness and a token to the outside world; whereas the world, necessarily slow to perceive that which is unseen and spiritual, is little likely to see evidence of an invisible unity in the spectacle of a multitude of separated churches;—in spite of the whole tenor of S. Paul's Epistles;—in spite of the whole course of Church history;—and in spite of what we should have thought the self-evident fact that such an argu-

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ment could only have been invented by those who had to adapt their arguments to the exigencies of an inherited position. Still the fact remains; there is this large and wide divergence, not merely in separate items of opinion, but in the whole mode of looking at things; and this, as it appears to us, is the first thing to be realised, if the Church is seriously to set about the work of reclaiming the Nonconformists.

But the question may be asked—Is the Church to set about this work as a definite and separate undertaking? Does she not fulfil her duty towards separatists simply by her existence among them, by offering to them her ministrations, her sacraments, her teaching? We hardly think that this opinion will be maintained, especially if the force of our previous remarks is taken into account. If the offer of her ministrations be misunderstood, if her principles be misunderstood, if she herself be misunderstood, how can it be truly said that she has done her duty until she has at least done all that in her lies to remove the blame of the misunderstanding from her own door? We repeat that, from a Churchman's point of view, the Church is bound to use her utmost endeavour that all who believe in Christ as God shall be united in one visible fold, the one visible Church. Looking at things from the separatist's point of view, he is *not* under obligation to understand us, or to summon us to unite with him. Our principles, on the other hand, require us to seek him out, to understand his point of view and character, to try to make him understand us, and not to rest until, having done what we can, no more can be required of us.

It is one of the proofs of the general soundness of the Church revival of the past forty years that it has not merely not confined itself to the region of ideas, but that its energies have distinctly extended themselves beyond its own immediate limits. The progress and extension of its energies have been well marked. First of all came the revival of what we may call Church ideas in the early work of the Oxford movement; and nothing, perhaps, is more remarkable than the moderation of the expectations as to the results of their work which were entertained by the first leaders of that movement. Again and again, Dr. (then Mr.) Newman used to say that it would be enough if their generation sowed the seeds of forgotten truths, and left it to their successors to gather in the harvest. But events moved faster than he anticipated. Englishmen, when in earnest, are not slow to translate ideas into action. The revival of Church life followed hard upon that of doctrine. Then came the revival of

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worship, and along with it the great development of missionary action, all springing up spontaneously and, as it were, sporadically in all quarters of the country. And now, with equal spontaneousness, and arising no one can exactly say how or where, certainly not by any single impulse from any head-quarters, but from many unseen sources, we have to notice this movement for the reclamation within her fold of those separated bodies of Christians by whom we are surrounded. The formation of the Home Reunion Society marks the consolidation of many various impulses into a definite and organised movement; and though nothing could be more rash than to prophesy either early or immediate results, yet there can be no doubt that its formation is both right in itself, that it marks a distinct stage in advance, and that it is a recognition on the Church's part of a distinct field of duty. Its local habitation, No. 7 Whitehall, is indeed a wonderful centre of recent Church enterprise. There is the office of the Church Building Society. There we have one of our most valuable and most energetically worked Societies, that for the Employment of Additional Curates. There is also the Society for Promoting the Extension of the Home Episcopate; there also is administered the Fund for aiding in the education of Candidates for Holy Orders; and now, under the same roof, we have the Home Reunion Society, of which it is time that we should give some account, both as to its plans, its prospects, and its method of working.

There can be no doubt that for some time its work must be very largely tentative. Chronic diseases in their very nature require long time to cure, and, independently of this, we have to remember that the work before us is entirely new. Never has any branch of the Church Catholic been placed in the precise circumstances in which the Church of England now stands. Churches have stood in the midst of alienated or hostile populations, among peoples who had fallen away into infidelity or atheism, but never, so far as we know, has an ancient National Church been surrounded by definite Bodies of professing Christians, each of them standing on its own basis, with an organisation of its own, with its own endowments, history, traditions, and literature, and if agreeing in little else, all agreeing at least in this, in a very real hostility, a hostility alike theological, social, and political, to herself. Looking at the question merely on the secular side, or with the eye of the politician or man of the world, it must be confessed that a movement on the part of the Church towards

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these Bodies with a view to recomprehension, wears an almost romantic or quixotic aspect.

Thus far we have been speaking of the striking divergencies in modes of thought and associations, which make even mutual understanding between us and the Nonconformists a matter of difficulty; but this is not all. With the organising faculty natural to Englishmen, and aided by the stability of property in a country like ours, these Bodies are in a sense as much 'established' as the Church itself, and, apart from their religious *raison-d'être*, any advances on our part must now be met by the inevitable instinct—in this case the hostile instinct—of self-preservation. Their property and endowments are large; their administration gives place and power to those who are at their head; the mere fact of their being in opposition to a vast National Church gives special keenness to their *esprit de corps*. Even supposing that theological differences could be adjusted, is it natural to suppose that the leaders of opinion in such Societies could calmly contemplate a re-absorption which, even if it left them in the discharge of their functions toward their own people, must place them in a secondary position as regards the larger Society to which they are asked to return? Add to this the collateral, but very real consideration of the position of political importance which Dissenters *quâ* Dissenters have come to fill, and which would be swept away at once if Dissenting Bodies consented to become adjuncts to the Church, receiving the Sacraments at our hands, but continuing their own organisation for preaching and worship; and it is easy to see how many adventitious difficulties have to be overcome, even supposing that, in the abstract, a desire were kindled in their minds for some sort of federation with ourselves. Truly, the Home Reunion Society is beginning a work which must be one of many stages, and many branches, and of long-deferred results. Nevertheless, it is a work which, as we have said, the Church ought to undertake, and if it ought to be undertaken, then a genuine faith sees only a fresh motive to exertion in the lengthening catalogue of material hindrances.

The question then comes how to make a beginning, and to this question common-sense and the actual work thus far commenced by the Society return the same answer: and that is by seizing or making occasions of personal conference between Churchmen as such and Dissenters as such, and by the promulgation among Dissenters of authentic information on the views and principles of Churchmen. Anything like treaty with the Nonconformist Bodies as Bodies is as yet in the very far

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distance; for ourselves we confess that we think it so distant that for the present it need hardly enter into our calculations. The first thing must be to break down the barrier of mutual ignorance, and to get Dissenters to know as much as possible about our position and our real principles; and perhaps above all to understand that our desire for unity is not the mere impulse of a body full of *esprit de corps*, desiring to absorb other bodies with a view to its own advancement, but the discharge of a primary duty alike to God and to man imposed upon it by its Head. It must always be borne in mind that the bulk of existing Dissenters were born in their present position. They never seceded from the Church by any action of their own, or through any experience of their own leading them to personal objections to her doctrine or her discipline; in fact the ranks of Dissent contain extremely few who in their own persons have become Dissenters. There has been very little, if any, leakage from the Church to Dissent among persons now living: it has been all the other way. The consequence is that the majority of the Dissenting laity know little or nothing about the Church except what they have learned from the not over-trustworthy sources of their Nonconformist newspapers.[1] The first need therefore is to get fairly face to face with the Dissenting laity, either through the press or through public meetings, or both. As matter of actual fact the latter method should come first. A lecture from some Churchman—a layman is best—to Dissenters, upon some definite subject, in some considerable town, inviting discussion and reply, will if duly advertised rarely fail to attract an audience. People like to hear what is said about themselves and their position: natural curiosity will bring many to hear what can be really said by a member of that 'Establishment' respecting which their own periodicals are always writing: and, after the hearers' minds have been well roused by the lecture and the consequent discussion, and perhaps a second lecture by way of rejoinder to the discussion, there are sure to be some who will read such publications as the Society circulates, and which the lecturer or his friends will have taken care should be accessible at the local booksellers'. In this way two good results are secured. In the first place curiosity is roused and information circulated respecting the

[1] What very astonishing statements are submitted to Nonconformist readers as *facts* respecting 'The Establishment' and the clergy may be seen by reference to frequent extracts from their newspaper articles and reports of speeches given in the *National Church*, the organ of the *Church Defence Institution*:—a paper, which for its varied and valuable information every Churchman should read.

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Church: in the second place the lecturer himself learns by the discussion which followed, what are the really motive forces which now retain people in their allegiance to Dissenting systems, as well as what are their most potent objections to our own, so that his own capacity and efficiency for his work grow with each experience. We must not expect, indeed it would be most irrational for us to expect, prompt or immediate overt results from such tentative and initiatory efforts. At the same time they are those essential preliminary pioneerings without which no ultimate good can be expected. It has been on this plan that the Society for Home Reunion has been making its beginnings. Lectures have been delivered, and meetings and discussions held at Salisbury and at Ipswich. At the former place Dissent is exceptionally well represented, so far as its ministers are concerned, and we should think that few readers will regret the time spent in perusing those publications of the Society named at the head of this article, in which the details of those meetings are recorded.

The Malakoff of the Dissenting position *generally* is undoubtedly their conception of the Church's unity being purely spiritual, a unity, *i.e.* in the unseen Christ, *without* any corresponding unity either of doctrinal profession or of exterior discipline, but with the Bible for their common law. If any one wishes to see how deeply this is engraved into the Dissenting mind, he has only to read the Bicentenary Prize Essay by Dr. Angus, entitled 'Christian Churches,' published so far back as 1863, and named at the head of this paper. Its allegations are singularly sweeping. After stating the *freedom* of every individual Christian, it proceeds thus:—

'And as every member of the society is thus free, *because bound*[1] to judge for himself in matters of faith and practice—the brethren being equal, and the Bible their common law—so each society has the right to carry out its discipline and faith without the control of any man or set of men. The church is an association of men as equals: it is also independent—independent of all authority but Christ's, and bound to obey His laws. . . . The whole question may be put in the simplest form:—Is any *Christian* to take the belief or the practice of any other man as obligatory upon his conscience or his practice? Is any *church* to take the belief or the practice of any other church as obligatory upon their conscience or practice? Or are not both to take the decisions of the Master as their sole rule? And the answer is plain. There is not a single text which bids men take their faith or their practice from their fellows; on the contrary,

[1] Here, and in the great majority of cases, the italics in quotations are ours.

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men and communities are freed from all earthly authority on such questions that they may be subject to Christ.

'If it be said that this assertion is true of essentials, but that in things indifferent we may submit to one another, the reply again is plain. Such submission, even the Apostles did not claim. Things indifferent cease to be so when once made binding upon the conscience, while each "lessens the number of things lawful, brings the conscience of man into bondage, multiplies sin in the world, makes the way narrower than God made it, and divides the church." More mischief, in truth, has been done to the cause of Christian unity by this tendency, than probably by all other causes combined. *Really* Christian men can hardly be said to be divided by anything else, there is moreover a beauty in "diversities of operations" provided only there is "the same Spirit."

'The church is independent, I repeat, *each church of other churches:* nor only so, each church is independent, without any visible or earthly head' (pp. 14–16).

It must be admitted that the above is tolerably sweeping, and yet when it comes to be worked out, what follows? A few pages further on we come to the question of the discipline which these independent bodies called churches are to exercise, and then it is very suggestive to see how Dr. Angus drops the plural churches and begins to use the word church in the singular. He has to inquire—

'What is the Church's duty in relation to them? [i.e. the mixture of truth and error, sin and holiness in her members]. Clearly she is to guard the entrance into her fellowship, and then afterwards she is to maintain its discipline. . . . What is decisive evidence of conversion, and what are the doctrines which every man who wishes to join the fellowship of the Church should hold, it is not difficult to define in words, though the application of the definition in actual life requires spiritual insight, tenderness, and wisdom. Repentance and faith, submission to apostolic and inspired teaching is *one* summary. A sense of sinfulness, trust in Christ as our Redeemer, with the resolution in God's strength to be holy, as His word sets forth holiness, is a *second.* All that is necessary to constitute a Christian' [rather a wide statement, but one which our author leaves totally unexplained] 'must be required, and besides the acceptance of God's word as the authority in matters of religious belief and practice, is a *third*' (pp. 33, 34).

So then we come to a very distinct case in which other men must exercise judgment upon the individual, and not only so, but Dr. Angus goes on to define

'The discipline of the Church' as 'in brief a mutual contract for essential truth and for holiness. Sin, or essential error violates the compact and calls for rebuke. Continuance in sin, or in anti-Christian

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error (as John [*sic*] names it) dissolves the bond. . . . Sinning brethren are to be first spoken with in private, then publicly before the Church; and if, after that, they will not hear, they are to be to us as heathen and as publicans' (pp. 34, 36).

Then follows a section which treats of the New Testament model of church government, in which we read of

'Pastors invested with *authority*' [we thought that no man was to take his faith or practice from any other man] and 'therefore called superintendents or presidents, leaders, or governors; and, indeed, the name "pastor" is quite as descriptive of authority as of teaching. By *authority* is meant that they are empowered to see to the execution of the law.' [So then there must be some church *law*.] 'Those that walked disorderly and created divisions, they were to censure, and if need be *to have excluded*. In short, the pastors of the church *had all the authority of the church*. They were entrusted *by the body*' [where does the New Testament say this?], 'and through them by Christ Himself with the administration of the law. Legislative authority they had none; *executive* authority they exercised within their proper province, and subject to the great laws which the Lord Jesus, or the apostles in His name, had prescribed' (pp. 44, 45).

And then in a final summing up, in which he writes glowingly of the 'Advantages of this System,' Dr. Angus says:—

'Even the negations of this system are advantages if we rightly understand and apply them. In our country and age Christian churches are largely *Nonconformist*. They hold that forms should be simple and spontaneous, unless Scripture has made them obligatory; that they should grow out of the inner life, and should be moulded by it. Above all, they hold that no forms should be made terms of communion, and that none should claim authority to create and enforce them. This *struggle for negations*, as it seems, is really a conflict for liberty' (pp. 71).

But is this system consistent? Do we not trace throughout the effort to justify a position in which the writer finds himself? Does not the most cursory reader detect a practice of so-called church government which tallies but very ill with the somewhat inflated assertions of individual liberty at the outset? And then as to the claim that 'no forms' are to be made terms of communion, unless the writer means what we should call ceremonies, how does this agree with the *Twenty* Articles of Faith[1] set out in the *Year Book* of the Congregationalists? But our object in this long series of quotations

[1] 'Declaration of the Faith, Church Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or Independent Dissenters, adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union, May 1833,' and printed in an Appendix to their *Year Book*.

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has not been to criticise the position of the sect to which the writer belongs, or even his defence of it, but to take it as a suggestion of the mode in which we consider the whole subject of Reunion should be by us approached and handled. Here you have set out at length, *first*, the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the Dissenting systems, the allegation, namely, of the complete independence of the individual believer, the complete independence of each several church, and (though we had no space to quote it) the position of each such church as the source of its pastor's authority; and yet no sooner have all these high-sounding allegations been made than you at once read of terms of admission to membership, of exclusion and excommunication, of executive authority residing in the Pastorate, and what not? In a word, you have a full-blown church system as regards practice, with a theory which requires that every individual should be as good as any other individual. We stop to apologise. We should hardly say church system, for what it really comes to is not a church system but a club system under the guise of a theoretical equality; in which all the power of the club may be concentrated with the keenest force upon any individual whatever, should he not happen to take the same view as to 'faith and practice' with the rest.[1] Who is to define what Dr. Angus leaves so exquisitely indefinite as 'all that is necessary to constitute a Christian'?—and yet this is what he describes as the conditions of admission. *Somebody* must define this; and no small matter we should think it to be. Then look how wide a range is given to causes of exclusion, 'gross immorality, fundamental error, &c., quarrelsome, factious spirit' (p. 35). Here again, 'fundamental error' will be hard to define unless the principle of creeds, so scouted by Dissenters, comes in—unless, indeed, an accused individual is to be subjected to some other man or men as to his 'belief and practice,' which, by Dr. Angus's first principles, he ought not to be. And—not to be tedious—what if an extruded member of one of these so-called churches shall be found by another so-called church to satisfy *its* ideas as to 'all that is necessary to constitute a Christian,' so that his expulsion from one 'church' shall form no obstacle to his reception into another? Upon Dr. Angus's principles no church is 'to take the belief or the practice of

[1] For a sufficiently vivid account of the way in which this kind of 'club law' does hold the Congregationalists together, see pp. 371–376 of a very striking article on the 'Leicester Conference on Free Communion' in the current number of the *Theological Review*, written from the 'Free Communion' point of view.

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any other church as obligatory upon their conscience or practice.' And yet what is true and right for one cannot be at the same time false and wicked for another.

But the outcome of our remarks is, that in all this we find guidance for ourselves in addressing Dissenters, namely, that we exhibit to them THE Church as satisfying the conditions here left unsatisfied, and satisfying them in a perfectly simple and legitimate way. Without descending to the depths of individualism with which Dr. Angus sets out, the Church does set herself to supply all individual needs, she does address herself to the individual conscience, does appeal to the individual reason. When a man, to use Dr. Angus's own words, professes in himself a 'sense of sinfulness' and a 'resolution to be holy,' what he first wants is *not* to be admitted into a society where he shall have freedom 'to judge for himself in matters of faith and practice;' what he needs is to be *taught and guided.* No doubt Dr. Angus himself would deal pretty authoritatively with any such person, notwithstanding all his individualistic assertions, and no doubt, too, every Dissenting congregation which ever really flourished has done so by virtue of the personal ascendancy of some strong man. But then this is clean contrary to the principles laid down. And then next, when we come to the terms on which remaining in the society is permitted, and the avoidance of 'fundamental error,' the Church leaves no man in doubt as to what is meant by 'fundamental error.' Her answer is the same for all time and in all places. Upon Dr. Angus's plan the very same Society may, if it so please it, rule one way to-day and another to-morrow; or at least, different but co-existing churches may without blame take very different views. The Church makes her terms of communion plain, open, and unvarying; and in her Apostles' Creed and her 'Sacraments of the Gospel' can show that her terms of communion have remained unaltered from time immemorial. In a word, she satisfies in a perfectly open, explicit and legitimate way, a way clearly defined and strictly uniform, all that is sought after but left so utterly vague in Dr. Angus's system. And, above all, there is no such inconsistency between her basis and her mode of action as that which is so curiously patent between Dr. Angus's chapter on the absolute freedom of the individual and the absolute authority of the Society of which he becomes a member. Clearly our line towards Dissenters is that of showing them that what they think they have in their system is offered to them in a more excellent way in the Church.

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Another remark occurs to us upon the perusal of another Dissenting publication, which we have prefixed to this article. We mean Mr. Martin's book upon the origin of the New Testament. Throughout Dr. Angus's essay the New Testament is appealed to as the law of the Church. In his sketch of the discipline and government of the Church he builds with its several dicta, selecting first one text and then another until he has reared a fabric suitable to his mind. It never seems to have occurred to him that these and such-like expressions were all of them but partial references *to what actually was*, not complete and scientific directions as to what *was intended should be*. The Church existed before the Bible, and the New Testament was written to people to whom its method, its constitution, its faith, and its practice were things of every-day familiarity. If indeed the New Testament *had* been intended as a *Directorium* on Church organisation, all we can say is that it must have been something very different from what we have. But this—simple a proposition as it is to Churchmen—is, as a rule, one of our greatest difficulties with Dissenters. They have been so long accustomed to the Dissenting tradition that the hard fact of the case can scarcely make good its entrance into their minds. All the more thankful, therefore, are we to be able to direct those of our readers who may have to work in the cause of Home Reunion to such a book as that just named, a book written by a Dissenter, and therefore not to be suspected of a Church bias, in which the real facts are shown as clearly as if it came from our own camp. Mr. Martin's book is faithful to history. He shows as plainly as need be that the New Testament was not a gift to the nascent Church directing it how to organise itself, but that in the completeness in which we now have it it never was *a* gift at all, but that, contrariwise, it *grew*. Next, that it did not begin to grow until nearly a generation of baptized Christians had lived as members of Christ's Church; and not only so, but that its several portions being addressed to separate and scattered portions of the Christian body, and having been some forty years in writing, it was long before all its several parts were known to the whole Church, very long indeed before all its parts were gathered into one whole, and then—by what authority?—by that of the Christian body, the Church. Not only, therefore, can we address Dissenters as showing them that our *theory of the Church* satisfies, legitimately, all that their theory strains after inconsistently, but we can show them, on the authority of one of their own scholars, that our view of the Church as the Body on whose

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authority we accept the books of the Sacred Canon is historically true, and that, therefore, the Church in its integrity is prior to the New Testament. Once get this truth fairly into the minds of Dissenters, and then the whole question of the Church can be debated upon a satisfactory footing. The question then becomes, not how to gather up from Holy Scripture a host of 'texts,' from which to build up *our* notion of a Church, but what, as matter of historical fact, *was* that Church to which, now in one place and now in another, the several portions of the New Testament were addressed as each portion of it was required. Doubtless the possession of the New Testament is invaluable as a criterion; for if any item in the constitution or practice of the Church were found plainly contrary to any indication clearly to be gathered from the New Testament, then it would follow that such a feature could not have existed in that Church to which the books of the New Testament were written. And this is the principle on which the Church has ever treated Holy Scripture, namely, that, considering the enormous number of topics treated of, either directly or by way of reference, nothing either as to doctrine or discipline is to be regarded as obligatory which cannot be maintained on appeal to its writings, or which is inconsistent with anything therein clearly laid down.

For surely even the Dissenter who is most wedded to his own particular traditions must admit—at least as an abstract proposition—that if a number of Apostles and Evangelists went on for some forty years writing on all manner of topics alike practical, doctrinal, and historical, to the members of the Christian Church such as in plain matter of fact it actually emerged to view, and did not so much as by word or hint reprove or correct any one item in that constitution—then it must be admitted that such constitution must have had their approval. We say nothing of the further fact, that whatever it was in those early days, it must have been their own fashioning, so that a genuine and unreserved appeal to the New Testament involves the acceptance of the Church system, alike as to Episcopal regimen, Sacraments, and the principle of Creeds. The Dissenting objection to this last item has always appeared to us peculiarly inconsistent with their professed submission to Holy Scripture, inasmuch as the Epistles of S. Paul, the great organiser of churches, teem with such terms as '*the* deposit,' '*the* doctrine,' 'form of sound words,' and the like, expressions which not merely countenance the principle, but are hard to understand at all except as referring to then existing examples of Creeds.

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But it is not only such a book as Mr. Martin's which seems to give us some hope of the opening out of a common basis of discussion with Nonconformists. In January of the present year there appeared in the *British Quarterly Review*, a very remarkable paper on *Comprehension* as viewed from the Nonconformist point of view and within Nonconformist limits. The tendency to endless subdivision which has thus far, in England certainly, and we believe in America, been the mark of Nonconformity, has evidently led to a reaction on the part of its more thoughtful members. 'Comprehension,' its writer declares at the outset, 'is one of the great cries of the present age.' 'Protestantism, in nearly all its branches, is being stirred to its very depths by this movement.'

'Presbyterians in America have composed their long-standing differences; Presbyterians in England have united; and Presbyterians in Scotland are hoping to follow the good example. Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists in Ireland are sinking their distinctions; and there are many signs that ere long the two great branches of orthodox Congregationalism—the Baptists and Pædobaptists—will forget their ancient feuds, and though retaining each its distinguishing feature, commune and co-operate as brethren.

'But outside those most sectarian of the Christian sects—the Episcopal Churches—that spirit of mutual recognition and of occasional intercommunion which is a very true, if not a formulated and organic comprehension, is obviously stirring more and more powerfully in all the denominations. In America it has long been common for private members, ministers, and theological tutors to pass and repass between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism without so much as a whisper of its being an act of desertion and apostasy. Adherents of both denominations have joined to found churches and sustain organisations for common Christian work; and it has occurred that such association has extended even to Baptists and Methodists, where none of them were strong enough to work alone. The interchanges of these denominations in England have never assumed this semi-corporate character except in the case of Union (Baptist and Independent) Churches; and yet it is no infrequent thing for Baptist and Methodist ministers to pass over to Congregationalism without further question, and for the members of these several Churches to be temporarily incorporated with another Church than their own where circumstances render it natural. And it certainly now excites no sort of surprise when interchange of pulpits takes place, whether on ordinary or extraordinary occasions. In a very true sense Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists, are undergoing comprehension, and, though it is of an unformulated kind it is none the less real.'

Thus much for the statement of facts. The writer then goes on to prospects, and it is curious to notice the indiffer-

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ence manifested in this quarter to forms of Church government; the 'vital problem' as here stated being that of 'doctrinal comprehension.'

'Many of us are growing comparatively indifferent to questions of mere Church government, partly perhaps because the old lines are becoming blurred, and the old separating walls are being broken through. Indeed, for our part, we confess that we regard Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Episcopacy, as three mutually complementary, rather than as three mutually exclusive, forms of Church government. What is essential to each is necessary to the full development and vigour of the others. As a matter of fact too, each of these forms of Church Government is gradually evolving and assimilating in an unformulated shape that which constitutes the differentia of the other two. We Congregationalists formulate the Congregational element, but have in an unformulated shape a Presbyterial and an Episcopal element, and we shall probably have them in the future gradually more and more. So too, the Presbyterians and Episcopalians formulate respectively the Presbyterial and Episcopal element, but are recognising more and more fully each other's essential feature as well as that of Congregationalism in an unformulated shape.'

So, then, with this Congregationalist writer, the question of importance is on what doctrinal basis this co-operation is to take place, and we notice that he accepts with entire approval that of the Protestant Union, of which Schenkel of Baden may be taken as the Coryphæus, of which the pronounced aim is 'to secure the full and authoritative recognition of the equal rights of all modes of thought which are compatible with, or tend to further, a spiritual morality or a Christian spirit.' What is aimed at by them is

'not merely that the laity, whatever their views, should all have the same practical privileges—for that they have now, and always have had—but that the offices of the Church, from that of elder up to pastor, professor, superintendent, and even member of the Supreme Church Council, should be open to all alike, whatever views they may entertain on philosophical, critical, or theological questions. Mere toleration they spurn; they have been and are very largely tolerated—equal rights is now the cry.'

And this the writer goes on to say must eventually be the view of the corresponding party in England:—

'Whatever the present idea of the party in question may be there can be no doubt that eventually religious communion will with them mean all that it now means with the similar party in Germany. Indeed, that we believe is the real meaning of some of its members now. What they are chiefly concerned about is that[1] *preachers*

[1] The italics are ours.

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should be unbound by any tie, save by their own love and perception of what is true, whether their views of truth agree or not with those current in the Christian Church generally, or in their particular section of it, or even with themselves at different times. This, too, is the sense in which we use the word "Comprehension."

Then, curiously enough, after this sweeping statement our Congregationalist writer turns round to the question of tests. One would have thought that all question of tests was done away. But no. He declares at once that while 'the repudiation of written creeds by Congregationalists renders it incumbent on them to insist exclusively on essentials, their very principle 'lays upon them the duty of *defining as carefully as possible* what *are* the essentials of traditional Christianity.' Upon which he proceeds in some extremely beautiful pages to build up *his* idea of how to determine the 'limits of doctrinal comprehension.' These pages we heartily commend to our readers' notice as being, so far as they go, both good and sound, a steady working up from his own assumption to what is true, and ending with something most suspiciously like a creed:—

'That God is one in three persons; that Jesus of Nazareth was an incarnate person of the Trinity; that He had suffered, died, and rose again for the redemption of men from sin and eternal death; and that the Holy Spirit dwells and works in and through all who believe in Christ, yield to, and seek His grace.'

And the writer's brief description of the *kind* of demand which may be made as terms of comprehension is whatever 'is necessary to bring and to keep men in living connexion with the Head, Christ;' and he condemns Rationalism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism as having

'none of them evinced or fostered the kind of fellowship with God and union with man that the orthodox Churches have evinced or fostered. The Rationalists of Germany had possession of its pulpits, universities, and schools for nearly a century, and had therefore full opportunity of showing whether the teaching of the moral and religious truths of Christianity apart from Christ and His work could secure the end for which He came, and with what result? . . . . As it is, indifference, not to say ungodliness, is growing so rapidly, that some of the wisest and best men, liberals as well as orthodox, are appalled, and are anxiously asking for a remedy. The old remedy is to liberal thinkers, as it was to the Greeks, foolishness; but whenever it is applied, even under the present most unfavourable auspices, it speedily works a change and proves itself the power of God unto salvation.

'And if we turn to the analogous phenomena of Socinianism and Unitarianism, what do we find there? Socinianism did not recede

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so far from the Church as modern Unitarianism, but its characteristics were far more intellectual and moral than religious, and it rarely evinced much zeal for the furtherance of the kingdom of Christ. As an agency for the direct promotion of Christ's great work it was a failure—an utter failure. Nor has modern Unitarianism distinguished itself in the same direction. Its public services are as cold as ice; the private religious devotions of its adherents are said to be scanty and formal; its activity for men is mainly restricted to education, general works of benevolence, and the like. Wherever the spirit of Unitarianism creeps into the orthodox Churches, religious zeal languishes, religious worship is neglected, and religious fellowship loses its inwardness.'

We make no apology to our readers for these extended quotations. Rather we would gladly have carried them still further, showing as they do so clearly how the more thoughtful and religious minds of the Congregationalist body are driven, by the very necessity of the case, upon the adoption, in principle, of all that the Church maintains in her age-long adherence and testimony to the primitive creeds. And this, in spite of what to any one looking at it from the outside, seems the strangest inconsistency. Thus this representative writer, while on the one hand he identifies himself with those who demand on behalf of the teachers such a freedom as should emancipate their views of truth from necessary agreement 'with those current in the Church generally, or even with themselves at different times,' yet, on the other hand, ends with the summary of *credenda* which we have quoted, and a wholesale condemnation of 'Rationalism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism.'

Can anything show more clearly the line upon which the Church should move in her approaches to the separatists of our time? Here is the strongest conceivable evidence of the sincerity of the desire for consolidation, not so much on the ground of duty, but simply as an instinct. The writer nowhere speaks of comprehension as a thing to which Christian principle leads necessarily, but is simply a witness to the fact that all 'Protestantism' that he is acquainted with is feeling after it, desiring it, reaching out towards it; a fact which seems to us all the more striking, since, not being a matter of conscious duty, it testifies most powerfully to the irrepressible nature of the instinct after it, which, according to our view, ought to be seated deeply in every Christian soul. There is, we say, a feeling after consolidation, mutual communion, combination in work; then follows next the inevitable consequence if bodies so various are to combine; the freedom from tests leading to such a sweeping statement as that

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which we have quoted; and then, lastly, the Christian instinct again in the ascendant[1] compels him to the formulation of a test system, which, if not fully adequate, is, at least, a long way on the road to become so.

To men who, like this writer, are leaders in their respective communities, wedded and pledged to systems in which they have been brought up, it may be and most probably is hopeless to point out that the Church herself is the one community whose very *raison-d'être* is to supply all that is 'necessary to bring and keep men in living connexion with Christ the Head,' and that without any artificial 'comprehension' of varying societies, since every necessary variation in modes of individual thought can co-exist in her one society quite as freely as in a number of diverse societies, subsequently brigaded together by the process of interchange of pulpits and lecture-rooms; but there is one consideration which we might press even upon him. We refer to the notion, not peculiar to him, of different societies representing several and distinct portions of truth, and then, by their co-operation, combining to present the whole truth in its entirety. Our readers will remember his account of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Episcopalianism, as each representing one idea in the organisation of the Church, and each, therefore, as being worth preserving. The idea is not a new one, and there is, of course, an element of truth in it. But we do not remember to have ever seen what we should have thought was the obvious rejoinder, namely that confusion and not truth must ever be the result of thus portioning out the elements of truth to the keeping of separate custodians. Lamentably hampered as the Church of England is in her practical development, her theory at least, and it is one towards the realisation of which we are daily feeling our way more and more, recognises the functions of the Presbyterate and the laity, *in combination with her Episcopate*, to the full as completely as they are recognised *apart from such combination* by the separate societies of the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians. What is wanted, and we should think this able writer must see is wanted, is not to parcel out truths to separate organisations, and then by some elaborate comprehension to bring these organisations to recognise one another's value and work together, but that one organisation

[1] We must repeat that the pages of reasoning by which the writer seeks to justify his transition from the extremity of liberty for teachers to his limitations of that liberty, are in themselves singularly beautiful and well worth attentive reading.

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should combine the several elements. It is the same with matters of doctrine. It is but a poor way of maintaining the faith for a variety of bodies to insist with disproportional emphasis each on some special aspect of faith, and then to agree to respect one another and work together in spite of their varying complexion. What is wanted is that the one body should maintain the full faith, while tolerating within its fold such defects of grasp on the part of individuals as necessarily result from individual imperfection. Human minds must vary; they vary because imperfect; the great object is to reduce the result of such variation to a minimum. The Dissenting system tends to *maximise* the variation; the Church system tends to *minimise* it. The Dissenting system, as represented by the writer, first accepts the position of separated bodies, each representing partial truths, and then by 'comprehension,' sets itself to try and break down the resulting mischief, for mischief there must be, when not merely an individual, but a society, accepts a partial truth as its basis, and thereby tends to stereotype the partial view. The Church system, on the other hand, seeks to *prevent* such partial views by holding up the whole truth as the standard for every individual, and so to avoid the danger of separated bodies based on partial apprehension. If so homely an illustration can be permitted, we may say that for wholesome nutrition of the human body so many kinds of food are requisite, and we may ask—how would it fare with a neighbourhood in which one family should devote itself to vegetarianism, a second to a meat diet, and a third should live on fish, and then all agree to 'comprehension' and agreement in the practical duties of human life, and to respect one another's views on diet. And yet this, or something very like it, is what these views as to different departments of truth being represented by different bodies, and yet all consenting to comprehension, practically come to. The very effort at comprehension of this kind is really a witness to the fact that no such theory ought to be needed at all, since the more perfect the benefit of the 'comprehension,' *i.e.* the more complete the reciprocal appreciation of the portions of truth, represented by the 'comprehended' sections, the wider will be the grasp of complementary truths, and so on and on until if ever the process became complete, the several sections would become interfused like drops of water uniting upon close contact. But the very fact of such a movement existing at all among Nonconformists ought to be the highest encouragement to ourselves to present the Church to their view as offering within herself, as a part of

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her very nature and theory, all that they are thus seeking to engraft upon the Nonconformist state of things.

We may add one further consideration, which surely cannot fail to weigh with those Nonconformists who, like the writer in the *British Quarterly*, still cling tenaciously to the great *credenda* which he propounds, viz. the utter want of security for their maintenance in systems such as theirs, when once their members are possessed by the idea of 'comprehension.' In the Church definite *credenda* and comprehension go hand in hand, as balancing, not as conflicting principles. *Credenda* are bowed to as that to which the Church's allegiance is due, and which it may not alter or transgress. Comprehension is practised as a duty, not as a matter of human taste or goodwill. In the co-ordination of the two the perfection of the Church's theory is found, and thus there is a security in the Church for the steady maintenance of fundamental truth in spite of its comprehensive character.

Far otherwise with Nonconformist bodies, and if anyone would see how far the 'comprehension' school among Dissenters can lead them when unbalanced by a fixed creed, we would refer him again to the paper in the current number of the *Theological Review*, to which we have already referred. There while admitting that it is 'desirable that some of the leaders of the [comprehension] movement should explain more precisely than they have yet done, what they mean, and within what limitations their principle is to be applied,' the writer, on the next page, goes on to express his own feelings as to the limits (?) within which 'religious communion' is possible. And lest we should misrepresent him, let us first give his own definition of the term 'religious communion,' when he says that '*religious communion* is not dependent on agreement in theological, critical, or historical opinion.'

'We understand it to mean in this connexion the union for praise, prayer, and *mutual instruction*, and encouragement of men and women under the influence of religious feeling.'

Well, then, this being his definition, he proceeds:—

'Nor is it easy to say what are the limits beyond which this communion becomes first forced and then impossible. *Certainly they do not lie within the borders of Christendom*: some of our deepest religious impressions are due to the worship of the Roman Catholic Church. We know that we could freely and healthfully breathe the atmosphere of the Brahmo Somaj; we think that we could put off our shoes in the Mosque of Omar and feel that we stood on holy ground; and we could imagine a certain community of feeling with worshippers in some idol temple, who, bowing before the work of their own hands,

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were yet "feeling after" the unknown and invisible God, "if haply they might find Him." Even here we are not inclined to interpose with a rigid "thus far and no farther." The line between religion and that which is not religion is very difficult to draw, *and each man must be left to place it where he will.* Theism, Pantheism, Agnosticism, fade into each other through dim border-lands of thought where awe and reverence are always possible'—(pp. 380–81.)

In actual fact we are disposed to surmise that the one effective guarantee for anything like doctrinal steadfastness among Dissenters is to be found in the very secular region of the trust deeds on which their endowments are held, which, as the writer of this article has to admit, 'contain doctrinal clauses of a sufficiently rigid and minute kind.'

Looking back, then, across what we have written, we see that we have brought evidence to show that, taking Dissenters themselves as our witnesses, there are distinctly hopeful signs existing for the work and prospects of this new Society of which we write. The Baptist theory, as represented by Dr. Angus, offers points, we will not say of attack, but of approach on the part of Churchmen, which no competent lecturer or speaker can fail to avail himself of, especially in respect of its almost quaint juxtaposition of the most extreme assertions of individual liberty, and of church and pastoral authority. Mr. Martin's book on the New Testament shows that Nonconformist scholars are quite as well aware as we are of the history of the Canon, and that, logically at least, they must admit that the Church was in full force prior to the composition of the New Testament, long prior to the completion of its Canon and the universal acceptance of its component parts, and therefore that the New Testament could never have served as the *Directorium* as to how the Church in the first instance was to be organised. The singularly striking article from which we have quoted so largely on 'Comprehension' shows that Nonconformists are alive to the inconveniences of their mutual separations, and that in those of them who accept the doctrines of the Trinity, and the full Divinity of Our Lord, the instinct of unity makes itself felt and listened to, even while the duty and principle of unity is still in the background and unacknowledged. Were it not that we are limited by considerations of space, we might continue this line of reasoning and observation much farther. We might instance the position of the great Wesleyan body, and point out, as has often been done, how all its distinctive usages and tenets are but so many attempts to obtain in a self-

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devised and artificial manner, benefits and advantages which in the full realisation of its principles the Church offers to all her members in regular method and in authorised forms. We might go on to matters of doctrine, especially Sacramental doctrine, and take the Hymn Books used both by the Wesleyan and other societies, and then ask how, if they can sing these and the like words solemnly to God in public worship, they can object to the Church for holding as propositions, and teaching as doctrines, the ideas which underlie such words, and without which they become meaningless or worse. Or will they allege that what is permissible and even laudable in the language of religious emotion and as addressed to Almighty God, becomes objectionable when formulated as religious doctrine, and propounded to men as matter of belief? Certainly a most powerful *ad hominem* plea for Church doctrine might be addressed to Dissenters based solely on the hymns of their most esteemed teachers.

From all that has been written, then, it will be seen that we consider that the circumstances of the time and the currents of contemporary thought among Nonconformists combine to open many avenues to the operations of the Home Reunion Society. The very bitterness now prevalent among certain sections of Dissenters does but serve to call renewed attention to the subject, and need be no discouragement to its efforts. That bitterness it should be our care to avoid, both as a matter of personal duty and of due respect for the sacred cause we have to plead. Indeed, there is something inherently absurd in inviting to unity in any other tones than those of peace and goodwill. Above all, as it seems to us, should we make it plain that in thus addressing ourselves to Nonconformists, we do it in no sense as seeking the aggrandisement of our own Communion as a rival body to Nonconformist Societies, but as a matter of loyalty to our Head, to Him whom they also regard as their Head, setting forth the unity of which we speak, and for which He prayed, as the reality after which they are unconsciously feeling in their own dim and confused movements towards comprehension. It may take long before the ideas which are fundamental and primary conceptions with Churchmen, begin to be realised and grasped at all by Nonconformists. Evils which have been long maturing are long in being cured, but this is only another reason why no more time should be lost, and why this particular branch of the Church's operations should be taken in hand by an organisation specially devoted to the purpose.

One more remark must not be omitted, and that is that as

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example is more powerful than precept, so the very taking in hand of anything like a movement for the reunion of Dissenters with the Church is in itself a call to greater unity among ourselves. It is true that divisions within the Church are no justification for separation from the Church. Divisions within there always must be, for the simple reason that no man's mind ever takes in all aspects of truth, and that it is the very function of the Church to include all classes of minds, and to minimise inevitable variation by comprehending all in one fold under one common standard of belief, which can include all variations; and by uniting all under one common but elastic type of worship. Common worship unites hearts, and in exact proportion as hearts are brought together, intellectual diversities are dissolved away. Thus, then, it is not so much the diversities of views in detail which we deplore within the Church, as the antagonisms which, as matter of fact do, but which ought not to, result therefrom. Upon their own principles, then, High Churchmen are specially bound to do what in them lies to exhibit in all their own language and conduct that spirit of forbearance towards those who differ from them within the Church, which shall exemplify the principles on which they make their appeal to those outside it. And yet, further, inasmuch as we are thus holding up our own organisation and form of Church government as apostolical and Divine to those outside of it, it should be our care also that we give the smallest possible grounds for those charges of *anomia* which have of late been so freely, and in many cases so unfairly, brought against us. The real strength of Churchmen, under God, lies in their strict and punctual regard for the law of the Church to which they belong. The strength of the early Oxford movement lay in the visible reality of its return to the prescriptions of the Anglican Prayer Book, and the authoritative teaching of the Church; and our wisdom and our duty now lies in carefully making it apparent that whatever we do or teach is in strict conformity with those standards to which at our ordination we pledged ourselves. Better far to wait a little so as to secure the recognition of this as a fact, than to hurry on in advance while our loyalty in so doing is not seen or understood. *Esse quam videri* is a good rule, but for officials, for clergymen, the *videri* is a very large part indeed of the matter, and, so far as those around us are concerned, it is indispensable to the efficiency of the *esse*. To exhibit a due conformity to those principles of authority on which the Church is founded, is certainly the first duty of those who would succeed in comprehending Nonconformists.

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ART. VIII.—LORD SELBORNE AND MR. PARKER.

1. *Notes on some Passages in the Liturgical History of the Church of England.* By LORD SELBORNE. (London, 1878.)
2. *Did Queen Elizabeth take 'other order' in the 'Advertisements' of 1566?* A Letter to Lord Selborne. By JAMES PARKER. (Oxford and London, 1878.)

THE world, the *Record*, and the Church Association were greatly comforted seven years ago at finding the ritual law of the Church definitely settled by the Purchas judgment. No more eastward position, and no more vestments, except in the limited use of the cope in cathedral and collegiate churches upon principal feast-days. Eventful years passed, and these conclusions shrivelled into an ancient muniment before the Ridsdale judgment which, with an even higher claim to deference, decreed the final Church law upon a very different basis. No doubt the shouters of 1871 were discomfited to find the guarded but perfectly workable permission of the eastward position and the extension of the compulsion of copes in the higher churches to the entire year. But they might have come worse off, and so their contentment was jubilant. We should be glad to be assured now that they are still as convinced as they were a year ago that the Ridsdale judgment is, after all, constructed of more durable material than that which condemned Mr. Purchas. Of the different blows which have fallen upon it, a recent one stands out conspicuously, not only from its intrinsic weight, but because it is the recoil from, and indeed solicited, if not necessitated by, a volunteered defence of that judgment by one of its principal authors. The surprise was general when Lord Selborne, *mero motu*, stepped out of the august cloud to vindicate the judgment of which he was co-author against an argument which had only impugned it by anticipation, and when he directly challenged his self-made opponent to a rejoinder. That rejoinder has come, and it is found virtually and necessarily to deal with the judgment itself, which Lord Selborne has stripped of invulnerability, by, so to speak, scheduling it among the illustrations indispensable for making good his allegations.

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A few words will explain the causes which have led up to this risky proceeding. Mr. Parker, as all ritual students ought to know, published, in 1877, the *First Prayer Book of Edward VI. compared with the successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, which was shortly followed under the same date by an introductory volume, entitled *Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, which appeared, we believe, very shortly before the delivery of the Ridsdale judgment, while of course it was composed in ignorance of that production. The judgment took one view of the vestiary question and Mr. Parker another, but the reasonable assumption would be that, at all events, the authors of the decision would consider that their reasoning had refuted all disputants. Lord Selborne, however, who, as ex-Chancellor, came next in importance to Lord Cairns, and who has for time out of mind enjoyed an authority on ecclesiastical questions to which the actual Chancellor has never urged a claim, must have thought there was a weak place to be strengthened. Mr. Parker's books attracted his attention, and, dealing with them as the case on the side to which he was opposed, he issued, in his own name, *Notes on some Passages in the Liturgical History of the Reformed English Church*, stating in his first sentence, 'the following notes were suggested to the writer by the perusal of Mr. James Parker's recent liturgical publications.' This was gallant in one standing where Lord Selborne does; for in thus coming forward to do battle in his own name for an as yet not-appealed-against judgment, on which Lord Cairns had so peremptorily closed his colleagues' mouths, the late Chancellor very appreciably, for literary, though not for judicial purposes, placed that production on the lower level, not of an authoritative decision, but of a private argument. Fair play is the life-breath of a controversy, so that, if Lord Selborne was justified, on an equal footing, in defending the Ridsdale judgment against Mr. Parker's anticipatory criticisms, Mr. Parker was entitled, with the same privileges of equality, to impugn the Ridsdale judgment when imported by one of its authors into a reply to his own argument. Mr. Parker, it must be owned, laid himself open to the original attack by a tactical oversight, which he found means, as an accomplished strategist, to turn to a brilliant victory. His Introduction shares the fate of many other books in having grown in the author's hands after it had partially gone to press, and when it was too late to bring up the earlier to the level of the later portion. Consequently, what he said about the Ad-

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vertisements was inferior in quantity and quality to the latter chapters, and naturally invited a rejoinder. Once he was put upon his mettle, he more than made up for any omissions in his *Did Queen Elizabeth take 'other order' in the 'Advertisements' of* 1566? *A Letter to Lord Selborne.* We propose to compare these two publications, which are not, however, confined to the debate over the authority of the Advertisements. A large portion of Lord Selborne's book is taken up with a discussion upon the relations between Convocation and Parliament in 1662, and upon Cosin's share in the revision of that year, as to which Mr. Parker offers his reply. Full of interest as this question is, it does not possess the immediate practical importance which attaches to the earlier pages. History, law, and present practice combine to exalt the Advertisements, since the Ridsdale judges have not merely made them the interpreters of the Ornaments Rubric of 1662, and, as it were, written them over its sentences, as a scribe might have treated a palimpsest, but have endeavoured to justify this exaltation of a seemingly obsolete document by demanding for it royal authority and iso-Parliamentary power. To the controversy over the Advertisements we therefore confine ourselves, and leave the vindication of Cosin's influence to calmer days.

Our starting-point, to which we need only refer in the briefest terms, is the restoration, on Elizabeth's accession, of the reformed worship in the form of the Prayer Book of 1559, which follows, with some improvements, that of 1552. This was legalised and protected by an Act of Uniformity, from which we quote the two very important consecutive sections which deal with ceremonial:—

'XXV.—Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof shall be retained, and be used, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorised under the great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm.

'XXVI.—And also, that if there shall happen any Contempt or Irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by the Misusing of the Orders appointed in this book, the Queen's Majesty may, by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further Ceremonies or Rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's Glory, the Edifying of His Church, and the due Reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments.'

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The prior one of these sections reappears in a slightly modified form in the Prayer Book itself, as a so-called 'Ornaments Rubric.'

'And here is to be noted that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI., according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book.'

We may, without weakening any important argument, pass over the controversy respecting the origin and legal value of this Ornaments Rubric, which seems so important in the eyes of the Ridsdale judges. All will acknowledge that it was compiled out of the statutory provisions of the Act of Uniformity, and intended to represent its working meaning. So long, then, as no 'other order' of a different nature can be shown to have been taken; while the Act of Parliament itself is printed with the Prayer-Book, the presence or absence of that rubric cannot affect the continuous legality of the ornaments of the second year of Edward VI., secured as they are by the statute, while they remain unaffected by some 'other order.' Lord Selborne does not perceive how he himself stamps the value of these sections in the passage of his 'Notes' in which he presents his view of the relations of the shortened Service Act, as quasi-rubrical matter, to the living Prayer-Book.

A good deal of what seems to us very like special pleading has been expended upon the difference between the 'shall use' of the rubric of 1559, and the 'be in use' of the Act of 1559 and of the rubric of 1662, which was professedly recast in order to conform, as the previous one did not, to the very words of Elizabeth's Act. The more then the rubric is effaced in favour of the Act, the more are 1559 and 1662 brought, not only into harmony, but into identity.

Our respect for authority makes freedom of speech difficult as to the procedure of the Ridsdale judgment, in separating the 25th from the 26th section of the Act of 1559, and dwelling upon it as if it stood alone as an enacting clause. This gratuitous divorce imparts absolutely different colouring to the enactment. We will only term the oversight unaccountably heedless. The 25th section, if cut off from its counterpart, enacts the use of the ornaments of the Church, and of the minister existing 'by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' This

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means the ornaments to be found in the Prayer Book of 1549, which was made law in the only Parliament holden in that year, although the session was continued into the third one. But this 'use' was only to endure 'until' the Queen, with the advice of a certain Commission, or of the 'Metropolitan of this realm,' shall 'take other order.' Now what is the interpretation which the inferential process, familiar in the Ridsdale judgment, would fix upon this provision? It was that, considering the drift of public opinion at that crisis, it pointed to further cutting down, and not to the restoration or addition of 'further ceremonies and rites.' This is the interpretation which the Ridsdale judges have stamped upon that provision. But we have only to go on to the next section, which is nothing more, taken with the preceding one, than a second clause of the same sentence, and which might as well with its 'and also' follow a semicolon as a full stop, and we there read that, in the cases of 'contempt' and 'irreverence,' and of 'misusing the orders appointed in *this* book,' that the Queen may, by the 'like advice' of the said 'Commissioners or Metropolitan,' 'ordain' and 'publish' such 'further ceremonies or rites' as may 'be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments.' These are solemn and weighty words, and the upshot of these two sections, which must run together, is that any abridgment of ceremonial involved in the 25th one is merely hypothetical and left to inference, while the correlative addition of 'further ceremonies and rites' is contemplated in the 26th, without stint, limit or restraint, except the healthy and at the same time significant precautions of their not being against 'God's glory,' the 'edifying of His Church,' and the 'due reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments.' Every one of these precautions is the condition which would naturally be suggested by the inspiring mind of persons who appreciated, and not of those who disliked ceremonial as a condition of worship. Emphatically also this magisterial recognition of 'further ceremonies or rites' planted in a statute of the 'first of Elizabeth' had a meaning to priest and layman of that day which can only be realised by Englishmen of 1878 through a process of imagination. Those priests, with a singularly small percentage of men who gave practical proof of strong convictions in either direction, were priests who had been content to say mass for six years, and who might have reconciled their minds to saying it for six or sixty years more if Parliament

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had not put another ritual into their hands; and those laymen were the congregations of those priests. So when they read the Act for themselves, the 'further ceremonies or rites' therein hinted at by a premonition which was a threat to some, a gleam of hope to others, and possibly a simple intimation to a large residuum, did not carry the meaning of fancy devices, and still less of the archæological result of a groping search by lawyer and antiquary among the musty records of long-forgotten terms, but of the sharp and matter-of-fact revival of usages very clearly understood by all who had to read the penal provisions of a Tudor statute.

Dealing with the Ridsdale judgment only as an essay, we think that it is incumbent upon its authors to show that it does not involve a grave miscarriage of argument, consequent upon such an omission. The provisions of the 26th section make the narrow scrutiny within its own limits of the 25th section wholly valueless as an inferential argument, in favour of a Puritan intention on the part of the governing minds in 1559. If inferences are to be set up at all, they reign preponderatingly in the other direction. It proceeds, probably, from the exclusive attention which has been bestowed upon the 25th section, that a document issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1561 has not been recognised as carrying out the procedure contemplated in the Act.

Presented as this is by Mr. Parker, and pleaded, as we believe it was, by Mr. Ridsdale's counsel, it is impossible not to recognise an almost literal and laboured fulfilment of the requirements of section 26. In her letter under the 'Signet,' issued on January 22, 1560–(1), to the Commissioners, in which, after a recital of the powers conferred by the Act, with the trivial substitution of 'further' for 'other order,' Elizabeth orders her Commissioners to make some alterations in the Table of Lessons, which they accordingly carried out; and, in remarking upon the 'negligence and lack of convenient reverence used towards the comely keeping and order of the said churches, and especially of the upper part, called the chancels,' requires the Commissioners, 'amongst other things,' to 'order' that the 'Tables of the Commandments may be comely set or hung up in the east end of the chancel, to be not only read for edification, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion.' Of course, as there is no provision in the Act that one single taking of order should exhaust its provision, the existence of such an exercise as this is of the statutory power is not an argument against the possibility of future repetition

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of the same process. But it stands good as an argument founded upon facts, against the assumption of the judgment, that because the existence in the Act of the power must presuppose its exercise, and because no other approximate exercise of that power can be discovered, therefore, that the Advertisements of 1566 must be invested with the desired attributes. To be sure the order of 1560-(1) is under the 'Signet,' not the Great Seal, but the Advertisements, after the utmost labour of their partisans to set them up, are under no Seal at all.

It may be said that this 'further' or 'other order' settled very little. But all that it did settle was in the sense of the 26th, and not of the 25th section. The recognition of the power of 'taking other order' under the first of the two sections was no action of levelling down, but a variation upon the same level in the substitution of one lesson for another. When, however, we come to the orders referable to the 26th section, our attention is at once arrested by a claim to greater reverence for the chancel, and in this demand is wrapped up the great difference between the Catholic and the Puritan elements then at war within the Church of England. It was but little that was proposed to be done for them, but that little was a first step. It was also a procedure within two years after the passing of the Act, and not, as in the case of the publication of the Advertisements, after seven had been allowed to slip away.

It is remarkable how closely Lord Selborne reaches to the right comprehension of the two sections of the Act, and yet appears to pass away from them without adequately realising their bearing upon each other, and upon the whole history of the period. Upon the 'other order' of 1561 all he has to say is incidentally to note 'some changes in the Table of Lessons (not completed till two years afterwards).' In his account of the steps which led to the publication of the Prayer-Book of 1559, in its actual form, he states:—

'No doubt a larger scheme was at first contemplated. The "Device for alteration of Religion," &c., Cecil's instructions and queries to Guest, and Guest's replies to those queries, show distinctly that the restoration of some of the ceremonies which had been disused in 1552, and of some parts of the book of 1549 which had been then altered, would have been at that time acceptable to the Queen and her Ministers. But this could not be done without a greater amount of concurrence from the Reforming party than it was found possible to obtain.'

Yet upon the following page we find this paragraph:—

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'But, although these were the only changes in the text of the book of 1552, its restoration was subject to two provisos contained in the 25th and 26th sections of the Act of 1559: that the "Ornaments" of the first book were to "be retained," and "be in use," until other order should be therein taken "by the Queen's authority, with the advice of the Metropolitan or Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and that the Queen, with like advice, might ordain and publish "further ceremonies or rites."'

Unless the writer's language belies his thoughts, he cannot adequately have comprehended the 26th section as in fact, and intentionally, keeping the door open for that restoration of ceremonies—the desire for which he correctly attributes to Elizabeth and Cecil—by a machinery which would enable the party of ceremonial to act at the right time without any further reference to Parliament.

We now reach the central question of the whole controversy, the authority, both at the time of their promulgation and in the present day, of the Advertisements of 1566. The Judicial Committee has invested them with both in a high degree; for, in its opinion, they are the 'other order' of Elizabeth, and they are also the informing spirit of the Ornaments Rubric of 1662, which professes in words to uphold the ornaments by authority of Parliament, of the second year of Edward VI., but implies in the spirit the ornaments by authority of the Advertisements of 1566. Our belief is, as we shall further on suggest, that the meaning of the Advertisements themselves is by no means that which the party which makes them its stalking-horse struggles to force upon them. But we will not anticipate, as our immediate concern is not with the contents, but with the broad fact of the Advertisements as a legal instrument.

The key to Lord Selborne's treatment of this question is found in this sentence:—

'The interpretation and legal effect of the "Advertisements," and the recognition which they received from the official acts of public authorities, belong to the province of law, into which it is not proposed to enter; but the controversy as to their authority belongs to history. No writer of reputation, in any work published before the eighteenth century, seems to have suggested a doubt that they were, as a matter of fact, authorised by Queen Elizabeth.'

We understand the earlier sentence of our quotation as meaning that Lord Selborne would not now enter into the practical working of the Advertisements, which had already been handled in the judgment, but that he would come to the succour of that judgment by strengthening the historical

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argument on which it relied for proving the authority of the Advertisements. There could not be a more legitimate task for any supporter of the decision to undertake, whatever may be said of the policy of one of its authors reducing himself to the level of a supporter. The one great stroke which history could make on their behalf would be to disinter some evidence tending to prove that they were Elizabeth's own royal orders, under her Great Seal, which has hitherto been a landmark, not of history, but of conjecture. Let us see how Lord Selborne accomplishes the enterprise. The key to his system is given in the second sentence of the quotation, and it must, *pace tanti viri*, be described as begging the question. What does he mean by the ambiguous phrase 'matter of fact'? The meaning may either be that as a fact they were formally authenticated, or else that they were practically taken as if authentic—'in fact' accepted as by Elizabeth's authority, as we should colloquially say—all through the discussion. Lord Selborne seems unable to extricate himself from this ambiguity of idea, and yet the whole controversy turns upon it. Establishing the first statement would be conclusive in his favour; but evidence for it is wholly absent. The second would be an incident of ecclesiastical history, interesting to the ritual student, but of little value to the lawyer, and one on which we have not much difference with Lord Selborne. We assert as freely as he can do that the Advertisements were generally accepted, but we further assert that they were so as a practical rule, and not as a binding law. The quotations from Parker's correspondence with Cecil, Grindal, &c., referring to the composition and publication of the Advertisements which Lord Selborne gives, are all of them more fully recited by Mr. Parker, and we may, therefore, conveniently consider them in connection with his argument. The conclusion which Lord Selborne ultimately reaches, not without coming into collision with the order of 1560–(1), is that:—

'The authority of the Crown may be given to acts of State, the forms of which are not prescribed by custom or statute, without Seal, or Proclamation, or Order in Council. The doctrine laid down in the "Purchas Judgment," that, "if the Queen's mandative letter preceded[1] the compilation of the 'Advertisements,' and if they

[1] "The Queen's letter of January 22, 1560-1 (under her 'Signet') for the alteration of the Table of Lessons, also preceded the changes made under its authority; and it does not appear to have been followed by any other formal instrument, approving those changes. (See Cardw. *Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 260)."

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were afterwards enforced as by her authority, her assent must be presumed," is not, to the knowledge of the present writer, inconsistent with any previous decision, ever pronounced.'

As Mr. Parker's contention is centred on making good the proof that the Advertisements were published and pressed upon the Church, not by Elizabeth's but by Parker's authority, we may pass on to his pamphlet, armed as we are by Lord Selborne's constructive admission that, if this can be demonstrated, down must topple the legal value of the Advertisements, and with them that of the Ridsdale judgment itself.

There is no disagreement amongst controversialists as to the public origin of the movement which resulted in the Advertisements. This is found in a letter from Elizabeth to Archbishop Parker, of the date January 25, 1564–(5), a composition magisterial in its tone, and verbose, if not turgid in its phraseology, and so worded as to leave but little liberty of choice to its recipient. Mr. Parker presents it in full, and then offers an epitome in modern language. We shall, however, rather endeavour to give an idea of its contents by a catena of extracts. Parker in it found himself required 'to confer with the bishops of his province and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for the redressing disorders in the Church occasioned by different doctrines and rites; and for taking order to admit none into preferment but those that are conformable.' So far the missive reads more like a sharp fulmination against 'old order ceasing' than an invitation to 'other order' to come in. But we must not anticipate. The first paragraph right royally bans 'diversity, variety, contention, vain love of singularity, either in our ministers or in the people,' and so leads up in the second one to the 'no smal grief and discomfort' with which Elizabeth hears

'That where, of the two maner of governments, without which no maner of people is wel ruled, the ecclesiastical should be the more perfect, and should give example, and be as it were a light and guide, to allure, direct, and lead al officers in civil policy; yet in sundry places of our realm of late, for lack of regard given thereto, in due time, by such superior and principal officers as you are, being the Primat, and other the Bishops of your province, with suffrance of sundry varieties and novelties, not only in opinions, but in external ceremonies and rites, there is crept and brought into the Church by some few persons abounding more in their own senses than wisdome would, and delighting in singularities and changes, an open and manifest disorder, and offence to the godly, wise, and obedient persons, by diversitie of opinions, and specially in the external, decent and leeful rites and ceremonies to bee used in the churches.'

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The third paragraph dwells on the 'inconuenience' which would ensue, 'except the same should bee spedily withstoud, stayd, and reformed.'

The fourth paragraph begins by indirectly taking to task the 'Primate and Metropolitan' for not having 'with the assistance of the Bishops' 'stayed and appeased' 'these errors tending to breed some schisms or deformity in the Church.' So 'we' (the Queen)

'Have certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties and novelties amongst them of the Clergy and our people, as breed nothing but contention, offence, and breach of common charitie, and are also against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of our realm, to bee reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformitie through our whole realm and dominions.'

We quote the fifth paragraph in its entirety:—

'And therefore wee do by these our present letters require, enjoyn, and straitly charge you, being the Metropolitan, according to the power and authority which you have under us over this Province of Canterbury (as the like wee wil order for the Province of York), to confer with the Bishops your brethren, namely, such as be in commission for causes ecclesiastical, and also al other head officers and persons having jurisdiction ecclesiastical, as wel in both our Universities, as in any other places collegial, cathedral, or whatsoever the same bee, exempt or not exempt, either by calling to you from thence whom you shal think meet to have assistance or conference, or by message, process, or letters, as you shal see most convenient, and cause to bee truly understand, what varieties, novelties and diversities there are in our Clergy, or among our people, within every of the said jurisdictions, either in doctrine or in ceremonies and rites of the Church, or in the maners, usages, and behaviour of the Clergy themselves, by what name soever any of them bee called. And thereupon, as the several cases shal appear to require reformation, so to proceed by order, injunction, or censure, according to the order and appointment of such laws and ordinances as are provided by Act of Parliament, and the true meaning thereof. So as uniformity of order may bee kept in every church, and without variety and contention.'

The sixth paragraph expounds the heading for taking order for admitting none into preferment 'but those that are conformable'; the proposed test of which is that such are, 'before their admittance,' to 'orderly and formally promise' their conscientious discharge of their functions by a declaration expressed in very solemn terms,—

'And also to observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in al the external rites and ceremonies, both for the Church, and for

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their own persons, as by laws, good usages, and orders, are already allowed, wel provided, and established.'

The ninth and last paragraph is a threat from the Queen, if the Archbishop does not use 'all expedition,' of 'further remedy by some other sharp proceedings.'

We may pause here to take what Fuller would call a Pisgah sight of the situation. What is the drift of the subjective 'Advertisements,' as they have ripened in the imagination of the Low Churchmen? and what ought, therefore, to be the drift of the letter of Elizabeth ordering them to be framed? The honest answer would be a further instalment of 'reformation' principles; a further separation from unreformed churches; a further repudiation of superstitious ceremonies; a further embracement of the new liberty as contrasted with the old order. We enquire of any impartial bystander whether the letter, which we have carefully and, we believe, fairly epitomised, carries out these characteristics? Is it not, on the contrary, a severe, not to say vehement, denunciation of varieties and novelties, not only in 'opinions, but in external ceremonies and rites,' which, considering that the legal ceremonies and rites of that day were distributively those of 1549 and 1559, must mean innovations on the services of 1559 and the ornaments of 1549? But, above all, will the Ridsdale judges, will Lord Selborne, will the Church Association, tell us what single word there is throughout this whole letter about 'taking other order' by way of new rubrics, or of ordinances in the nature of rubrics, such as the portion of the Advertisements under discussion must, according to their theory, be considered? What Parker and his comprovincials are ordered to do was to make enquiry into the existing disorders, and then take steps to repress them by proceedings of a judiciary nature, including, no doubt, 'injunction' in the abstract, but by no necessity any code of injunctions of a legislative character, and having for its scope the ordering of anything 'other' than the existing legal apparatus of opinions, ceremonies, and rites. Moreover, while the Prayer Book of 1559 and the Act of Uniformity which made that law (the 25th and 26th sections included) comprehend all England—the Province of York no less than that of Canterbury—this letter especially singles out the Archbishop of Canterbury, and confines him within his own province, '*as the like wee will order for the Province of York*,' which, however, Elizabeth seems never to have done.

The difficulty would, *primâ facie*, seem to lie in the direc-

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tion of incongruity between the animus of the motive power and the form of the motion produced. Something not immediately discernible must have intervened which occurred between the letter of Elizabeth—seeming, as that does, so stiffly to tighten up conformity—and the Advertisements, which are assumed to have made some surrender of ceremonial to the Puritan opponents. But, in explanation, we may reply that it will, we believe, turn out that the Advertisements were not a surrender, but a *modus vivendi*, which saved the principle of the party according it; and that, if we are right in our inference, they will not have been the only instance of a move for more rigid conformity resulting in the recommendation of regulated elasticity. The history of the Ritual Commission of 1867 is a case in point. Whatever may be the theories in which we indulge, it would be more than difficult to find one which could justify the description given of the Queen's letter in the Ridsdale judgment:—'The Queen had in the most formal manner, by royal letters, commanded the Metropolitan and other Prelates to prepare these Advertisements.'

This sentence will ever remain and be quoted as an example of conciseness without accuracy. Even supposing a strain put upon the phrase 'injunction,' how can the judges prove that 'injunction' without an article and in the singular number is equivalent to 'these advertisements'? We have authentic contemporaneous, if not almost instantaneous, evidence of the way in which Parker took the missive, in a letter quoted by Mr. Parker, from him to Grindal, of January 30, 1564–(5), in which he assigns January 28 as the date of the royal epistle, no doubt referring to the day on which he received it, and which was two days antecedent to his to the then Bishop of London. In this very candid effusion he shows where he had been hit. The thought which weighs upon him is the imputation of 'sundry varieties and novelties,' 'for lack of regard for the Bisshoppes.' Accordingly, he calls upon Grindal, probably in his official character of Provincial Dean, to communicate the message to the 'rest of o^r^ brethren' (the Bishops of the Southern Province), with the 'charge' that they 'inviolablye see the lawes and ordinances already established to be w^t^houte delaye and colore executed in their particular jurisdictions,' the *modus operandi* being the 'censures of the Church,' and 'censure' being recommended by Elizabeth's own letter. We pause for a moment to ask if executing an ordinance already established is the same thing as taking other order? Finally, he winds up by ordering the Bishop to see to conferences in his and the other dioceses, 'to certifie me

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what varieties and discorde there be, either in doctrine or ceremonies of the Churche and behavior of the clergy themselves, by whatsoever name they be called,' the 'certificate' being returnable on the last day of February, *i.e.* a month off. Again we are baffled in our search after 'other order.' We may assume that Parker obtained his information, for on March 3 we reach a new departure for which there was no definite warrant in the Queen's letter, and which, by Parker's own letter of the date to Secretary Cecil, appears to have been the device of himself and of some of his suffragans. We give this important document in full:—

'Sir,—I send yo^r honor a boke of Articles, partly of olde agreed on Amongst us, and partly of late these iij or iiij days considered, which be eyther in papirs fasted on as ye see, or new written bi Secretary hand. Because it is the first vewe, not fully digested, I thought good to send it to yo^r honor to peruse, to know yo^r jugement, and so to retorne yt, that it may be fayr wryten and presented. The Devysers wer only the b[ishops] of London, Wynchester, Ely, Lyncolne, and myself.'

We do not see how words can make it more clear that not only the phraseology, but the very idea of any such document, was due to Parker and the bishops whom he called into council. He had, we suppose, been working hard to obey the Queen's commands, which obviously tallied with his own views, although he may have been somewhat hurt at the scolding form in which the royal decision was couched. In so doing, he had come to the conviction that mere corrective action applied to individuals by 'order, injunction, or censure,' was not enough. Some fresh authoritative scheme of discipline to serve as the norm of conformity or disobedience was wanted, and to framing one he applied himself, with the advice of his comprovincials, Grindal, Horn, Cox, and Bullingham. Cecil clearly lost no time in reading and returning it, and four days after (March 8) the fair copy was sent back to him signed by the bishops, and with a letter from the Archbishop, containing these passages—

'Sir,—I send your honor our boke, w^ch is subscribed to bi the byshops conferors, w^ch I kepe by myself. I trust yo^r honor wil present it upon oportunitie w^ch ye can take, in removing offenses that mygt growe by mine imprudent talke.

'Yf the Q. M^ie wil not authoryse them, the most part be like to lye in the dust for execution of o^r parties. Lawes be so moche agaynst our privat doyngs, "The Q. M^ie, w^th consent," &c., I trust, shall be obeyed.

. . . . . .

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'Yf this ball shalbe tossed unto us, and then have no authorytie by the Q. M^ies^ hande, we wil set stil. I marvel that not vi wordes wer spoken fr^m^ the Q. M^le^ to my L. of London, for unyform'ty of his London, as hymself told me; yf y^e^ remedye is not bi letter, I wil no more stryve against the streme, fume or chide who will.'

The fact which this letter demonstrates beyond a cavil was that up to that time nothing in the shape of the future Advertisements had received the royal authorisation. Negative evidence would seem to go further, and to show that Elizabeth had not anticipated any such document, or shown any sign of accepting it when produced. There was no antecedent reason why she should do so, for certainly any fresh code of ecclesiastical regulations might be in the spirit of, but it was beyond, if not beside, the text of her letter to the Metropolitan. From one end to the other of that letter her tone was—'Use the powers you have got, and use them sharply to repress novelties, and to bring things back to their old and right condition,' and now she might argue that the Archbishop himself had confronted her with a fresh novelty of his own devising, in a new 'book of articles.' Whether the proceeding were or were not expedient, it was Parker's way of doing the business, not Elizabeth's. Either by private intimation or shrewd suspicion, it is very clear, from the tone of the passages given, that Parker saw that his favour had waned, and that Elizabeth was looking with coldness, at least, upon the project, of which he himself, as its author, was obviously not a little proud. If the Archbishop had been treating of the executing of 'commands' given in 'the most formal manner' by his sovereign, he would not have run into figures of the ball being tossed, and he would not have talked of his having 'no authoritie' if he had got the authority in 'the most formal manner.' Still Parker went on complaining to Cecil. At length Cecil cut the matter short by returning his book to the Archbishop with the pregnant endorsement:—

'*Ordinances accorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., in his Province. These were not authorised or published.*'

Mr. Parker truly points out that, among other objections which Elizabeth may have entertained to the Archbishop's proposal, was that (even supposing her to have had no complaint against the ordinances in themselves) it involved action being taken in her name, and by her direct authority, while the tone of her letter was that the Archbishop and Bishops were to assert themselves. Each side wanted the other to bear the brunt of a troublesome business. But she may also

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have been suspicious of the names which she saw subscribed, comprising, as they did, those of bishops who had made themselves disagreeable to her about the ceremonial of her chapel. Possibly her objections were broader, and failing in her hope of accomplishing the revival of the 'further ceremonies or rites,' indicated in the 26th section of the Act of Uniformity and displayed in that chapel, she may have been tenaciously unwilling even to seem to abate a jot in the contrary direction.

Whatever may have been the Queen's reason, or combination of reasons, for her refusal, Parker was, by this last move of Cecil's, thrown upon his own resources; and, after about a year's delay, which may have been spent in silent brooding, or in expostulations, he took upon himself to revive the discarded volume, erasing eight articles which he supposed were the most obnoxious, altering its title to 'Advertisements,' and prefixing a preamble, which ingeniously aimed at investing it with seeming royal authority, while in reality it only asserted the conformity of the contents with the Queen's pleasure as expressed in her letter:—

'Advertisements partly for due Order in the public administration of Common Prayers, and using the holy Sacraments, and partly for the apparel of all persons ecclesiastical, by virtue of the Queen's Majestie's letters Commanding the same.'

To realise the force of the alterations, it must be noted that in the first draft the Queen, 'both by the assent of the Metropolitane, and with certain other her Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical, decreed certain rules and orders.' This would unquestionably have been a 'taking other order,' according to the Act of 1559, if issued under the Great Seal; but the operative words have now disappeared and the Great Seal is not to be found. Furthermore, in the preamble, Parker altered 'constitutions' to 'temporall orders,' and 'positive laws in discipline' to 'rules on some part of discipline.' An even more remarkable change was that a regulation voiding licences to preach without local limitation, was changed into one only voiding them 'within the province of Canterbury;' strong evidence, we should say, that the Advertisements were merely provincial regulations, referring up to, while they stopped at, the bishops of a single province, and that they were not 'taking other order' for the whole Church of England in the terms of the Act of 1559.

Mr. Parker still finds the Archbishop 'fuming' at his disappointment, and complaining, as notably in a letter to Cecil,

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where he represents himself 'moche astonyed and in grete perplexitie to think what event this cause wil have in the proceeding to an ende.' 'I have endevored to myself to enforce the Q. Ma^ties^ pleasure upon all my bretherne,' yet 'I see my service but defeated.' In particular, Parker asserts that 'I have stayed upon such advertisements,' which he hardly could have said if the Advertisements had been a royal ordinance. He dwells upon the 'hurt' that might 'com of such tolerations.' Finally—

'I have wryten to the Q. M^tie^, as youe see. I praye yo^r^ honor use yo^r^ opportunytie. And where onys this last yere certen of us consulted & agreed upon som particularyties in apparell (wher the Q. M^ties^ letters [*i.e.* of Jan. 25, 1564–(5)] wer very general), and for that bi statute we be inhibited to set out any constitutions w^th^out lycence obteyned of the prince, I sent them to y^r^ honor to be presented [*i.e.* March 4, 1564–(5)]; thei could not be alowed them, I cannot tell of what meaninge; w^ch^ I nowe send agayn, humbly prayeng that yf not all yet so many as be thought good, maye be retorned w^th^ som authorytie, at the lest waye for particular apparell: or elles we shal not be able to do so moche as the Q. Ma^tie^ expecteth for, of us to be done.' . . .

In the meanwhile he and Grindal concerted, as they inform Cecil, a *coup* for London, in collecting all its clergy at Lambeth, and personally enforcing conformity, in which they were to a considerable extent successful. At last comes the actual publication of the Advertisements in their amended and restricted form, which was prefaced by the following letter from Parker to Cecil:—

'I praye yo^r^ honor to peruse this draught of letters, and the boke of advertisements w^th^ your pen, w^ch^ I mean to send to my Lord of London. This form is but nuly prynted, and yet stayed tyl I maye hear your advise. I am nowe fully bent to prosequute this order, and to delaye no longer, and I have weded out of these articles all such of doctryne, &c., w^ch^ peradventure stayed the boke from the Q. M^ties^ approbation, and have put in but thinges avoucheable, and, as I take them, agaynst no lawe of the realme.

'And wher[eas] the Q. Highness will needs have me assaye with mine own autorytie what I can do for order, I trust I shal not be stayed hereafter, saving that I wolde praye yo^r^ h[onour] to have yo^r^ advice, to do that more prudently in this comon cause, which must nedes be done.'

Can words be clearer? Parker, driven into a corner by Elizabeth's silent obstinacy, takes the plunge, and publishes the book upon, as he says, 'mine own autorytie.' His defence for the bold act proffered to the cool-headed minister of

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the jealous sovereign is that they are only 'thinges avoucheable, and, as I take them, agaynst no lawe of the realme.' The commentary on this letter, vouchsafed by the Judicial Committee, is—

'They could only be "against no law of the realm" if they were issued by the Queen's authority. For what purpose were they sent to Cecil, except to obtain that authority for their promulgation in the form and manner proposed?'

Risum teneatis, amici?

Parker, in formally sending the Advertisements to Grindal after recapitulating the Queen's letter to him of 'now a yere past' not to draft Advertisements, but 'duely and truly to execute the laws,' goes on to 'require and charge you' [Grindal] 'as you will answer to god and her maestie, to see her Maty's Laws and injunctions duely observed w^thin your dioc: and also theis our convenient orders described in theis books at this presente sent unto your L.' It would have been impossible to draw a more trenchant and emphatic distinction between the Queen's 'laws and injunctions' (*i.e. inter alia* the Act of 1559 and all its *sequelæ*) and Parker's 'convenient orders' than he has himself done. The Queen refused to stamp the Advertisements with the authority of laws and injunctions, while she connived at their being issued as 'convenient orders,' in which character they did appear, and have left their mark upon the Church of England. Neither Queen nor Archbishop appears in a very heroic attitude through the transaction, though there is no reason to impute unworthy motives to either. Elizabeth wanted something done in the shape of a high exercise of discipline by the Episcopate. Parker wanted something done in the shape of some royal 'order.' The matter compromised itself by this something taking the form of episcopal 'order.' It nowhere appears how far Elizabeth liked or disliked the contents of the Advertisements, for she took wonderful care to keep her opinions to herself; but it may be inferred that she could not have much disapproved them, or she would have hardly let them go forth, even with the limited sanctions under which they appeared.

On this same March 28, 1566, Parker wrote another letter to Dr. Cole, Dean of the peculiar of Bocking, which Mr. Parker rightly takes credit to himself for publishing for the first time:—

'I have sente you herewith a booke of certeine orders agreed uppon By Me and Other of my Bretherne of my Province of Canturburie,

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and hitherto not published, wyllinge and requiring you w^th^ all spede to call before you all and singlar the parsons, vicars, and curats of my said peculier Jurisdiction of Bockinge, to publishe to them the said orders prescribed in this boke, and also to move, persuade, and commaunde them, and euery of them, as they will answer at there peril, duely to observe as well her Ma^ties^ said Lawes and iniunctions in thadministracion of publique prayer and the Sacramentes, and in there externe apparell, as also these orders sente unto you herewith, and such as will obstinately refuse to conforme themselves to the said Lawes, iniunctions, and orders that you do forthwith suspende them, and euerie of them, from there publique ministracions whatsoever and also do sequester all the fructe of there benefice,' &c.

The distinction between the Queen's 'lawes and injunctions' and his own 'orders,' drawn in the letter to Grindal, is as emphatically repeated in this letter to his immediate subordinate, while the same term 'order' for the document of inferior authority is used in both. On this same day letters of no doubt a like tenor were sent to the Commissary of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester (commissary of a Sussex peculiar), and the Dean of Arches. Mr. Parker has not noticed what appears to us valuable illustrative evidence of the spirit in which Elizabeth and her ministers were acting in a document of only three years and a half later date, which may be read in Cardwell. Upon November 6, 1569, a letter, not directly signed by the Queen, but issued in her name by the Council, with signatures of which the first was Lord Keeper N. Bacon, and the last Cecil, to Parker, 'about the recovering of the discipline of the Church,' in which the Archbishop is again taken to task in the spirit of the letter of 1564–(5), not for the existence of persons who have disobeyed the Advertisements and their 'other order,' but for that of those who 'have not used the Common Prayer according to the lawes of this realm.' It will be said, and we admit it, that this argument is only inferential, but it is a very strong argument of that description, that such a complaint made at that time, and passing over the Advertisements, would be hardly consistent with the theory of their royal authority, while it would entirely correspond with the view of their origin and nature which we have been defending. The expression 'according to the lawes of the realm,' at once recalls Parker's 'her Ma^ties^ lawes and injunctions,' which he employs in contrast to his own 'orders' the Advertisements. It is an ungracious task to have to expose what, if the Ridsdale judgment had been a literary essay, and not the voice of authority, we should have been tempted to term miscarriage of evidence, all the more unintelligible, since it is well known that the counsel for Mr. Ridsdale

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pressed such considerations. It would be a good thing to vindicate what we believe is the true meaning of the Church's ritual order; but the price which we should pay for that advantage would be heavy if it must involve the proof of inaccuracy made good against judges and tribunals, of which the practical, not less than the authoritative, competence ought to stand far above questioning. It is even more ungracious to have to arraign a man so justly honoured as Lord Selborne of any perfunctory handling of, and pre-formed conclusions as to, delicate issues; but literary and historical truth, not to mention higher considerations, has imposed the task upon us.

We have, in the course of our examination, pointed out the particular, if not emphatic, care which was taken to restrain the directions contained in Elizabeth's letter to Parker, and the operation of Parker's Advertisements to his own Province of Canterbury, according to the tenor of the notification that '*the like wee will order for the Province of York*,' a promise which seems never to have been kept. This is the more striking when it is remembered that the Act of 1559 talks of the 'Metropolitan of this realm.' We must now (as Mr. Parker does) ask, not of course as lawyers, but as students, how the Ridsdale judges—even if we accept the Advertisements at the Privy Council's valuation for the province which they covered—can establish that they ever were, or now can be, law for that province from which they were expressly excluded?

The parsons whose persistence in following the direction of the Rubric of 1549 have brought them into trouble with the Courts—Mr. Mackonochie, Mr. Purchas, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Ridsdale, Mr. Tooth, and Mr. Dale—happen all to have belonged to various dioceses of the Province of Canterbury, within which the Advertisements (supposing the mysteriously inferential sanction of Elizabeth to hold good) can claim to make good any authority which the Ridsdale judgment may have assigned to them. But, if the fancy should possess the Dean of Carlisle to discard the cope and surplice, which are ostensibly his only legal vesture when he celebrates, in favour of chasuble and albe, could he not plausibly contend that his obligatory cognisance of the royal provision of Elizabeth's ceased when he gave up Cheltenham, and that, in default of other order having been taken for the Province of York, he was living under the full provision of the second year of Edward VI.? No doubt Lord Penzance, if persuaded of the cogency of this reasoning, would give to it its full effect, although he

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might have immediately afterwards to inflict some *peine forte et dure* upon an unlucky parson from the Southern Province who had insisted on copying the Dean of Carlisle's vesture.

Lord Selborne attaches much value to the fact which Mr. Parker accepts, that a whole generation of writers assumed the royal authority of the Advertisements. This seems to us only to prove the success of Parker's policy. Disappointed as he was in obtaining the royal authority for the *modus vivendi* which he proposed in a form which differed from the Queen's intention, he used expressions in his published circular which came as near to implying the missing royal authority as possible, and yet kept on the safe side. Posterity, familiar with the Advertisements as the practical rule of the Church, read the passage uncritically, and believed in their formal binding power. We impute nothing dishonourable to Parker in this proceeding. Elizabeth, we dare say, saw through his innocent stratagem and smiled, for it left her with the credit of success if he succeeded, while it was open to her to repudiate a failure. Napoleon III. was not the first sovereign who has mastered literary ambiguity as a fine art. Those writers here and there on whom Lord Selborne so much relies, stand rebuked and refuted by an authority far more weighty than L'Estrange and other private controversialists, nothing less than the statutable Prayer Book of 1662, in the forefront of which the whole Act of Uniformity of 1559 is textually reprinted. We do not believe it credible that the legislature of 1662 would have so deliberately revived that statute, with its 25th section intact, if it had believed, and if (as the Ridsdale judges contend) it had intended the world to believe, under penalty, that that 25th section had been superseded by some proceedings taken in 1566.

Mr. Parker has further earned the gratitude of ritual students by calling definite attention to a much neglected document which helps to illustrate one of the hitherto most obscure phenomena of the vestiary question. It is a paper existing among those of Archbishop Parker's at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, entitled 'Resolutions and Orders taken by comon concert of the Bishops,' with the subheading 'Interpretations and further Consideracions of certen iniunctions.' Mr. Parker has collated this document, to which he assigns a date after January 1561, and which is still (except in an extract which he gives) only accessible so far as presented by Strype, and as inaccurately given in a foot note of

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the first volume of Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, in which the title 'Resolutions' does not appear.

Among the considerations is 'Item that there be used but only one apparell, as the cope in the ministracion of the Lord's Supper, and the surplesse at all other ministracions, and that there be none other manner and forme of ministringe the Sacraments, but as the Service boke doth preciselie prescribe, and withe such declaration as be in the injunctions, concerninge the forme of the communion bread and placing of the common (? communion) "borde."' Mr. Parker gives us no evidence to show whether the 'Resolutions' were ever published or if any attempt was made to enforce them. Whatever may have been their fate, they are unquestionably valuable as contemporaneous evidence of the opinions and aims of those who were in power at that crisis.

It is reasonable to conjecture that the provision establishing the cope as the exclusive Eucharistic dress may have been prompted by a politic intention to differentiate the Church of England from that of Rome, which the people were then contemplating, not only in the light of centuries of resistance to the corruptions and tyranny of the Curia, but in the lurid glare of the Marian burnings. The cope may very likely have often by an insular peculiarity served as the old English Eucharistic vesture, but the chasuble was identified with Pole, the Italians, and the Spaniards. So when Parker and the party of order wanted a Eucharistic dress in a safe form, they found it in the cope. We have never blinked the fact that between the death of Mary and a comparatively late year of the reign of Victoria, the chasuble and the tunacle, though presumably as legal as the cope, were practically obsolete, while the latter enjoyed a conditioned but continuous recognition. This has never seemed to us a sufficient reason to forbid—supposing circumstances propitious for the revival—the use of an Eucharistic vesture which connects us, as the cope does not, with the great tradition of the whole Church, and with our own pre-Reformational usage in its more excellent aspects. Reasons, which may have been strong in the sixteenth century, may well have lost their force in the nineteenth, while it is the circumstances of the nineteenth, and not of the sixteenth, which ought to guide our own ecclesiastical policy. Yet the principle of some Eucharistic dress is of more consequence than the detail of its pattern, while it is still in the rudimentary stage of struggling for recognition beyond Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and even in them for practical adoption. Only an ignorant or pre-

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judiced man would charge the authors of the 'Resolutions' with a less personal regard for the honour of the Sanctuary, than that which actuated the prelates who put in use the Prayer Book of 1549, in spite of the services which it enacted, and of its fuller catalogue of allowable vestures. The full detail of the publication, use, and supersession of that book is a lost chapter of history. Enough has, however, survived to show that, if we were driven to seek some illustrative parallel for the behaviour of those who were responsible for the government of the English Church between Whitsun Day, 1549, and All Saints Day, 1552, we could only find it in the records of the action of the Ottoman Government over those constitutional reforms with which it has laboured to hoodwink Europe during the last quarter of a century. Not to go further, demonstrative proof exists in a book which has, so to speak, dropped into our mouth—well known, though in a less piquant form, as are some of the incidents which it records. We refer to the second volume of the journal of the herald Wriothesley, recently published by the Camden Society, and ranging over the years 1547 to 1559.

Wriothesley's description of the solemn service by which the use of the First Prayer Book was ceremoniously set up at St. Paul's is—

'The one and twentith daie of Julie' [obviously an erratum for June], 'the sixth daie after Trinitie Soundaie, the Archbishopp of Canterburie came to Poules, and their in the quire, after mattens, in a cope with an aulble under it, and his crosse borne afore him with two priestes of Poules for deakin and sub-decon, with aulbles and tuniecles, the deane of Poules followinge him in his surples, came into the quire, my lord Maior, with most part of the aldermen, sitting their with him.

. . . . . .

'This daie procession was song according to the Kinges booke, my lord [archbishop] and the quire kneling, my lord singing the collectes and praying, and adding one other prayer which he had written for this plage. This donne, he went to the highe aulter with deacon and subdeacon, and their to celebrate the holie communion of the bodie and bloud of Christ, according to the Kinges booke last sett fourth by Act of Perliament, for the service and sacrafice of the Church, he ministring the sacrament of the bodie of Christ himself to the deane and VII. other, the deacons following with the chalice of the bloud of Christ.'

We may here parenthetically notice the curious survival of the term 'procession' for the litany, though it was no longer sung processionally. The editor of Wriothesley sup-

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plements this account by the following description of the same event from the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*:—

'And, too, the Byshoppe of Canterbery was there at procession, and dyd the offes hymselfe in a cope and no vestment, nor mytter, nor crosse, but a crose staffe; and too dyd alle the offes, and hys sattene cappe on hys hede alle the tyme of the offes; and too gave the communione hymselfe unto VIII. persons of the sayd Church.' —*Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 60.

We have here that which presents itself as an honest attempt to give effect to the ritual prescriptions of the book of 1549, in a service which seems to our generation, reared in such different associations, exceptionally reverent and grand. It is conspicuously ear-marked by the deliberate selection of the cope as the celebrant's dress, in correspondence with the tunacles of the assistants, while, as if for the prophetic discomfiture of recent hair-splittings, that cope was worn not over the surplice but the albe. Three days after this service (June 24) the Council addressed a letter to Bonner, Bishop of London, given in Cardwell, in which it enforces its lessons—the lessons, as we contend, of the genuine Church of England—and in taking him to task for the continuance of special masses at St. Paul's, prescribes—

'That the holy blessed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such times as your high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a Communion in the morning, and yet the same to be executed at the chancel at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cauteile or digression from the common order.'

However, October 1549 witnessed the deposition of Bonner and the appointment to the See of London of Ridley, who set about carrying out the system of that Prayer Book which was then and for three more years the law of Church and State, in a manner which his present excellent successor might not unreasonably describe as *ἀνομία*. So the following Eastertide of 1550 was, according to Wriothesley, observed in this manner at St. Paul's:—

'This yeare, against Easter, the Bishopp of London altered the Lordes table that stoode where the high aulter was, and he remoued the table beneth the steepps into the middes of the upper quire in Poules, and sett the endes east and west, the priest standing in the middest at the Communion, on the South side of the bord, and after the creed song he caused the vaile to be drawen, that no person

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shoulde see but those that receaued, and he closed the iron grates of the quire on the north and south side with bricke and plaister, that non might remaine in at the quire.'

These summary proceedings, it will be recollected, were the action of a prelate sworn to use and carry out a Prayer Book which enforced a Communion Service to be commenced by 'the priest standing humbly afore the midst of the altar,' and in which that service is continued as one unbroken act of Eucharistic adoration, with no drawing of veils and 'fencing the tables' even hinted at in the rubric. Ridley's well-known injunctions of 1550, in the heyday of the book of 1549, tell the same tale :—

'Wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese ; and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the Popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separate from the rest of the people ; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.'

It is in no way impugning the personal holiness, or the consistency of the individual convictions of Cranmer or Ridley, to say that this way of handling the Prayer Book of 1549 was, on the face of it, palpably unreal, and therefore not honest. The idea of the Communion Service set out in that book had its own unmistakable stamp, and the Bishop of London forcibly wrested it to a different signification. Whether the ritual of 1549 were in itself, as we contend, scriptural and edifying, or, as the Genevan school asserted, superstitious and mischievous, it existed by all the most solemn sanctions throughout 1550, and till nearly the end of 1552, as the law of our Church and State, and so the spectacle of a bishop deliberately falsifying its spirit, if not its letter, must have given a wrench to the moral sense of the people which was, we believe, deeply and widely felt. The student of recent controversies will notice with curiosity, if not amusement, that Ridley's celebrant at St. Paul's was placed, not at the north-end, but at the south-midst of a table standing east and west.

After such a way of dealing with the book of 1549, the description given by Wriothesley of the introduction of the Second Prayer Book on All Saints' Day, 1552, at St. Paul's, reads like an anti-climax. At all events, the attempt had

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been then made, by the change of the Service Book, to bring words into conformity with actions:—

'The first day of November, beinge All Hallowes daye, the newe seruice of the booke called the Common Prayer beganne in Pawles, the Bishop of London executinge himselfe. And in the afternoone the sayd Bishop preached at Pawles Crosse, my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen beinge present at the sermon.

'This daye all copes and vestments were put doune through all England, and the prebendaries of Pawles left of their hoodes, and the bishops their crosses, so that all prestes and clerkes should use none other vestmentes at service nor communion, but surplisses onely; as by an Act of Parliament in the booke of Common Prayer more at large is sette out.

'After the feast of All Saintes, the upper quire in St. Pawles Church in London, where the high alter stoode, was broken downe, and all the quire thereabout, and the table of the communion was set in the lower quire, where the preistes singe.'

The unaltered Second Book, with its starved ritual, was, we all know, even more short-lived than the First, while no doubt the accession of Mary, with its restoration of the sights and sounds which had endured for so many centuries, and had so recently been dropped, reduced the memory of both books in the popular estimation to that of an ephemeral, incoherent dream.

The real beginning of the continuous worship of the reformed Church of England, with its claim of keeping straight along the middle course, must be placed in the primacy of Parker; and Parker, as we see, was the author of Resolutions affirming—in intentional contrast both to the meagre ceremonial of 1552 and to the perplexing variety of Roman apparel—uniformity combined with distinctiveness in the Eucharistic dress, suggested in the form of the cope. The principle, not the pattern, is the essential thing in this case; and in our times, when it is not compulsory uniformity, but liberty of use, for which the higher Churchmen are pleading, the spirit, though not the letter, of Parker's prescriptions might reasonably be fulfilled, and withal a reverent regard for antiquity preserved in a greater measure than the Resolutions achieve, by the recognition of the Ornaments of the Minister in the second year of Edward VI., with no further limitations than those which are imposed by the rubric of the book of 1549, which, as it is contended, make them legal, while of course they would be revived, not as of compulsion, but as of permission.

On the other hand, the claim for the specific use of the

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cope in parish churches presents itself in the strength of that appeal to historical precedent which Englishmen are so much inclined to respect. It is true that we have to go to Cathedrals, Minsters, and Royal, Episcopal, and College Chapels for positive proof. But healthy instinct tells our people that what is right in them cannot be wrong in the whole Church. Moreover, a practical advantage of a kind peculiarly perplexing to the other party in the controversy attaches to this limited demand. The argument for the cope can be based upon the conclusions of the other side with almost as much cogency as upon those historical conclusions for which we contend. The parish cope is by general consent stamped upon 1549. We believe that it can be also found in 1566. Holding this view, we endeavoured to show last year in our article upon the Judgment and the Crisis, that the permissive, in distinction to the obligatory, use of the cope in parish churches could be established upon the reasonings of the Ridsdale judgment, and, in fact, that it could be read into that document even as it stood, just as easily as the contrary conclusion; the judgment, in fact, deciding nothing upon the point while it marshalled the prescriptions upon which, by its process of reasoning, it must act. That judgment, in setting up the Advertisements as the supreme arbiter of clerical vesture, leaves us without guide or pilot to make out their meaning for ourselves, and, in referring to these Advertisements, we discover that they lay down—

'Item. In the ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the principal Minister shall wear a cope, with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion-Table, to use no Copes, but Surplices.

'Item. That the Dean and Prebendaries wear a Surplice, with a Silk Hood in the Quire; and when they preach to wear their Hood.

'Item. That every Minister saying any publick prayers, or ministring the Sacraments or other Rites of the Church, shall wear a comely Surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charges of the Parish; and that the Parish provide a decent Table standing on a frame for the Communion-Table.'

The judgment declares that the vesture prescribed within the four corners of these regulations is legal, and all beyond them illegal. Among the garments over which the orders of 1566 are silent are the chasuble, tunacle, and albe; and, as Mr. Ridsdale was articled for using them, he is admonished to desist from the practice. He was not articled for the use of the cope, and so the Privy Council forbears to measure the lawful area of that garment, and leaves him without any

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directions as to what he is to do with a cope if he has one. It merely sends him to the Advertisements, and if he finds there that he can wear a cope, provided only that he does not obtain it by the one way which Parliament, ten years since, stepped in to make impossible for all clergymen when it abolished compulsory church rates, viz. forcing the parish to levy a rate for the price, he is clearly as much obeying the Ridsdale judgment by using as by refusing the attire. In refusing the surplice he would disobey the Court, but he is not more obedient in wearing than in refusing to wear a cope over that surplice at the Communion Service. To pass from the living Privy Council to Elizabeth's bishops, the position for which we contend, and which further reflection only makes more clear in our eyes, is that, in framing these provisions, Parker and his colleagues intended to say, and effectively did say, that the parson might, if he pleased, use a cope in his parish church, but that he might not charge the parish with it. The surplice had to be provided at the charges of the parish whether it liked the burden or not, while the cope, if used, could only be procured by the generosity of some private donor. The surplice since 1868 has fared no better in a parish which refuses to vote a Church-rate.[1] Churchmen of the present day to whom the surplice is familiar and innocent, and as the ministerial dress universally acceptable, can hardly realise the mixed feelings with which such a compromise as that of 1566—proceeding from an Archbishop who had as priest said mass according to the use of Sarum, and as a fugitive had consorted with the foreign reformers, and was now metropolitan because he was esteemed to be a man who would as mediator most wisely use his diversified experiences —must have been received in a Church which contained a pro-

[1] As we are dealing with the cope in its strictly legal aspects, we have refrained from repeating a consideration which we have more than once urged in this *Review* and elsewhere, that the churches with many curates, such as Leeds, Doncaster, and St. Peter's, Eaton Square—the frequent existence of which is one of the commendable novelties which the Church revival has produced—are equitably collegiate churches, and have a moral right (particularly since the abolition of compulsion in Church rates) to all the legal amplitude of ceremonial which the Advertisements and the Canons of 1604 concede to collegiate churches. To be sure of one priest for each parish church was more, we feel certain, than either Parker or Bancroft could have hoped for, and so they provided accordingly for the prevailing scarcity. Lord Selborne, in a recent letter to the *Guardian*, is sharp upon Mr. Dickinson for urging this consideration. Mr. Dickinson had of course no intention of saying that such churches were by law 'collegiate;' but he dared to rise from the technicalities to the spirit of the provisions which he was considering.

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minent and noisy party, to whom cope and surplice were equally hateful, and doubtless another party feeling deeply, but not daring to speak, which still hankered after the old ceremonial, and were not hopeless of its restoration. The comparison of the two papers, we believe, gives the measure of the concession which Parker felt himself compelled to make to the Puritans between the period of the Resolutions of 1561 and the Advertisements of 1566. In the former the cope and surplice appear as the prescribed Eucharistic dress everywhere; in the latter the cope and surplice continue to be the prescribed dress for cathedral and collegiate churches, while elsewhere the surplice only remained compulsory, although the permissive use of the cope was not impugned. When we recollect that parochial worship was conducted at the charges of the parish rate, and the worship in cathedrals at that of the private estates of the Chapter, the reason and the vindication of this difference become apparent. The Puritans certainly succeeded in winning a large practical concession; but the victory, due to the maintenance of a principle, remained with the other side, which had not only avoided declaring a distinctive Eucharistic dress illegal anywhere, but had succeeded in attaching the obligation of its use to the particular churches which law and public opinion combined to regard as the models of worship.

ART. IX.—ENGLISH CATHEDRALS AND THEIR RESTORATION.

1. *The Ancient Sculptures in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral.* Described and illustrated by EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich, and HENRY SYMONDS, M.A., Rector of Tivetshall; to which is added a History of the See of Norwich. London, 1876.
2. *The Abbey Church of S. Alban, Hertfordshire.* Illustrated by JAMES NEALE, F.S.A., Architect. London, 1877.
3. *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England, Southern Division.* (New edition.) London: John Murray, 1876.

WHATEVER may be thought of the restoration to which almost every Cathedral church in England and Wales has been subjected in the course of the last twenty or thirty years, whether

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the work be approved or disapproved, there can be no doubt that we have derived from it a far more accurate and complete knowledge of the fabrics and of their history than we possessed before, or than was perhaps possible except under the conditions of this modern rehabilitation. There have been earlier 'restorations.' Wyatt thoroughly ransacked and ravaged Salisbury, and did his best to leave the marks of his claws on venerable Durham. Bishop Seth Ward at Exeter, and, in a greater degree, Bishop Hackett at Lichfield, brought back their cathedrals to order and decency after the desolation, and, in the case of Lichfield, the ruin, which had fallen upon them during the civil war. In these cases and in others like them, there must have been an examination of the fabrics hardly less thorough than that which of late years has been bestowed on them by Sir Gilbert Scott or Mr. G. E. Street. But the examination was not supplemented by that knowledge, not only of the great principles of mediæval architecture, but of its various periods, its differences, and its minute details, which we have certainly gained during the last half-century. Wyatt and his school despised all 'Gothic,' though they were occasionally forced to labour in some kind of harmony with it. Ward and Hackett worked after the fashion of their time, restoring the waste places with pious care and reverence, but feeling perhaps little more real sympathy for groined roof and pointed arch than their contemporary John Evelyn, who, in more than one place, insists on the barbarous character of all northern architecture before the days of Palladio and the classic revival. In our time, and in our time alone, zeal for the fitting decoration of the sanctuary has been able to work hand in hand with true knowledge, and in earnest sympathy with the greatest designs of the mediæval builders. Modern restorers have brought the 'seeing eye' to their labours. They have been able to detect the evidences—often minute enough, but not the less definite and certain—of the various changes and additions through and by which a vast and complicated structure, such as Ely or Winchester, has, in the course of centuries, attained its present condition; and when such evidences have been detected they have been able to understand and to apply them. We are not at present defending or attacking the amount or the character of the renovation which so many of our great churches have been compelled to undergo. To some consideration of this question we shall come by and by. All on which we now insist is that these restorations have brought to us a very considerable increase of knowledge, and have enabled us to read the history

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of the fabrics in a manner which before so thorough an examination of walls and foundations was scarcely possible.

This new, or, at least, freshened knowledge has unquestionably added much to the interest with which all ecclesiological students regard the great English cathedrals. Nor is it our knowledge of the fabrics alone, of their architectural character and changes, that has increased during the last half-century. Modern science and modern scholarship have advanced on all sides, and such a connexion has been established between their various branches as has thrown new light in directions where it was scarcely hoped for, and from quarters whence it was scarcely expected. The history, and especially the early history of our country, its primitive divisions, and the distinctions which mark the different Teutonic tribes (we are here scarcely concerned with the Kelts) which peopled them, have at no time been so well or so clearly understood as at present. From this side, and with the clear light which has been thrown on our early institutions by such scholars as Kemble, Freeman, or Stubbs, a great cathedral takes a very different aspect from that which it presents when regarded merely as the centre of a diocese, or as one of the more important churches of England. We go back to the first days of English Christianity; and beneath the architectural magnificence of York or Canterbury we detect the primitive germ from which all those later splendours have been developed. The most evident and the most lasting traces of the independent Teutonic kingdoms which have been welded into England are now to be found in the cathedral churches, each of which, as soon as Christianity was established, became an ecclesiastical centre, with a diocese in all cases conterminous with the kingdom. Such primitive centres were Canterbury, London, Winchester, York, Lichfield. When Archbishop Theodore, toward the end of the seventh century, consolidated the English Church, and breaking up the vast and unwieldy dioceses of central and northern England, established many new sees, the diocese assigned to such sees was in each case identical with some lesser province or kingdom which had been subordinate to the great overshadowing kingdoms of Mercia or Northumbria. Thus we have such centres as Worcester, representing the province of Hwiccia, one of the Mercian divisions, or as Hexham in Northumbria, afterwards swallowed up in the great diocese of Durham. Wessex, of which Winchester was at first the episcopal centre, was not subdivided until after the death of Theodore; but the same system appears in the subdivisions of that great Saxon kingdom; and its several western shires, divisions which in

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that part of England are of early date, and represent independent provinces or settlements, each received a bishop. Of the sees then founded the places have been changed, except in the case of Wells. The sees of Sherborne and of Crediton are now represented by Salisbury and Exeter. Other changes of similar character have occurred in different parts of England. Elmham and Dunwich, for instance, at which places, before Archbishop Theodore introduced his great scheme of organisation, had been fixed the East Anglian sees representing the kingdoms or provinces of the North and South 'folk,' are now represented by Norwich; and certain of Theodore's new sees —that, for instance, of Leicester, representing the province of the Middle Angles, and that of the province of Lindsey or Lindisse (both attached to Mercia), were afterwards merged in the huge diocese of Lincoln, or in that of Ely—a portion of Lincoln erected into a separate diocese soon after the Conquest. In such cases a considerable amount of interest remains attached to the first place of the see, now, perhaps, a mere hamlet, or a small country town; but the main interest and importance pass on to the later cathedral, which, in truth, represents all the historical changes of the diocese or province now recognising it as its centre. We are not attempting to give anything like a complete account of the causes which led to the foundation of the several English sees at the places where we now find them. Those who desire to trace their history with fulness and accuracy will find ample material for doing so in the well-known works of the writers already named, and especially in the excellent chapter on the Anglo-Saxon Church in the *Constitutional History* of Professor Stubbs.[1] But, taking any one of our English cathedrals, how greatly is the interest increased with which we study it, when we regard it not merely as a grand triumph of architectural art, but as the centre of its ancient province, gathering round it the old traditions of Mercia or of Wessex, carrying the recollections of its primitive position and estate far down into the later middle age, and adding, century by century, to the wealth of historical incident, which gathers round it as if by some natural law. The Abbey Church of Westminster may, in one sense, be looked upon as the historical centre of England. It has been the burial-place of kings, and the scene of their coronation. But every cathedral is not the less the historical centre of its own district, and the variations of its architecture seem to bring us into personal contact with the

[1] Vol. i. ch. 8.

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ages represented by them. Who that knows their story can look on the Norman towers of Exeter without recalling the great siege of the Castle of 'Rougemont' under Stephen,—when these towers had risen to half their present height, and, together with the body of the cathedral, were greatly injured either by fiery darts shot from the Castle, or by some accidental conflagration during the many skirmishes between the townsmen and those who held the castle against them and the king? These 'grey cliffs of stone,' as they have been called, lifting their masses high above the town roofs, and rising on either side of the church like the arms of some primitive saint outstretched in prayer—

'Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas'—

strike the artist with delight; but besides the charm of their time-worn beauty, they have another and even a more powerful one, with which to impress the historian and the antiquary. So at Ely, as we enter the beautiful porch called the Galilee—the western addition to the Norman nave—we remember how its recorded builder, Bishop Eustace, was the trusted friend and counsellor of Cœur-de-Lion, and how his services, at the time of the King's detention by the Duke of Austria, procured his elevation to the see, on the death of the powerful William Longchamp. The graceful foiled arcades that line the walls, the unusual and most picturesque portals opening first to the porch, and then into the nave, the rich open work of their headings, the delicate sculptures, the triple lancet of the upper story, all connect themselves with the romance (if it is so to be called) of King Richard's crusade and captivity, and with the stormy years of his successor, during which the porch was begun and completed. It is true that many, as well of the more ancient cathedrals as of those vast conventual churches which were raised to cathedral dignity after the dissolution, have been stripped of the monumental structures, themselves no small part of their history, which told how completely they had been connected with the great lords and 'high and mighty princes' of their provinces; and the blazonries which once stained window and roof have in like manner been shattered or have faded away. The Courtenay memorials at Exeter are but few. York has no tombs of Mowbrays or of Percys. Salisbury has indeed some relics of its Longespée earls, but if they escaped the hammers of earlier iconoclasts, they were subjected to various indignities at the hands of Wyatt. Norwich has lost nearly all its secular tombs, including that of Sir Thomas Erpingham, who fought

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at Agincourt, and who has found a more lasting memorial in Shakspeare's *Henry V.*:

> 'Good morrow, old Sir Thomas Erpingham:
> A good soft pillow for that good white head
> Were better than a churlish turf of France.'[1]

Ecclesiastical memorials, like the tombs of the Archbishops at Canterbury or York, have fared indeed somewhat better; but the number of such monuments as have disappeared is far greater than that of those which remain. Yet in spite of all such losses, of all neglect, and of all changes, a great cathedral remains a true record of the past, and more completely than any other relic of antiquity, connects the past with the present. It is still living, still full of strength and of protection; but it has gathered to itself the spirit of century after century. 'The glory of a building,' wrote Mr. Ruskin, long ago, 'is in its age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.'[2]

It is the recognition of this historical value, the sense of this long growth from age to age, that, together with our now minute knowledge of the rise and development of Gothic architecture, has given so much fresh interest and importance to the study of buildings like the English Cathedrals. Such recognition and such knowledge have been growing simultaneously with other developments, and are more or less closely connected with the theological stir and the struggle toward a deeper religious life, which for the last half-century have characterised not this country alone, but well nigh the whole of Christendom. Architectural growths are more or less unconscious. They follow natural laws; and the germ of the latest Perpendicular existed, and may perhaps be discovered, in the earliest Pointed Gothic, or even in the more primitive Romanesque. There comes at last an age which is critical and conscious, which looks back with full knowledge on the past, and which is fully alive to the value of the treasures bequeathed to it from the workers of ancient days. Such an age is not constructive. It will develop no new architectural style, and it cannot itself come into existence before the natural, unconscious growth of the older styles has altogether ceased. But the knowledge which is its especial portion will in many ways work itself into action, and

[1] *Henry V.* act iv. sc. 1.
[2] *Seven Lamps of Architecture.*

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the action so developed is as truly the proper outcome of the period as the unconscious architectural growth was of the earlier centuries. Action of this sort, resulting from conscious knowledge, must be recognised in the zeal for the restoration of churches and cathedrals which has spread over the land since the earlier days of Rickman and of Pugin. We are not called upon, happily, to defend all that has been done in this way. The reaction of the anti-Restorationists is not so entirely unreasonable as to be unworthy of notice, or as to be incapable of producing much good result. But we must insist that Church restoration, in its widest sense, was naturally to be looked for under the circumstances of our age, and that our aim should be to keep it under due control, and within fitting limits, rather than to protest against it altogether. Such protest is indeed idle. If our churches and cathedrals are to continue their far-descended life, they need from time to time the true restoration of loving and skilful hands. A ruined or deserted castle—Ludlow, Rochester, Richmond—may be left to tell its own story. Its life and its terrors have passed away, and time may well be allowed to moulder its walls into beauty. But the Churches of England are not dead; and the life which was vigorous before the first Norman castle frowned upon the hamlet and the church town is worth preserving.

The first restoration attempted in any Cathedral church (the first, that is, of this modern period) was that of Ely, set on foot about the year 1840, under the auspices of one whose name has thus become closely connected with one of the noblest churches in the world,—Dean Peacock. The condition of Ely before attention was drawn to the building by the zeal and energy of the Dean was such as would have delighted the heart of a modern anti-Restorationist, and would not have been found entirely unsatisfactory by Cromwell himself, whose interview in this Cathedral with the 'Rev. Mr. Hitch' is recorded with considerable sympathy in the pages of Carlyle. The great Church was neither safe nor seemly; and the enormous sums required for its fitting renovation appeared to render that almost an impossibility. But no one despaired. The work was undertaken; and with occasional pauses it went on until Ely became (for a time—other Cathedrals have since, if not beaten it in the race, yet attained to equal honour) 'the most magnificently restored Church in Europe;' and if all its decorations and renovations do not deserve unalloyed praise, all have at any rate been the subjects of much consideration, and of unsparing cost. When one is asked—

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a somewhat unprofitable question—which is the grandest and most perfect Cathedral in England,—Ely is one of the first which rise before the mind's eye; and when others appear in their turn,—Lincoln on its 'sovereign height,' Durham towering over its wooded ravine, with the Castle of its Prince Bishop rising proudly from the neighbouring cliff, York, vast and majestic, Canterbury with all her venerable associations and her most picturesque monastic relics,—however any one or all of these may seem to rival Ely, the great minster of the fens holds her own well among them. Something is due to position,—the level marshes and meadows which spread far and wide about the low hills of Ely are impressive enough in their way, and add to the effect of the great towers, as much landmarks here as the Tower of Mechlin is for the lowlands of Brabant:—something too is due to the fact that the houses dominated by the Cathedral of Ely are little more than cottages in height or in appearance. The 'city' is but a large village. It follows that the Cathedral is not only the one object which catches the eye in approaching Ely, but that the whole scene suggests in a very remarkable manner the appearance which must have been presented by a great monastery at the height of its splendour; when, as was especially the case at Ely, or at its not very distant neighbour, S. Edmund's Bury, the monastery had made the town, and still remained the great centre round which the town spread, and on which it depended. The long roof-ridges and the lofty towers of Ely lift themselves wherever we turn. The town at their feet is a mere dependency. The little outlying hamlets on which the sun glints along the distant fen land are so many Towers of Glendearg, all attached to the Abbey, all owing to it suit and service. But when allowance has been made for these and other features, which give their special interest and distinction to Ely, the great Church remains, not only in size, but in the perfection and beauty of its architecture, one of the most striking and attractive in the world. In this case, all is gained that variety of architecture can possibly bestow. The massive late Norman, the Early English, the Decorated portions are all perfect in themselves; and are so placed that they in no way interfere with or disturb one another, but rather suggest, as such variety always ought to suggest, the long history of the building, the changes in its life and fortunes. Ely is one—Norwich and Peterborough are its brethren,—of that group of Norman churches which is the glory of Eastern England; all the members of which, together with Durham in the far North, Winchester (in those

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parts of the church where the Norman work is still visible) and S. Alban's in the South, impress us more powerfully than any other churches in England with a feeling of the lofty aspirations of those 'alien' builders, with the manner in which they stamped their own character on this development of Romanesque, and with the extent of their material resources. There was not always the profoundest knowledge, for Norman foundations are never very satisfactory, and there is hardly a Norman church tower which has not given way, either altogether or in part. But where, except in these majestic naves, do we find that expression of 'rocky solidity and indeterminate duration' which Johnson recognised (and so wrote of) in Durham?—and that at a time when such architecture was for the most part held to be the labour of a barbarous age, and when Strawberry Hill (the starting-point, as we must always believe, of a new era) was still the toy cottage of Mrs. Chenevix:

> 'They thought not of a perishable home
> Who thus could build.'

The dignity and the grandeur of such a nave as that of Ely have never been exceeded in any subsequent age; and yet we owe the most distinctive, and perhaps the most beautiful feature of Ely, to that very carelessness or ignorance of the Norman builders on which we have just insisted. The matchless octagon which now marks the crossing of the church, and intervenes between nave and choir, took the place of a central tower erected by the first Abbot after the Conquest, Simeon, whose brother Walkelin was in the same manner the rebuilder of the Cathedral of S. Swithun, at Winchester. Walkelin's central tower fell, as we know, seven years after the body of the Red King had been laid in a tomb beneath it; and the fall was regarded as a token of the Divine anger at the profanation of the church, by the interment within its walls of one who mocked at all goodness. Simeon's tower, although it had long been threatening ruin, remained standing until the 'eve of S. Ermenild' (Feb. 12), 1321, when, as the brethren were returning to their dormitories, after matins in S. Catherine's Chapel (the condition of the tower had for some time prevented them from using the choir), the huge mass fell, 'with such a shock and with so great a tumult'—these are the words of the Ely chronicler—'that it was thought an earthquake had taken place.' But there was no loss of life, and the shrines of the three sainted abbesses, Etheldreda, Sexburga, and Withburga, which stood behind the high altar,

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in the retro-choir, escaped (so we are told) without the slightest injury. The fall, we must think, resulted in a great architectural gain. The sacrist (afterwards the prior), Alan of Walsingham, came to the rescue, and his epitaph well described him:

> 'Flos operatorum, dum vixit corpore sanus,
> Hic jacet ante chorum Prior intumulatus Alanus.'

He alone, writes Mr. Fergusson,

'of all the architects of Northern Europe, seems to have conceived the idea of getting rid of what in fact was the bathos of the style, the tall, narrow opening of the central tower, which, though possessing exaggerated height, gave neither space nor dignity to the principal feature.'[1]

The critic has himself somewhat 'exaggerated' the defect if it be one; but the octagon of Ely remains a triumphant answer to all who would insist that the central tower cannot be replaced with advantage. The design is perfectly original; the effect of the crossing and varying lines, and of the sculpture, tracery, and ornament, is of almost bewildering grace and beauty. And as if this work were not sufficiently perfect in itself, the three adjoining bays of the choir, which had been ruined by the fall of the tower, were rebuilt, probably under the care of the same 'flos operatorum,' in a fashion which fairly entitles them to the distinction of being the most admirable example of the later Decorated to be found in this country. The eastern bays of the choir are Early English, the work of Bishop Hugh of Norwold, between the years 1235 and 1252. In them, however, he followed the arrangement of the Norman nave, and made the three stages or divisions, main arcade, triforium, and clerestory, if not precisely of equal height and proportion, yet very nearly so. The western bays were carried up on the same principle. The Norman nave thus afforded the keynote of the building; and the proportions of this earlier work lose nothing of their propriety or expression when carried into the later. Of these equal proportions, Durham is perhaps the grandest example. Wherever the magnificent Bishop William of S. Carilef procured his design—whether it was of native growth or was brought by him from Normandy[2]—it is unquestionably that which most recommends

[1] *Hist. of Architecture.*

[2] William of S. Carilef began the Norman Cathedral of Durham in 1093, after Rufus allowed him to return from his three years' exile. Palgrave (*Hist. of Normandy and England*, vol. iv. p. 145) says that 'he

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itself as giving becoming importance to each main division. It is the arrangement invariably adopted in the great Norman churches of England, except within a circumscribed district in the west, where either an independent architect or a design introduced from some unknown continental source, brought about a very different order of the stages. In this western arrangement, of which the grandest and most perfect examples are the nave of Gloucester, and part of that of the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury (the Benedictine church of Pershore was of the same character, but the greater part of the Norman work has disappeared), the piers of the main arcade are raised to a most unusual height, and the upper stages, those of the triforium and clerestory, are proportionally dwarfed. There is no doubt an extreme grandeur in these lofty piers and arches (considered in themselves); and the impression on first entering the nave of Gloucester, especially when the visitor is only familiar with the Norman of Peterborough or Ely, is almost startling. Yet although we may never cease to admire the upward soaring of these massive columns, there is no doubt that, in the end, the narrow triforium and the diminished clerestory press themselves on the attention, and the whole design becomes disappointing and unsatisfactory. English Romanesque is in no respects a style to be imitated or reproduced in modern work; but the architect who may insist on adopting it should seek his inspiration in Durham or Ely, rather than in the stately—yet disproportioned—nave of Gloucester.

We must not attempt to trace at farther length the various features which give so powerful an interest to the great Cathedral of Ely; nor must we dwell on the various details of its restoration. Since that work was begun at Ely enormous advances have been made in our architectural knowledge; and although Ely is entitled to the full distinction of a restoration carried out at ungrudging cost and in the face of many obstacles, more than one Cathedral which has followed in its wake is more satisfactory in the details of the new work and in the execution of them. We must specially except the new woodwork of Ely—the stalls with their canopies and carvings. These could hardly be better. They are ad-

thought much about Durham whilst abroad, and there procured the plans for his Cathedral.' This may have been so, but there is no ancient authority for the statement. Simeon of Durham (*Hist. de Dunelmensi Ecclesiâ*, l. iv. c. 8) asserts that Carilef brought back with him 'gold and silver vessels and many books for his church;' but there is no mention of any plan for its reconstruction.

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mirable in design and execution. It is impossible to say as much for the stained glass, or for the general colouring—unless it be that of the nave ceiling. The glass is absolutely painful—not only from the comparative worthlessness of many windows, but from the manner in which artists of different countries and of different schools have been brought into juxtaposition. There are hardly two windows side by side which are the work of the same 'vitrarius;' and the general effect produced is that of some great exhibition to which glass-stainers from all quarters have sent specimens of their skill. This is a fault which was incidental to the period at which the restoration of Ely was undertaken. We have to some extent seen the error of our ways; and not only is the glass of later years of very different quality, but its arrangement in each window, and its disposition throughout the Church, leave, in many cases, nothing to be desired. Where, as in S. Mary's Church, at Hull, the building is of one date, and the windows are filled with glass in accordance with it, all designed by the same artist and all of the same character—and when this glass represents the very best work of Messrs. Clayton and Bell, as is the case at S. Mary's—it is not at once easy to determine whether we are looking upon old work or new. The silvery-white and yellow grounds, which, in accordance with the best ancient examples, these artists have introduced with so much success into their Perpendicular windows, aid not a little in producing the desired effect. Indeed the due proportioning of coloured glass to grisaille or neutral tones is one of the points where of late years so great advance has been made. There is no better example than the modern windows of the Lady Chapel in Exeter Cathedral, also by Clayton and Bell. An examination of the Fabric rolls, and a comparison of certain entries found in them with the glass of some windows remaining in the Cathedral, indicated precisely the proportion of coloured to plain or 'grisaille' glass in the 'formæ vitreæ'—the glass 'shapes' fitting into the main lights—as they were ordered from Rouen in the earlier years of the fourteenth century. We learn, too, that the windows were uniform in style, and in the general outline of the design, although great variety was introduced in the details. The glass and the colour were made subordinate to the architectural beauty of the edifice, and to the delicacy of the window tracery. There does not appear to have been the least attempt on the part of the architect or designer to produce great effects of colour or of coloured light. All that seems to have been aimed at was a toning and mellowing of

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the light sufficient to enhance the beauty of the sculptured interior. With all this ascertained, and with imperfect remaining examples also to guide them, the artists set to work, and designed the new side windows of the Lady Chapel. The result is quite sufficient to vindicate the judgment of the old designers—whether at Rouen or at Exeter—though probably the ancient design, as well as the glass, was supplied from Rouen, since we find a great similarity between the old stained glass of Exeter (especially in the borders of the windows) and that in the Lady Chapel of Rouen Cathedral. The main teaching of all this is, that the glass should harmonise in character with the date of the building in which it is placed; that the colour should not be overwhelming, perhaps not the main object; and above all, that there should be a uniformity of design—which can only result from the employment of the same artists—throughout the church. The best possible proof that without the observance of these rules, success is impossible, is afforded by the stained windows of Ely.

A question closely connected with the fitting treatment of stained glass is also suggested by the restoration of Ely. What has been the success of modern restorers in that renewal of colour on roof, walls, and capitals which has become so general, and how far are they justified in attempting to restore ancient colouring at all? In one sense, of course, this cannot be. It is no more possible to bring back true old colouring than it is to 'restore' ancient sculpture. But where suggestions of former colour remain, are we right in reproducing the original design over the large spaces which we may suppose were once covered by it? Are we to take it for granted that the ancient colouring was in every way the best and fittest, and that we cannot go wrong in following it? And, if there be no traces of ancient colouring at all, what is our right course?

To answer these questions in detail would demand an elaborate treatise, and all we can attempt here is to indicate what kind of replies seem to be at least suggested by the results of modern Cathedral restoration. There is no Cathedral—hardly a single great church which has undergone restoration—where some sort of coloured decoration has not been attempted; and it is possible that Ely was the first to advance in this direction, just as that Cathedral was the first to undertake restoration at all. What has been done at Ely, however, is not offered as the renewal of ancient designs. The ceiling of the great western tower and the ceiling of the nave have been painted in imitation of such Norman decora-

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tion as prevailed in England toward the close of the twelfth century; whilst the colouring applied to the ribbed vaulting of the octagon and to the vaulting of the choir is that characteristic of the period to which the architecture belongs. In neither case were there any traces of original decoration. Indeed, the roof of the Norman nave, which Alan of Walsingham found it necessary to reconstruct after the building of his octagon, was apparently left by him in very rude condition, and had received no kind of finish. The first decorative work undertaken at Ely was the ceiling of the great western tower; for which Mr. Styleman le Strange, who had given long years to the study of this special branch of mediæval art, designed a subject (so it should be called rather than a series of subjects) symbolising the Creation of the Universe. This was in progress in 1845, when the architect Basevi, who was at work in the tower, fell from the upper roof, and was killed on the spot. Mr. le Strange afterwards undertook the painting of the nave ceiling, and, at his death in 1862, had completed the six westernmost bays. The remaining bays are the work of an amateur of at least equal skill and learning—Mr. Gambier Parry. The designs begin with the Creation of Adam and the Fall; and at last merge into a tree of Jesse, terminating eastward with the Annunciation, the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, the Tomb with an Angel, and the Coming of Our Lord in majesty. The main subjects are supported on either side by figures of Prophets and Evangelists. It is obvious at once that the decoration of a flat surface, such as that of a Norman ceiling, must proceed on very different principles from that of a ribbed and vaulted roof. The famous Norman ceiling of Peterborough, which, if it does not retain its original painting, shows us the original design, repainted at some later period, is sufficient evidence as to the manner in which such a flat space—the usual covering of a Norman nave—was at first decorated. The Ely ceiling was raised by Alan of Walsingham, and the result was the high-pitched form which now exists. We have thus three flat spaces instead of one; but there can be no doubt that if this ceiling was to be decorated at all, the system followed by Mr. le Strange and Mr. Gambier Parry is the proper one. So much colour overhead, however, calls imperiously for some kind of decoration on the great arcades, from the floor upwards. At present the ceiling seems to narrow even that vast nave, and, if possible, to reduce its height. We may fairly conclude that it is hardly wise to undertake the decoration of any single space or division, until a scheme of colour has been

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provided for the entire portion of the church—nave, choir, or transept.

We do not care to criticise the colouring of the octagon and choir of Ely. It will be better to take an example of polychrome, where traces of ancient work have confessedly been followed, and where, so far as can be ascertained, these traces afforded unmistakable indication of the original design and colouring. The Lady Chapel of Salisbury is one of the lightest and most graceful portions of that Cathedral—the restoration of which, in its main lines, cannot but be regarded as a happy 'bringing back' of much which had been swept away by the destructive Wyatt. Slender, reed-like shafts of Purbeck support the vaulting; and the roof, much lower than that of the choir, is seen beyond the three pointed arches which form the eastern termination of the presbytery. Some of the Purbeck shafts have been polished, and are now almost black. Others have been coloured a crude green. The same green, and a dull red, have been used for the vaulting ribs, the small dogtooth ornament in which stands out in white. The vaulting itself is white, with narrow red lines; and a pattern of foliage in red has been carried into the spandrels above the windows, and elsewhere. Here we have a direct reproduction of the ancient colouring; and we can hardly suppose that anyone can regard it with entire complacency. It has been called, and with truth, 'inharmonious and harsh;' and the effect is to bring down the low roof of this part of the church heavily on the eye, and to interfere very seriously with the grace of the architecture. This is an attempt which surely tells us, if anything can tell us, that ancient colourists were not infallible, and that a direct reproduction of their work is not always a clear gain. Admitting that it is desirable to adopt certain designs and certain arrangements of colour according to the architectural period with which we have to deal, it should not be forgotten that the conditions of a restored English Cathedral in our own time are very different from those of the age in which it was first built, or from those of any period before the religious changes of the sixteenth century. It is probable that no part of a great mediæval church was left entirely without colour. Walls, roofs, pavement, even the great piers of the main arcades, were covered with various designs; and the fashion, much in favour with certain 'restorers,' of leaving the walls of such a building entirely bare, uncovered even by plaster, and displaying the whole of the masonry, is one which was almost, if not quite, unknown before the nineteenth century. Yet the

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colour of the fabric itself served but as a background to the splendour displayed in the church on even ordinary occasions; still more on great festivals, such as that of S. Etheldreda at Ely, or of S. Alban in the vast church of his own Abbey. Rich hangings and tapestry, banners, garlands, hung from every part of the building. How rich were the altars, blazing with gold and precious gems, we know from many a careful inventory and description. Together with the gorgeous vestments of the ministering clergy who gathered round them, they formed centres of the strongest and most pronounced colour, to which the eye was naturally led, terminating the long ranges of piers and arches. Plain walls, or an uncoloured roof of wood or stone, would have shocked like a discord in the midst of so much splendour. Even the people who gathered in these mediæval churches brought their own contribution to the general effect. The gorgeous blues and reds, the rich browns and yellows affected in their 'gowns' by the wealthier citizens—and, indeed, the general use of such strong and decided colouring in dress as we find indicated by many an ancient illumination—must have given a very different appearance to the nave of Ely on a great festival from that which it can wear at any time now. No change which it is possible to contemplate can ever bring back full mediæval splendour to our churches, or restore the conditions of mediæval life. The past never returns. Is it not wise, therefore, in arranging a scheme of colour for a restored Cathedral, to consider, not so much what has been, as what will be most in harmony with a ritual necessarily less gorgeously set forth than that of former ages, and with a society very different in spirit (we may add in culture) from that of the fourteenth or fifteenth century? A great mediæval Cathedral with its storied windows and its wall paintings has been truly described as an open book which the most unlearned might study with some chance of understanding We would by no means undervalue such teaching now; but the Church is no longer the sole source of knowledge open to such 'lewd men.' In its windows and its decorations, we have to consider not only what will be most instructive to the great body of worshippers, but what arrangements are most in harmony with our present position. We recognise in our Cathedrals venerable and antique structures, whose history unfolds in long perspective, as we tread their aisles. Mediæval builders and mediæval worshippers seem to have had little reverence of this sort—perhaps little knowledge. They pulled down and rebuilt with small compunction; and their churches, architec-

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turally at least, were for them things of the present far more than things of the past.

It is much more easy to point out failures in such modern decoration than to suggest any course which would be appropriate or successful. It will probably be found that no two cases are quite alike, and that every restored church must be treated on its own foundations. It would be difficult to mention any cathedral where the renewed colouring of the vaulting, with its bosses, is altogether satisfactory. True, that in almost every instance traces of ancient colour have been found, and (so we are told) followed in the restoration. But the result is so constantly to lower the apparent height, and to produce strong isolated patches of gold and colour rather than any general harmony, that we can only return to what has been already said, and point to some, at least, of these restorations as proofs that ancient example is not always to be followed. We cannot think, for instance, that the gilding of the very beautiful roof bosses in the eastern portion of the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury is at all an improvement. They have thus been strongly accented, and are far too distinctly separated from the surrounding spaces, and from the grey tone of the general building. We can only hope that extreme caution and much consideration will be exercised before any attempt is made to 'restore' their old colouring to the wonderful series of bosses which make the vaulted roof of Norwich Cathedral almost if not quite unique in this country. We have placed at the head of this article the volume in which the Dean of Norwich has described at great length, and with much learning, the photographic reproductions of these bosses from one end of the nave to the other. It is only of late that it has been possible to examine them carefully; and they well repay study and attention.

Norwich and Peterborough retain their Norman ground-plans more completely than any other cathedrals of the same period. But Norwich has preserved an original relic which is quite without parallel in England—a portion of the episcopal stone chair, placed at the extreme end of the presbytery, under and in connexion with the central arch of the apse. This apse—the lower or semicircular part of which is formed by five arches of equal height—seems to have been the work of Bishop Herbert, under whom, in 1094, the place of the see was removed from Thetford. The episcopal chair stood, as part of it yet stands, at the back of the high altar; the place which it formerly occupied in the Cathedral of Canter-

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bury, and which it still retains in some Continental churches. The arches of the apse, which had been entirely closed at some unknown, although comparatively recent, period, have been opened in the course of the changes which this Cathedral, like every other, has undergone of late years, and the position and remains of the chair are now visible throughout the choir. This is a fortunate and strictly legitimate alteration; for the work which filled the arches was of no importance. A yet more interesting change has been the removal, from the vaulting and bosses of the nave roof, of a coating of brown wash with which they were covered in the early part of the present century. In order to remove this wash a scaffolding was erected, and an easy access was thus obtained to the vaulting, with its wealth of bosses. These were all photographed, and are reproduced by a permanent process in the very numerous and beautiful illustrations of the Dean's quarto.

The nave of Norwich, Norman, as high as the top of the clerestory, has been assigned, and with all probability (there is no direct evidence), to Bishop Everard (1121–1145), who, no doubt, followed the plan of his predecessor, Herbert. The original roof was probably flat and of wood, like those of Peterborough and Ely. But Bishop Walter Lehart or Lyhart (1446–1472) replaced this wooden roof by the present rich lierne vaulting, studded throughout with elaborately sculptured bosses. These form a complete sacred history, beginning in the easternmost bay, adjoining the central tower, with the Creation, and ending at the west with the Last Judgment. The Dean and Chapter of Norwich possess a MS. description of the whole series, drawn up by Philip Browne, 'parish clerk of Winfarthing,' possibly at the time when the obnoxious coloured wash was first laid on. But this account is of small value compared with the photographs themselves, which throw much light on the ideas and fashions of the fifteenth century. There is nothing in England with which they can fairly be compared; but the Dean points out that the famous Hôtel de Ville at Louvain was decorated, on the exterior, with a series of sculptures representing Biblical scenes, which must have been in progress (the exterior of the Hôtel was finished in 1459) at the same time as those at Norwich. There was of course much intercourse between the Low Countries and the eastern parts of England; but we doubt whether any trace of foreign influence can be found in the Norwich sculptures. They seem essentially English in character, composition, and expression; and they have their own place and value in the history of English art.

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Much skill is displayed in the arrangement of the minute figures, and many of the heads show considerable feeling. The rebus of Bishop Lyhart—a hart lying in the water—'lie hart,'—is made to alternate with an angel bearing a shield, on corbels at the bases of the longer vaulting shafts; and it is apparently with a reference to the same bishop as constructor of the roof, that in the easternmost bay the creation of the beasts of the field is indicated by the figure of a white hart. An excellent work has been done by the reproduction in photography of these remarkable sculptures, and we can only regret that want of space prevents us from dwelling at greater length on them, and on other contents of the Dean's volume, which, besides a full account of the bosses, gives us a careful history of the Cathedral from its foundation to the middle of the sixteenth century. The various parts of the building are profusely illustrated by large photographs. Much true restoration has been going on at Norwich. We observe that the Jesus Chapel (the northern of the two chapels which border the eastern apse) has been restored 'in accordance with the ancient colouring,' and, so far as it is possible to judge from a photograph, not unsuccessfully. There is no doubt that these smaller chapels were decorated with extreme richness. The Chapel of S. Andrew, opening from the south transept of Gloucester Cathedral, has been clothed throughout with colour, many of the wall paintings having been executed by Mr. Gambier Parry, of Highnam Court. This is not a 'restoration' of ancient designs; and the chapel may be regarded as a very good example of what can be effected by working in the spirit of the old colourists, without that slavish submission to them which is so often advocated.

The choir and presbytery of Gloucester were restored under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott. The other members of the 'three choirs'—as Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford are sometimes called, from the old musical association which connects them—have undergone similar, but far more extensive restoration. In all three we find examples of the elaborately sculptured reredos, which, if not first introduced as a part of modern restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott, has been extensively patronised by him. The reredos of Hereford is of somewhat earlier date, and was designed by the younger Cottingham, soon after 1850. It is less prominent—some, perhaps, would add less satisfactory—than the two others; but with such a judgment we are hardly disposed to agree. Mr. Redfern, the sculptor of the work at both Gloucester and Worcester, and whose hand is to be traced in the sculpture,

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external and internal, of almost every great church which has been restored in this country in the course of the last thirty years, has unquestionably produced a great deal that is interesting, and much that is excellent. Some of his best work will be found on the great west front of Salisbury, where many new figures have been placed in the ancient niches. In such an external position, where it cannot be examined very closely, this modern sculpture is fairly effective; and yet, even at Salisbury, it suffers not a little when brought, as is the case here and there, into close juxtaposition with such vigorous old work as the bat-winged head which fills an angle near the recess of the western portal. The too famous figures which have disappeared from the north porch of Bristol were—we suppose we may write are, for although they were 'broken down with axes and hammers,' we never heard that they had been ground to powder—in the same manner, very good examples of exterior sculpture, and the figure of the Virgin, still in place, is of great beauty. But when we come to such internal work as the reredos behind a principal altar, the case is altogether changed. At Gloucester and at Worcester the reredos becomes, as was intended, and as is right, the most important object in the choir, the centre toward which the eye is directed. Surely if the noblest art is most worthily employed in the decoration of God's house, this is the position in which we should expect to find its highest efforts. So thought the greatest architects, so thought the greatest artists, of ancient days. It is impossible to escape from some such reflections as we stand before the work of Mr. Redfern. Wherever we find such a modern reredos, however the design may be varied—and the tabernacle work in which the sculpture is set is often of great beauty—there is a sameness about the general character which suggests a workshop from which such productions might be turned out by hundreds together, rather than the slowly matured thought, the full clear aim, the vigorous decisive execution, of the true artist. We shall be told that art is no longer religion, and that we have no angelical 'Frate' to pour out his whole heart on the canvas, or to labour lovingly for the great Church which has been his lifelong refuge. Perhaps it may be well, under such circumstances, to accept what is not the best, but the best that is to be had. For ourselves we are inclined to doubt whether, since the greatest and noblest art is beyond our reach, it would not be better to content ourselves with such design and decoration, independent of sculptured figures, as more than one modern architect is capable of producing with

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no less skill and grace than his forgotten brethren of the fourteenth century.

The best of these modern compositions is, perhaps, the reredos of Worcester—a cathedral in which the process of restoration has been carried to such lengths, that it may almost be said to be a new building. Far more has been done (and this, under the direction of a local architect) than was at all necessary; but there is one point on which we are disposed to agree with the defenders of the restoration, rather than with those who have violently, and not always unreasonably, attacked it. Worcester is not one of the most interesting of English Cathedrals. Although it has portions, such as the crypt of S. Wulfstan's Church, of special importance, there is a certain trimness in the general uniformity of its exterior, which is not very attractive, and rather depresses than excites the imagination. The traces and relics of the great monastery attached to the Cathedral are, perhaps, of greater interest than the Church itself, even since the destruction of the Guesten Hall. But Worcester, in its ancient condition, was wonderfully rich in sculptured decoration, filling the spandrels of wall arcades, and the tympana of the triforium arches. The greater part of this sculpture was Early English and Decorated. A small portion of the old work remains; but far more has been—not restored, but replaced by modern sculpture; and it is this replacement which has excited the violent displeasure of certain architectural critics. We doubt whether any of these critics can have seen the condition of the ancient sculptures before the restoration of the Cathedral was undertaken. Unfortunately, a very soft, crumbling stone had been used for them; and the greater number had become so entirely shapeless, that it was as easy to imagine a subject and meaning in masses of sandstone cliff which have been worn by the waves into grotesque figures. So long as any fragment of a mediæval sculptor's work remains, we would not disturb it. It has a value in many ways which a more perfect modern production is necessarily without. The figures, for instance, time-worn as they are, which fill the niches on the west front of Exeter Cathedral, speak to us with a voice such as no mere nineteenth-century effigy can hope to find. But, at Worcester, all had perished. No trace of the sculptor's hand remained; and the modern carvings are at least as instructive and as pleasant to look upon as rude and misshapen fragments of stone. It is just possible that the matchlocks of Cromwell's troopers may have assisted in reducing the sculptures in the nave to their final condition.

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The soldiers were quartered in the Church after the battle of Worcester, and may have amused themselves here, as they did elsewhere, by making the most conspicuous figures marks for their practice. The old 'punishment of sacrilege,' to which the north doors of the Cathedral, now preserved in the crypt, bore so strange a testimony, was, at that time, unhappily in abeyance. These doors were covered with a tanned skin, which, according to the local tradition, was that of a man who had stolen the *sanctus* bell from the high altar. Portions of the skin remain fixed to the inside of the doors, under the ironwork; and whatever may be the truth of the tradition, a thoroughly competent examiner has pronounced it to be human.[1]

We shall not attempt to defend the removal of the Guesten Hall of the Worcester Benedictines, which formed part of the Deanery, the old Prior's lodgings, until 1842. Much of the Hall was pulled down in 1860, and the roof given to a church then in course of construction. The building, begun in 1320 by Wulstan Bransford, then prior of the monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, was something more than an admirable example of the early Decorated period. It was an historical monument of no small importance, since it was the last survivor of those stately halls in which the hospitality of the greater monasteries was dispensed to guests of a certain distinction. There were separate chambers for great personages, and a second hall for the accommodation of poorer strangers, sometimes, if we may judge from the Norman staircase at Canterbury, which led to such a secondary hall, of hardly less magnificence than that assigned to knights and great 'franklins.' It is grievous that such a relic should have been deliberately reduced to ruin. Very different is the condition of things at Canterbury, where we may study with more advantage than elsewhere in this country the domestic arrangements and ground-plan of a great Benedictine house. Here, too, we walk among ruins; but the destruction, however caused, has not been recent, and nothing can exceed the care with which every fragment of

[1] 'The west doors of Rochester Cathedral, and the north doors of Hadstock and Copford Churches, both in Essex, were also covered with skins, said to have been those of piratical Northmen. The Rochester doors have entirely disappeared. Those of Copford have been removed, but portions of them are still in existence. The doors of Hadstock Church remain in place. Fragments of skin from Hadstock and Copford were examined by Mr. Quekett (Assistant Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons), who pronounced it human in both cases.' —*Handbook to the Western Cathedrals*, p. 199.

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ancient work is guarded and preserved. The north side of the vast metropolitical church presents a series of views which are among the most striking and picturesque in England. Colour, outlines, grouping are all exquisite; green turf and shadowy trees contrasting admirably with grey ruin and with the walls and towers of the Cathedral itself. And, thanks to the labour of the late Professor Willis, we can follow with certainty the disposition of the several monastic buildings.[1]

Passing from Worcester to Hereford we find a restoration, but lately completed, which was begun in 1841. The earlier work at Hereford was thus contemporary with much of the earlier work at Ely; and the name of Dean Merewether is entitled to as much respect and distinction here as that of Dean Peacock in the great Cathedral of the Fens. The final restoration at Hereford was superintended by Sir Gilbert Scott, and with excellent result. The building itself contains portions of extreme beauty; and the north transept especially, built by Bishop Peter of Acquablanca (1240–68), is a very beautiful example of the First, or Geometrical, Decorated. Into this transept was eventually removed the shrine of the last Englishman canonised before the Reformation—Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford from 1275 to 1282—generally known as S. Thomas of Hereford, to distinguish him from the greater S. Thomas of Canterbury. The base, or pedestal, of this shrine is still in its place, and is one of the relics of such structures which have survived the great storm of the Reformation. Not only the shrine itself, the moveable feretrum of gold or silver which contained the relics, was removed—stolen would, perhaps, be the right word—but the lofty base on which it stood was generally destroyed altogether. With what zeal the destruction was wrought, we learn from the recently-discovered fragments of the base of the shrine of S. Alban, more than 2,000 of which were found built into rough walls in the eastern division of the Abbey Church. The skill with which these fragments have been put together is admirable; but the thousand lines which mark them still bear witness to the deliberate manner in which the beautiful and costly structure was broken to pieces. In its restored condition, this base of the S. Alban's shrine takes its

[1] Professor Willis's *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* is printed in the 10th volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. It is of considerable length. A summary will be found in the *Handbook for the Cathedrals of England, Southern Division* (Murray).

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place with that of the Confessor at Westminster and that of S. Thomas at Hereford. These are the most perfect shrine bases in the country; and their design and arrangement enable us better to understand what the appearance of a great shrine must have been at the time of its highest splendour. We have descriptions of the shrine of S. Thomas at Canterbury, and of that of S. Cuthbert at Durham, agreeing fully with what we learn from these surviving bases.

Hereford has other treasures which might well detain us —its venerable *Mappa Mundi*, in which the Cathedral is by no means obscurely placed—its library, where nearly all the volumes are still chained to their shelves. We have here, too, one of the best of those superb screens of wrought ironwork which are almost as characteristic of Sir Gilbert Scott's restorations as his sculptured reredos. For the screens we have no feeling but one of admiration. The closed, structural *pulpitum*, the massive stone screen separating the choir from the nave, such as exists at York and at Canterbury, if not peculiar to England, was far more developed in this country than in any other. Where such a screen remains we should never dream of removing it, and we entirely approve of the stand made by Sir Gilbert Scott against the removal of the choir screen at Exeter. But it is quite true that such a screen prevents all view into the choir from the nave, and renders the use of the latter for congregational purposes almost impossible—at any rate, on ordinary occasions. At Exeter this difficulty has been partly got over by the piercing of the side arches of the screen. But the light, open screens of Hereford, of Lichfield, and of Ely are infinitely fitter for the services of the Anglican Church, and have a beauty of their own well in keeping with the ancient sculptures and wood carving closely associated with them. Iron is the metal most largely used in these screens; but copper and brass are also employed with good variation of colour. The hammered ironwork is itself painted, but always with colours obtained from the oxides of iron and copper. Additional effect is produced by the occasional use of coloured stones. Among the graceful foliage of the Hereford screen occur examples of the blackberry enriched with onyx, seed vessels of wild rose and currant enriched with cornelian, and the strawberry with ivory.

But we must hasten onward. At Hereford, we find ourselves close to the Welsh border; and the recent changes in the four Welsh Cathedrals have been so great and so remarkable that it is impossible to omit all mention of them in such

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an article as the present. Little more than thirty years have passed since Llandaff was in great part a ruin. It is now not only a restored Church of extreme beauty, but the interior arrangements have frequently been pointed to as affording one of the best existing models for the disposition of a church or cathedral of no very great dimensions. St. David's was in somewhat better case; but the eastern chapels and the aisles of the presbytery were open to the sky, and the central tower was in a condition of the utmost danger. Now the tower is safe, and the great church rises grandly in the midst of its wild valley, the centre of such a picturesque architectural group as is hardly to be paralleled in Great Britain. So, too, at St. Asaph's, the smallest Cathedral Church in this country, where the choir has been recovered from a 'remodelling' which it underwent in 1780; and so, most remarkably of all, at Bangor, where, it may truly be said, the ancient Cathedral has been 'discovered,' concealed and half destroyed, among cross walls, lowered roofs, and rough modern buttresses. Nothing less interesting can well be imagined than the appearance of this Cathedral before the year 1866, when Sir Gilbert Scott made his first report on it; although Storer, whose book on the English and Welsh Cathedrals was published in 1814, was of opinion that it assimilated 'with the ancient unostentatious manners of the inhabitants; firm though unassuming; respectable, but unadorned.' How far the men of Bangor may have changed their 'ancient unostentatious manners' we cannot tell. Their Cathedral is still unostentatious: but it is now a church instead of a barn. The type indeed is that of a dignified parish church, rather than of a cathedral, in spite of the two towers,—western and central. But the interior is stately, and the choir with its decorated walls and its fine east windows, filled with excellent glass by Clayton and Bell, worthily terminates the long vista. On the outside, Sir Gilbert Scott discovered, and has reproduced where necessary, some very beautiful work of the thirteenth century,—buttresses and other portions of the church destroyed by Owen Glendower. Altogether it is difficult to convey any just idea of the work which has been accomplished at Bangor to those who had never seen the building in its former state. No church in this country has more completely changed its condition, and nowhere has 'restoration' been more legitimately applied.

But it is to S. David's that the student, alike of architecture and of history, turns with the greatest interest. That rocky promontory—which projects further to the west than

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any other in Great Britain with the exception of the Land's End—was for centuries, to all true Welshmen, the most sacred spot in the land, and a double pilgrimage to 'Ty Dewi,' the 'house of David,' as the Cathedral was called, equalled the merit of one pilgrimage to Rome. So ran the old verses—

> 'Meneviam pete bis, Romam adire si vis,
> Æqua merces tibi redditur hic et ibi.
> Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum.'

It is not easy to say whether the Cathedral or the ruined palace of Bishop Gower (1328–1347) is the more attractive. The Cathedral, very interesting as it is, is exceeded in extent and positive beauty by many a church of inferior ecclesiastical rank. The palace is altogether unsurpassed by any existing English edifice of its own kind. The vast courts, now floored with greensward, the parapeted walls, and the stately chambers which they protected, well illustrate the architectural magnificence of the first half of the reign of Edward III.—a period during which the shrine of the Welsh saint was held in the greatest honour, and was most frequented by pilgrims. In such a palace visitors of the highest rank might be received with all distinction and dignity, and it might serve as no unbecoming hostel for the sovereign himself on his way to or from Ireland. At present, however, we are more concerned with the Cathedral, and with the work of restoration which has been so well accomplished there. The Norman nave (it was built by Bishop Peter de Leia, 1176–1198) has many peculiarities, and the treatment of the triforium and clerestory in a single division is perhaps unique. On this Norman work is laid a roof of late Perpendicular character, very rich and very unusual in its details. It is almost arabesque in design; and together with the deep tones of the material used for all this part of the church—the dark grey, reddish, and purple 'Cambrian' from Caerfai—produces an effect which sufficiently shows how thoroughly the eye may be satisfied without the use of applied colour. The nave has been well cared for, and the roof repaired where necessary. But the great work of restoration at S. David's has been from the central tower eastward. The Norman tower fell in 1220, and the rebuilders unfortunately retained such portions of the ancient piers as had not, to all appearance, been injured. But the retention, in such a case, of any part of the old work is always dangerous; and when a Decorated, and later again, a Perpendicular stage was added to this rebuilt tower, the whole structure became insecure. The older piers and arches were

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constantly crushing and giving way; and when Sir Gilbert Scott made his first examination of the tower in 1862, he found the condition of it 'in the highest degree alarming.' Before anything could be done to the church, it was necessary to ensure the safety of this tower—a matter of the utmost difficulty, since it involved 'little less than the rebuilding from their foundation of two of the four piers, each of them bearing a load of 1,150 tons, which would have to be supported by timber shoring during the operation.' It was, in short, one of the most difficult and delicate operations of its class ever undertaken in this country, and the utmost anxiety was felt by all concerned until the crushed substructure of the tower had been rendered trustworthy. In his report of 1869, Sir Gilbert Scott explains at great length how a successful result was attained.[1] He was afterwards concerned in the restoration of a Norman tower of even greater weight, and in a condition of at least equal danger. The great central tower of S. Alban's had not only been raised on insecure foundations, but a deliberate attempt to destroy it had been made at some unknown period after the Dissolution, and a cave or hole, sufficiently large for a man to enter, had been worked into the foundation of the south-east pier. Here, too, safety has happily been secured, and the great tower now lifts its mass of Roman tiles against the grey southern sky without fear of collapse. How perilous are the operations necessary for such reconstruction —what ceaseless watching is demanded, and how great is the anxiety of all concerned while the work is in progress—we learn at once from the fall of the spire of Chichester, in spite of all precautions. Sir Gilbert Scott has assured us that during the work at S. David's he never went to bed without expecting to be roused with the news that the tower had fallen. The process was watched throughout by Mr. Clear, one of the ablest of the many able clerks of the works whom Sir Gilbert assembled round him.

Some modern stained glass has been placed in S. David's Cathedral; but the most striking decorations are the mosaics by Salviati, after designs by Powell of Birmingham, which fill the three lower windows at the east end of the presbytery. These windows could not be opened, since a later chapel

[1] This portion of Scott's report will be found in the *Handbook to the Welsh Cathedrals* (Murray), p. 219; (Appendix to the account of S. David's). For a notice of the country and of the life of S. David, see *Sketches and Studies*, by Richard John King (Murray)—'A Pilgrimage to S. David's.'

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abuts on them at the back. But the mosaics, with the shimmer of their gold, and their pale solemn figures lighting up the dark wall, harmonise perhaps more perfectly than stained glass with the deep colouring of the stonework. Beneath these windows, but on the eastern side, is a remarkable recess, which, on being opened, was found to contain a quantity of human bones, on which mortar in a liquid state had been poured. These bones must have been placed in the recess after the destruction of the shrines of S. David and S. Caradoc; and there is great reason for believing that they were the actual relics of the two saints thus walled up to prevent their desecration.[1]

Passing northward from Wales we halt at Chester, to recognise the great work which has been done in that Cathedral, mainly by the incessant and zealous care of the present Dean. The old Church of S. Werburgh was in very indifferent condition, outside and in, before the year 1844, when the restoration of the choir was begun under the auspices of Dean Howson's predecessor. It constantly happens that Chester is the first English Cathedral visited by Americans on their arrival in this country; and the impression which it is now calculated to produce is altogether satisfactory. In so far as the stained glass is concerned we may make the same complaint as at Ely. None is very good, unless we except that in the east window of the chapter house, illustrating the history of the foundation, from the time (about A.D. 875) when the relics of S. Werburgh were first brought to Chester. But the rest of the modern work is excellent. The new organ gallery, raised on marble shafts of great beauty, and placed beneath the arch of the north transept, does not interfere with the view from the west end, and brings out with much force the great peculiarity of the ground plan—the lengthened south transept, which serves as the parish church of S. Oswald. The Norman Church no doubt possessed a southern transept resembling that which still remains on the north of the crossing. Abbot Ripley, who rebuilt the nave toward the end of the fifteenth century, has the reputation of having also rebuilt this south transept; but in both cases the work of this Abbot was rather addition and reconstruction than rebuilding. The transept, like the nave, has an arcade of Decorated character, and must have been enlarged to serve as a parish church early in the fourteenth century.

The Northern Cathedrals, with the exception of Ripon,

[1] See the *Handbook to the Welsh Cathedrals*—'S. David's'—for a full account of the recess and of the relics discovered in it.

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where the work of restoration has been very extensive, have not been subjected to so great changes as the cathedrals in the South of England. Durham has greatly benefited by the enclosure of the choir, and by the insertion of much very fine stained glass, chiefly by Clayton and Bell. It need hardly be said that this most noble church suffered greatly from the despoilments of Wyatt, who destroyed the ancient facing of the north exterior and the western towers—cutting it down so as to produce a peculiar shallowness of mouldings and window-jambs—besides removing part of the Norman chapter house, paved with the tombs of bishops. The beautiful Galilee at the western end of the nave was only saved by the strong remonstrance of the Society of Antiquaries. Wyatt held that it ought not to stand in the way of a 'drive' which he proposed to carry round the west front of the Cathedral. The changes made, however, were sufficiently to be lamented; and what has recently been done is mainly a reparation of Wyatt's grave errors. As at Salisbury, his chief idea was to throw open the church from one end to the other. Every kind of screen was swept away; and in a church which had been specially defended against unhallowed intrusion, the eye was allowed to range from the western aisle of the Galilee to the extreme end of the Nine Altars. This of course had never been contemplated by the original builders; and not only were the great divisions of the Cathedral left without mark, but all the exquisite and varying effects of light and shade, which are produced by the due intervention of screen and tabernacle-work, were made at once to disappear. Yet after all nothing but a levelling to the ground of the whole vast structure could destroy the majesty of Durham, and such levelling is a task not easy of achievement. On the memories which crowd upon us as we tread those solemn aisles we must not venture to dwell here. The remains of S. Cuthbert still rest at the back of the high altar, beneath the pavement on which his shrine once rose in unexampled magnificence. He alone, of all the earlier saints of England, keeps his place under the shadow of his own mighty arches—

> 'Where his Cathedral, huge and vast,
> Looks down upon the Wear.'

The strong rivalry that always existed between Durham and York may almost seem to be reflected in the fabrics of the two great Churches. It was not merely the rivalry between an archbishop and a suffragan well nigh as power-

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ful as himself; but it also lay between a church, of which the constitution was altogether secular, and a wealthy Benedictine monastery. There is, perhaps, little to distinguish Durham as a typical monastic church; and the adjoining castle is far more the stronghold of the Counts Palatine than an Episcopal palace. In this respect, it contrasts remarkably with the ruin at S. David's, which is not a fortress, but the palace and hospice of a magnificent prelate. Still, Durham, with its great cloister, the domestic buildings of the monks, and its jealously watched enclosures, must always have presented a very different appearance from York with its more open precincts. The massive Norman architecture seems in keeping with the cowls and dark robes of the Benedictines. The 'glass walls,' the rich tracery, the lofty roofs, and the wide open courts of York, are rather in harmony with the family and following of a great archbishop who was often a member of some noble house. These 'glass walls'—the wide and lofty windows of the late Decorated and Perpendicular periods—are so characteristic of York, that they are especially mentioned in his 'Memoirs' by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who passed through the city about the year 1430, soon after the central tower had been finished. He was, no doubt, struck and surprised by them: for these great windows exclusively distinguish the English architecture of their time, and are nowhere found on the Continent. The largest in this country, and therefore in the world, is the east window of Gloucester, which is about 72 feet high and 38 wide. But this great 'wall' is partially unglazed—owing to the peculiar construction of the retro-choir, and the position of the Lady Chapel beyond it. The east window of York Minster, about 78 feet high and 33 wide, is entirely glazed; and the long windows of the eastern transept, besides those of the choir, aisles, and clerestory, and of the chapter house, all aid in producing the wall-like appearance at which the adventurous traveller so greatly wondered. How admirably these enormous lights lend themselves to the arrangement and effect of stained glass is nowhere more evident than at York and at Gloucester. The stained glass which remains in both windows is the original glazing, and ranks deservedly among the finest glass of its kind in England. The contract for glazing the east window of York, between the Dean and Chapter and John Thornton, of Coventry, glazier, is dated December 10, 1405. Thornton undertakes that the window shall be finished within three years. The Gloucester window is half a century earlier, since

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it was completed not later than 1350. The general design of the figure-work is the Enthronement of the Blessed Virgin; and the shields of arms are those of warriors who had served in the campaign of Cressy. The York window has, in its upper division, subjects from the Old Testament; in the lower, the subjects are from the Book of Revelation. The glass of this window is, however, but a small portion of the great treasure of York, which is richer in ancient glass than any other English Cathedral. Nearly all the windows, indeed, are thus filled. It is said that Fairfax, after the siege and reduction of York, set a guard on the Minster, and prevented any destruction of glass, which had happily been preserved through all the troubles and convulsions of the previous century.

A body of masons is attached to York Minster, and the necessary repairs of the exterior are attended to at once. The principal restorations, however, which it has received, have been compulsory, and not, as elsewhere, the result of a growing wish to bring back to the Mother Church of the diocese something of its ancient splendour. The roof and the furniture of the choir were destroyed in the fire of 1829, the work of the incendiary Martin. The nave roof was burnt in 1840, when a fire broke out in the south-west tower where some workmen had been repairing the clock. The present vaulted roofs are of wood, like those which preceded them; and are said to be close reproductions. The stalls, in the same manner, have been copied from those destroyed in the fire of 1829. Considering that these are works dating from a time either before the Gothic revival, or very soon after its beginning, they must be pronounced successful, and deserving of high praise. In any case, they do not interfere with the grand general effect of the Minster. York has a certain popular reputation beyond that of any other Cathedral in England; and so far as extreme dignity and majesty are concerned, this reputation is well deserved. But it is not the most picturesque, and, if we may venture to say so, not the most interesting of our Cathedrals. The Chapter House is admirable: 'ut rosa flos florum sic est domus ista domorum;' the view across the great transept, with the lofty Early English lancets, the 'five sisters,' towering in front, is in its way unrivalled; but in the nave, and in the choir, we certainly miss at first the intricacy of lines, the varied disposition of piers and arches, the mysterious half-shadows, and receding distances, which so delight the imagination at Canterbury or Winchester; and perhaps still more in the lesser Cathedrals

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of Wells and of Exeter. The choir and presbytery of York unfold themselves all at once; and it is not immediately that the eye can measure the enormous spaces and the great heights with which it has to deal. It is this space and height combined, of course, with the real architectural splendour of Archbishop Thoresby's work, which give so much true majesty to the choir of York. We cannot wonder that such a church should 'still remain a bond of union between the many sects, parties, and classes, scattered over the three Ridings. Whatever touches the Minster, touches the heart of Yorkshire.'[1]

Lincoln on the east, like Chester on the western side of the country, occupies a midway place between the great northern Churches and those of central England. The extreme beauty of Lincoln need not be dwelt upon here. 'Beauty' is perhaps the word which most naturally suggests itself as we pass through the aisles of the two Bishops Hugh—the sainted Carthusian and Hugh of Wells. The grace of their work contrasts strongly with the grandeur of the York Perpendicular. It has been indeed asserted that we have at Lincoln, in the eastern part of the Cathedral, built by S. Hugh (1186–1200), the very beginning of the Early English, or First Pointed, style in this country. S. Hugh, it is held, or his architect, Geoffry de Noiers, may have introduced it from Burgundy. However this may be, the Early English of Lincoln deserves the most careful study, and has suffered, at least in the interior of the Church, hardly at all from restoration. We cannot say as much for the exterior. The scraping of the west front is among the enormities which have been most justly blamed by architectural critics; and we have nothing to say in its defence. It was precisely one of those cases where restoration really signifies destruction.

The most recent and the most extensive restorations have been those of the southern Cathedrals, stretching across from Wells to Canterbury. Canterbury itself has undergone little material change, except in the renovation of some portions of the exterior. The fabric at Rochester, in spite of a 'remodelling' carried out by Mr. Cottingham between the years 1825–1830, was in a very dangerous condition when, in 1871, it was placed in the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott. It is now safe, and the whole interior is very striking. The eastern portion has been richly decorated; and the east end, which had been very roughly treated, and filled with debased work, has been

[1] *Handbook for the Northern Cathedrals.* (Murray.)

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brought back to its original design, of which there were definite traces. The closed screens of stone which surround the choirs of Rochester and of Canterbury are peculiar to these Cathedrals; and their use rendered unnecessary the lofty canopies which usually overshadow the oaken choir-stalls. The upper part of the Canterbury screen is pierced by window-like, traceried openings of great beauty. At Rochester the screen is solid, and the ancient mural decoration—golden lions in red quatrefoils, and fleurs de lys—has been restored. The whole of the work at Rochester was superintended for Sir Gilbert Scott by Mr. Irvine, whose great knowledge of minute detail enabled him to profit by the unusual opportunities offered by underpinning and laying bare of walls and arches; and the history and changes of Gundulf's cathedral have been made clear to us in a very remarkable manner.

The name of Dean Hook is associated with the restoration of Chichester, much as that of Dean Peacock is with Ely, or that of Dean Merewether with Hereford. The Cathedral, although not one of the first order, is of high interest as well for the curious adaptation of what remained after the fire of 1187, of the original Norman church, to the new and elaborate work of Bishop Seffrid II. (1180-1204), as for the later decorations, the 'trimming and best lace,' as old Fuller calls them, of Bishop Sherborne in the reign of Henry VII. The opening and restoration of the Lady Chapel, undertaken in 1872, as a memorial of Bishop Gilbert, was a great work, and has been well carried out. The same may be said of the refitting of the choir, with the exception of some new wood-work and of the modern reredos, which is not Sir Gilbert Scott's, and is singularly obtrusive. Of course the great restoration of Chichester has been that of the spire; the fall of which, in the storm of Thursday, February 21, 1861, marks an epoch in the history of the building. It is satisfactory to be assured, first, that no human power could have arrested the fall,[1] and next, that in the judgment of those who are daily observers, the new tower and spire reproduce the old so completely, that nothing of the former grace and beauty has been lost. Dean Hook, who did not witness the fall—for he could not bear to look on it—but who was present in the Deanery, saw the new work brought to a happy conclusion in 1867. This was, of course, a rebuilding rather than a restoration. It is interesting to compare the description of

[1] This is the judgment of the late Professor Willis, than whom no one in England was more competent to pronounce a decided opinion on the matter. See his *Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral*, 1861.

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the catastrophe and its results with the Ely historian's account of the fall of the central tower there, and of the condition of the church afterwards. The spire of Chichester 'was seen to incline slightly to the south-west, and then to descend perpendicularly into the Church, as one telescope-tube slides into another, the mass of the tower crumbling beneath it.' The fall was an affair of a few seconds, and was attended by much less noise than might have been expected. As at Ely, a thick dust settled at once on every part of the church.

According to the popular saying, 'the master mason built Salisbury spire, and his man Chichester spire.' In mere height there can be no comparison between them. The spire of Salisbury is 404 feet from the ground, that of Chichester is 277. It has been questioned, however, whether the Chichester spire is not 'better proportioned to the church it crowns, and of a more pleasing outline' than the more lofty one at Salisbury. The angle at the summit of Chichester is about thirteen degrees. At Salisbury it is only ten degrees, which many architectural critics hold to be too slender. This, however, is questionable; and no one who has seen the spire of Salisbury under favourable conditions—rising into the calm of moonlight, or projected against the clear blue of a spring morning—will find himself disposed to carp at its proportions. The extensive restorations at Salisbury have been, for the most part, like those at Durham, a replacing of much that Wyatt had destroyed. We have quarrelled with some portion of the new colouring; but it is impossible to deny that the effect of the church is wonderfully improved by the enclosures—choir screen, reredos, side screens—which now separate and distinguish its several parts, without too much isolating them. All this was the work of Sir Gilbert Scott. The spire, which had long been unsafe, has been supported and strengthened, and an extensive system of iron ties has been inserted in the lantern story of the tower. The west front—unreal as it is, since it does not form the natural ending of nave and aisles, but is built up against them—was designed, like that of Wells, which has the same fault, for the display of statuary. The old figures had for the most part disappeared from its niches, and those which now fill them are designed by Redfern, and, in their general grouping, illustrate the great Ambrosian hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*. This is the subject (exclusive of the compositions representing the Resurrection) set forth on the more famous west front of Wells, which has also undergone restoration, but in a different fashion. The ancient sculptures at Wells have not

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been touched.[1] The slender Purbeck shafts supporting the canopies under which the figures are placed were in bad condition and have been renewed throughout. We take it for granted that such a renewal was absolutely called for. At present the effect of the new work is hardly pleasing. The tone of colour is too uniform, and the contrast between the worn figures and sculptures and the smooth grey Purbeck is too sharply pronounced. But this is a defect which time will soften.

We have already said something of Exeter, and have little space in which to dwell on one of the latest, and, as we must think, one of the best, of these great restorations. Of course, there are those who tell us that the Cathedral has been made to renew its youth far too completely, and that it has lost the venerable rust which carried us back to the days of Quivil and of Stapledon. But, in truth, the 'ærugo' was of no such high antiquity. It is the whitewash and the cobwebs of Georgian times which have been removed; and we can now recognise, far more distinctly than before was possible, the grace and beauty of the original work. As in other cases, the history of the fabric, and of the architectural changes it has undergone, have been brought out with great clearness; and we owe to the late Archdeacon Freeman,[2] not only the attribution of the several divisions of the church to their true periods, and their real constructors, but also the discovery that much of the beautiful Decorated work contains within it a core of Warelwast's Norman walls. This sort of adaptation so frequently occurs, that we are not surprised to find it at Exeter; but although the evidence is clear, the fact had not been pointed out. The thicker wall of the western half of the choir indicates the point at which the straight walls of the Norman choir ended. The apse which bent round from them was removed altogether by Bishop Marshall.

Among the works which we have placed at the head of this article is the very fine folio in which Mr. James Neale, a young and promising architect, has illustrated what, happily, has at last become the Cathedral of S. Alban's. The book, printed for subscribers, is, we believe, not published, although copies may as yet be obtained from the author. There are excellent general views, elevations, and sections; and the details of every part of the building are given from draw-

[1] Advantage has been taken of the scaffolding, which was necessarily erected, to photograph the entire series of sculptures. These photographs are of very great interest.

[2] *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral.* 1873.

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ings worked to a scale on the spot; every moulding has been taken the real size; and all marks of restoration are clearly indicated. The plates are reproduced from the drawings by photo-lithography, so that an exact facsimile is obtained, line for line. To the architectural student, and indeed to all who desire thoroughly to understand the manner in which that vast church—the church of an abbey whose history is part of the history of this country—has gradually been developed, Mr. Neale's book is invaluable. We purposely use the word 'developed;' for while the great mass of Abbot Paul's Norman Church remains, the wonderfully rich eastern portion, with its shrine spaces and its chapels, seems like a natural outgrowth of the later centuries—the unfolding of the perfect flower. S. Alban's is included in the new edition of Murray's *Southern Cathedrals*, and the architectural history of the building is there carefully given, but of course without the wealth of illustration which we find in Mr. Neale's folio. There is not a page in this beautiful book which does not induce one to linger over it. The whole has been a long labour of love, bringing, we are sure, its own reward; for no one can have made himself absolute master of all the various intricate details of such a church, ranging from Early Norman to Perpendicular, without having entered completely into the spirit of the changes brought about in the long range of centuries.

We do not believe that the restoration of S. Alban's, extensive as it is, has been carried at all beyond what was absolutely needed. Without it the church must have speedily become a ruin; and indeed we can only wonder that it has remained so long standing, and has been found capable of preservation at all. There is still much to be done. Let us hope that the successor of Sir Gilbert Scott, whoever he may be, will exercise equal judgment, and display an equal spirit of retention—wherever retention of the old work is at all possible.

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ALTERATION OF A LINE IN THE *CHRISTIAN YEAR.*

WE have been requested by Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon to publish the subjoined letter on the alteration of a line in the *Christian Year*, which has again been made the subject of controversy in the columns of *The Times*. To this request we accede the more readily because we think it will be universally felt to be very desirable that a statement of the real facts of the case should be put on record in a manner less fugitive and more readily accessible than is afforded by the columns of a newspaper.

No English Churchman, no one who cherishes the memory of Mr. Keble, can read without the deepest interest the straightforward and authentic narrative contained in the letter of his revered friend, Dr. Pusey. On the wisdom of making such an alteration at all opinions may reasonably differ; but no one, after reading Dr. Pusey's statement, can entertain any doubt as to the mind of the author of the *Christian Year*, who was, in fact, the first who suggested the emendation received:—

'MY DEAREST LIDDON,—I see that Dean Burgon insists that it was you, "[1] not Mr. Keble who wrote the line in the *Christian Year* which has reasonably created so much offence." I have both publicly, and privately to Dean Burgon, explained what occurred. But as he has forgotten this, I wish to set down with more exactness the real facts of the case which our joint memories attest.

'The facts were these: Our dear friend was distressed by the use which people made of the line, "Present in the heart, not in the hands," for very many years. It is not improbable that an appeal of H. Froude in 1835, first occasioned him to think of the use which might be made of it. H. Froude said in a letter to J. K. "[2] How can we possibly know that it is true to say, 'not in the hands?'" In 1855, in a conversation with you, J. K. talked over different ways in which the words might be prevented from being quoted as contradicting the truth which he held. He finally thought it enough to illustrate his meaning by the Scriptural expression, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." Since we have our Lord's authority that these words do not reject sacrifice altogether, but only as a substitute for mercy, he thought that his own words "in the heart, not in the hands" might be understood as disclaiming such thought of His

[1] *The Times*, May 14, 1878.

[2] *Remains*, vol. i. p. 403.

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presence in the hands as might exclude dwelling on the presence in the heart. The context favours this; for he goes on, "The Eternal Priest doth His true self *impart*:" and clearly our Lord *imparts* Himself "not in the hands, but in the heart."

'Eleven years passed by; and to me, when I mentioned the use made of the line, he had always answered by a disparaging remark on the *Christian Year* itself, which, in his way, he used to call "that book."

'The question was brought to an issue through the pain which he felt, when Bishop Jeune, in the Upper House of Convocation, Feb. 9, 1866, quoted the lines as expressing our dear friend's matured conviction against the Real Objective Presence: "If only they would say with an honoured man, Mr. Keble—

> 'O come to our Communion Feast:
> Where, present in the heart,
> Not in the hands, the Eternal Priest
> Will His true Self impart,'

much would be done to restore peace and confidence in the Church." As our friend had ceased to be a correspondent of the *Guardian*, after the line which it took about the judgment on the *Essays and Reviews*, but you, as a younger man, had no occasion to make any change, he asked you[1] to write to the *Guardian*, drawing attention to an explanation which he had given of the lines in 1857.

'You wrote—

'"Sir—At the recent debate in the Upper House of Convocation the Bishop of Peterborough is reported to have quoted, with much approval, some well-known lines from the *Christian Year*:—

> 'O come to our Communion Feast:
> Where, present in the heart,
> Not in the hands, the Eternal Priest
> Will His true Self impart.'

'"Mr. Keble has very rarely besides, if ever, alluded to his own compositions. But in the case of this verse he has been careful to state his exact theological meaning in his work on *Eucharistical Adoration* (p. xiv., note—second edition). After saying that the language of Anglican divines which is often alleged against the doctrine of a Real Objective Presence, is really directed, among other things, against the 'notion of a gross carnal Presence,' he subjoins, 'I may, perhaps, be excused for exemplifying this by the expression sometimes quoted from *The Christian Year*, "present in the heart, not in the hands."'

'"At p. 180 of the same work, the following doctrinal statement occurs in a protest and appeal, in drawing up which Mr. Keble aided. It is dated 1856:—'The doctrine of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ under the form of bread and wine has been uniformly held as a point of faith in the Church from the

[1] The letter conveying this request must have been accidentally burnt, with some others of his, in the summer vacation of 1868.

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Apostolic times ; and was accepted by General Councils as it is also embodied in our own formularies.'

'"CHRIST CHURCH, *March* 3, 1866. H. P. L."

'This letter John Keble saw, corrected and approved,[1] before its publication.

'This, however, was but a temporary expedient. At his wish,[2] you had consulted with me (to whom in his love he was continually referring) about the future. I remember saying strongly, "Explanations are useless : they have been made, over and over again, and are ignored : so long as that line remains in *The Christian Year*, it will be quoted against what our dear friend has so long believed and taught." In the course of our conversation you mentioned different explanations, which in 1855 he had thought might be given of it. Among them he had said in his playful way, "I suppose the real correction would be to put 'As' instead of 'Not.'" After the experience of all those years, I strongly felt that this, which he had suggested playfully, was the real remedy You demurred to it, as unsuitable to the context, since it spoke of a matter of faith which no one denied. I answered your demurrer by saying, "It is like the broken sentences of S. Paul, bad grammar, but good theology." You then, first, sent[3] the proposal to our dear friend as from yourself; because I thought it possible that, in his marvellous humility, he might pay more attention to any suggestion of mine than it could possibly be entitled to. A day or two later you wrote again,[4] to explain that the suggestion was from me. After considering for three days, he accepted it in the little note which he wrote to you and which you still have. When that note was published, I requested that a blank might be substituted for my initials. I thought it did not matter to any one, whose suggestion it was. But the note ran :—

'"*I have made up my mind, that it will be best, when a reprint is called for, to adopt E. B. P.'s emendation and note, with a few words pointing out that it does but express the true meaning of the present text.*"[5]

'The line then, after all, is neither yours nor mine, but our dear friend John Keble's own : only, though he saw it to be the real correction, he would not of himself have introduced it in that context. Probably his remedy would have been to cut out the whole poem. In one way, this would have been more satisfactory ; on the other hand, it would not have been so effectual. The line would still have been quoted to deny what he believed. However, my business now

[1] In two notes still extant.

[2] Expressed in the letter already referred to as accidentally burnt in 1868.

[3] In a note still extant.

[4] In a note which has not been found among Mr. Keble's papers, but the existence of which is attested by our memories, as it is implied in Mr. Keble's letter of March 6, 1866.

[5] This letter is extant. It is dated Bournemouth, March 6, 1866. The only sentence in it referring to the alteration is that given in the text.

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is not to justify the wisdom of my opinion, but to relate facts. Everything might have been done better than I did it. The question is not about me, but about John Keble. He accepted the emendation as the best that could be done, by his own deliberate judgment.

'As I wrote twelve years ago to *The Times*, the little note which accepted it is "written in the same beautiful firm hand, in which he wrote before his first illness. The second illness, by which he was taken from us, showed no signs of approach then. His note accepting it is dated March 6, 1866; his illness began a fortnight afterwards, March 22. During that short illness Mrs. Keble mentioned that it was a great comfort to him that he had decided to make the change. He himself expressed this." "The change was made in compliance with his dying wishes by those to whom he left the trust of the copyright of his works. Not to have fulfilled his wishes as to his own work so bequeathed would have been a violation of a sacred trust." [1]

'It was and is a satisfaction to us to know how entirely this alteration was approved by our dear and revered friend the late Bishop of Salisbury, who died the death of a confessor; the painful heart-disease, of which he died, having been brought on by the unceasing harass, which he underwent in his own diocese in consequence of his loyal exposition of the faith in his charge of 1867. Bishop Hamilton said to you at the time that he was glad the change had been made, as he never could reconcile the line as it stood with Mr. Keble's known consistency. And, writing to you, he thus refers to your letter in the *Guardian* of January 9, 1867, in which you defended the alteration at length. "I entirely agree with you. Honesty is the best policy, and moreover there is something quite distressing in the thought that false doctrine should be justified by any words of Mr. Keble, which he, from fear of misconstruction, desired to be altered." [2]

'But after all, I cannot understand to what end is all this fuss made by Professor Burrows and Dean Burgon, if they hold at all by the early Church or the Council of Nice. The English Church has bound herself to the belief in what was held by the universal Church from the first. The doctrine contained in the altered line (as I said nearly twelve years ago, in my Letter to *The Times*, Dec. 12, 1866), has been affirmed in stronger language before by our own divines, as when George Herbert (John Keble's predecessor in sacred poetry) wrote :—

> "Drink this,
> Which *before* ye drink is Blood.
>
> God to shew how far his love
> Could improve
> Here as broken, is presented."

[1] The *Times*, December 13, 1866. In the *Times* Mr. Keble's last illness is inaccurately said to have begun on March 20.

[2] Letter to the Rev. H. P. Liddon, dated Palace, Salisbury, January 10, 1867.

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"Come ye hither, all whose taste
Is your waste;
Save your cost and mend your fare,
God is here prepared and drest,
And the feast
God in whom all dainties are."

It says only what S. Cyprian [1] says, "The hand receives the Lord's Body;" or S. Chrysostom,[2] "That which is in the cup is that which flowed from his side and thereof we do partake;" or S. Augustine,[3] "He was carried in his own hands, when, commending His own very Body to us, He said, This is My Body;" or Tertullian,[4] in the second century, "They approach their hands to the Body of the Lord;" or in the simple expression of the Greek inscription at Autun,[5] which all critics acknowledge to belong to the close of the second or beginning of the third century (and in regard to which a distinguished scholar and very anti-Roman divine[6] expressed "the greatest pleasure in seeing what valid testimonies it supplies to the establishment of Catholic truth on the divine dignity of the Sacraments"), "Eat, drink having ΙΧΘΥΣ" (*i.e.* according to the known anagram, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour"), "in thy hands;" or, as the Council of Nice[7] says, "Neither the rule nor practice handed down that they who have not the power to offer (deacons) should give the Body of Christ to those who offer."

'I am still amazed that your name should have been mixed up in the matter, but that people are so careless in controversy. It was naturally vexing to them that a weapon should be wrested from them which they had used for so many years, though against the writer's protest. Had I foreseen that any imputation could have been made

[1] 'Armemus et dexteram gladio spiritali, ut sacrificia funesta fortiter respuat, et eucharistiæ memor, quæ Domini corpus accepit (accipit. *Ver. Manut.*) ipsum complectatur.'—S. Cyprian. *Ep.* lviii. ed. Fell. (lvi. Ben.) prope finem.

[2] 'Σφόδρα πιστῶς καὶ φοβερῶς εἴρηκεν. Ὁ γὰρ λέγει, τοῦτό ἐστιν· ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἐν ποτηρίῳ ὄν, ἐκεῖνό ἐστι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς ῥεῦσαν, καὶ ἐκείνου μετέχομεν.'—S. Chrys. *Hom.* xxiv. *in* 1 *Cor.* n. 1. *Opp.* x. 212, 213, ed. Ben.

[3] 'Ferebatur Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum, ait, Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis.'—S. Aug. *in Psalm.* xxxiii. *Enarr.* i. n. 10. *Opp.* iv. 214, ed. Ben.

[4] 'Eas manus admovere corpori Domini, quæ dæmoniis corpora conferunt.'—Tert. *de Idolol.* c. 7. *Opp.* i. p. 75, ed. Oehler.

[5] ΕΣΘΙΕ ΠΙΝ Ν ΙΧΘΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΜΑΙΣ.—*Inscr. Augustod. in Pitra Specileg. Solesm.* i. p. 557, l. 6. Secchi (ib. c. ii. p. 560) and Windischmann (ib. c. iv. p. 561) fill up the gap by Ε ΔΥΟΙΝ; Wordsworth (ib. c. vi. p. 563) by Ε ΤΕΑΙΝ.; Frantz by Ε ΛΑΒΩΝ (ib. c. iii. p. 560).

[6] 'Quam valida verò ad catholicam veritatem stabiliendam, et ad hæreticam pravitatem de Christo Deo, de divinâ sacramentorum dignitate, profligandam, testimonia suppeditet, non sine summâ voluptate videmus.' —Chr. Wordsworth, apud *Pitra, Specil. Solesm.* i. p. 563.

[7] οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.'—*Conc. Nic.* i. can. 18. Apud Labbe et Coss. ii. p. 38.

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against the suggestor of the emendation, of course I should not have erased the initials which indicated him.

'I suppose that this contradiction will be overlooked like all its predecessors. However, you will not mind bearing the imputation, since you have helped to relieve the anxiety which Bishop Jeune's mistake occasioned to our revered friend.

'Your very affectionate,

'CHRIST CHURCH, *May* 20, 1878. E. B. PUSEY.

'Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D.

'POSTSCRIPT.

'I am permitted to add in illustration the following extracts from journals of John Keble's sister-in-law, Mrs. Thomas Keble, Bournemouth, 1866, and his nephew, Rev. Thomas Keble, jun.'

Extracts from Mrs. T. Keble's Journal.

'20th March. "She (Mrs. John Keble) said to-day she thought the many false statements about the *Christian Year* ought to be contradicted. Several people wish him to alter the line on H.C. 'In the heart not in the hands,' to '*and* in the hands.' Dr. Pusey proposes that . . . ."

'29th April. "I asked her (Mrs. John Keble) on S. Mark's Day about what she considered John's intentions were [as to] altering that stanza in the Gunpowder Treason Hymn. And she said, 'He meant to alter *that* word in the text, and he told me that he had been wishing to do so for the last twenty years; it was a constant annoyance to him, because he felt that he might be misleading others . . . .'"

Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. T. Keble, jun.

'"On the 22nd [of March, 1866] my Uncle began to be ill; but my mother, who was constantly in my aunt's bedroom, says that he repeatedly talked with her about the proposed alteration in the *Christian Year*, and that indeed the *last* conversation the two had together before he became too ill to converse was on this subject.

'"I was summoned to Bournemouth on the 27th (Tuesday), and found him almost (or quite) unconscious. But my aunt was evidently most anxious that his wish should be carried out. Some of her first words to me were to this effect, 'It is a great comfort to him that he has made up his mind to alter that stanza in the *Christian Year*, to put "as" for "not," as Dr. Pusey has suggested.' And my mother says she added, 'And mind, Tom, you do not let the matter rest.'"'

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SHORT NOTICES.

The Holy Bible: According to the Authorised Version (A. D. 1611), *with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation.* By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. New Testament. Vol. I. S. Matthew, S. Mark, S. Luke. (London: John Murray.)

It was a good thought to continue the *Speaker's Commentary* so as to take in the New Testament, and give to the student the benefit, in the fullest measure, of the considerable advances that have been made in Scripture archæology, and in the knowledge and criticism of the sacred tongues, since an original commentary of equal calibre has emanated from English divines. For such a work there was unquestionably a need. Such works as Poole's 'Synopsis' or the 'Critici Sacri' are for scholars alone; and while they are monuments of erudition, and embody much curious information, they are almost wholly silent in face of the peculiar problems of our own day. Later English commentaries, Matthew Henry, Patrick, and Lowth, Dr. Scott, Dr. Adam Clarke, D'Oyly and Mant, are, some of them, shallow and tentative, some not over trustworthy, some not sufficiently general and extensive in their scope; and all were becoming, or had already become, antiquated by the lapse of time, and the feverish and rapid progress of the mind of our age.

It was to fill this gap, we believe, that the *Speaker's Commentary* was originally projected; it does, we take it, to a great extent and with some exceptions, fulfil this purpose fairly well, as far as the Old Testament is concerned. We are now to see it extended to the New.

The present volume contains a general introduction by the Archbishop of York, consisting of a dissertation of over fifty pages, a Harmony, and *apparatus criticus*—the whole occupying between seventy and eighty pages. It is the less needful to enter upon a detailed examination of this, since it is founded upon pre-existing and, for the most part, familiar materials, which the writer has before employed with the same purpose in view. There are, indeed, a number of new theories or variously combined parts of theories to be stated respecting the origin and relations to each other of the Four Gospels, and especially of the Three Synoptics, which have originated during the last few years; and the laborious discussion of these theories is the only element of novelty in the Introduction. For the most part, the writer contents himself with pointing out the inherent improbabilities and the weak points of each of these, and does not pretend to put them forward for acceptance. 'Any solution worthy the name

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of scientific,' he says of the position of S. Mark's Gospel, 'seems as far off as ever.' And so with other points. Like the harvest that sprang from the serpent's teeth at Colchis, the opposing theories neutralise each other; and meantime the orthodox *fact* is, at all events provisionally, if the critics will have it so, in possession of the ground. This is, in fact, virtually Dr. Thomson's conclusion. A more brilliant or able essay it would have been difficult to produce.

When we come to the annotations on the Gospels themselves, we have more mixed sensations; as, indeed, the work has for one reason or another been curiously intermixed all through. The notes on S. Matthew's Gospel are partly by the late Dean Mansel, and partly by the editor; S. Mark's Gospel has been taken entirely by the editor; S. Luke is by the Bishop of S. David's and the editor conjointly, the largest share being due to the editor, who declares himself 'ultimately responsible' for the whole.

The notes on S. Matthew are admirable. Clear, pithy, and forcible, they invariably hit the precise point that requires elucidation; and whether or no they solve a difficulty, they invariably state it. The writer speaks from the same standpoint throughout; he pursues consistent lines of thought, and grounds his view of a passage upon primary and ruling principles. The comment upon chap. viii. 34, the case of the Gadarene demoniac, is an excellent example of the writer's habitual avoidance of empirical expedients of exposition (which he calls in this case 'awkward ways of rejecting the history as untrue,') and his preference for simple issues. Here and there a note strikes us as inadequate, *e.g.*, that on the wedding (xxii. 11–13) is not satisfactory. There is an interesting note at xxiii. 14 on *κρίμα, κατάκριμα, κρίσις*, which may be consulted in view of recent controversies upon this subject.

The notes upon the other two Gospels, where not entirely due to the same hand, have been worked over so as to breathe the same spirit. The result is a Commentary of a very high class: sound, moderate, and to be recommended. The only additional criticism we think it needful to make, is that the notes might have been somewhat longer and fuller with advantage.

The Life and Words of Christ, by CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D. (Strahan and Co.), is in many respects an advance on any of the numerous works on that august topic issued in this country. It belongs to the era of criticism and Oriental scholarship, and so is marked off from early writings of the same kind, not merely the quaint and devout *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony, Prior of the Carthusians at Strasburg in 1370, which Luther rightly thought precious, and which has not lost its fragrance even now, but from much later efforts, as those of Jeremy Taylor and Fleetwood. It is written from the standpoint of an orthodox moderate Evangelical (for Dr. Geikie is a very recent accession to the ministry of the English Church from that of one of the separatist bodies), and it is thus distinguished from the schools of Schenkel, Keim, and Renan. The apparatus prefixed to the volumes attests wide and careful reading, and notably in the many

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books on Rabbinical and Talmudic Judaism which are a speciality of modern German erudition, and are absolutely indispensable to adequate realisation of the circumstances and surroundings of the life of Him Who chose to walk this earth as a Palestinian Jew. Dr. Geikie's aim in this respect may best be stated in his own words, taken from his very brief and modest preface :—

'I have tried in this book to restore, as far as I could, the world in which Jesus moved ; the country in which He lived ; the people among whom He grew up and ministered ; the religion in which He was trained ; the Temple services in which He took part ; the ecclesiastical, civil, and social aspects of His time ; the parties of the day, their opinions and their spirit ; the customs that ruled ; the influences that prevailed ; the events, social, religious, and political, not mentioned in the Gospels, that formed the history of His lifetime, so far as they can be recovered.'

And the author has laboured with commendable diligence to carry out this programme, with the result of accumulating a vast mass of interesting and important detail, which will be strange and new, we are sorry to say, to by far the greater number of the clerical fellow-countrymen of the illustrious scholar, John Lightfoot, who did so much two centuries ago to elucidate the Gospels from his profound Rabbinical learning. This is not merely an episodical quality in Dr. Geikie's book, but is the weft of its whole texture, and a feature of incessant recurrence. An examination of certain test passages shows him to be perfectly sound on the Creeds, and there is no attempt whatever to represent the Evangelists as bearing no witness to a supernatural order of things, nor as themselves the framers or dupes of myths and legends. His comments on the institution of the Holy Eucharist show him at his weakest, as he obviously has not got beyond a view which is Zwinglian in the main, with a slight infusion of the higher teaching of Calvin, but they are so worded as to err only by omission and defect, for there is nothing said which is not true so far as it goes ; only we should have liked, even from his own standpoint, somewhat fuller illustration of the Eucharistic rite from the very curious ceremonial of the Passover. The first volume is mainly introductory, and, dealing largely with such topics as the condition of Palestine, the reign of Herod, the Rabbis and their teaching, the Roman occupation, and the like, brings the life of Christ down only so far as the opening of the ministry in Galilee, occupying in the whole thirty-two chapters. Volume II., beginning with chapter xxxiii., dealing with the preaching at Capernaum, carries the narrative down to the Ascension, at the close of chapter lxiv., and each volume has important but judiciously brief critical notes, relegated to an appendix, in order not to crowd the text inconveniently ; while two full indexes, of subjects and texts, complete the work, already, we are glad to say, welcomed so far, despite bulk and cost, as to call for another edition. The style is flowing, clear, and not without a certain grave dignity, nor yet lacking in picturesqueness where graphic description is needed ; and the question which naturally suggests itself, namely, how Dr. Geikie's book, as a whole, stands comparison with Canon Farrar's similar undertaking, calls for a reply. It is, then, a work of

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a much higher order. It is entirely free from the under-current of half-expressed disbelief in the supernatural, and the implicit Arianism (if not indeed Photinianism), which is the cardinal defect of Dr. Farrar's book; and it is much more full of real matter, while less overloaded with mere sonorous platitudes and rhetorical flourishes. Again, though Dr. Geikie's theology is not precisely our own, yet it *is* theology, whereas that is a science as foreign to Dr. Farrar's mind and acquirements as to those of Dean Stanley, the model on which the Canon seems to form himself, as perhaps the ideal canon should do on his ideal dean. The one particular merit in which Dr. Farrar's volumes surpass Dr. Geikie's, is in graceful settings of the incidents of the Gospel narrative in their accompanying landscapes; but vivid descriptions of scenery belong rather to the domain of guide-books than to that of divinity. Dr. Geikie's work, then, will be preferred by scholars—it has had the warm approval of so accomplished a scholar as Delitzsch—while Dr. Farrar will prove in the future, as in the past, more acceptable to young ladies who like gush, and to the ordinary readers in circulating libraries. But the thinker and student who consults his volumes is repelled, not attracted, by the ornate (not to say tawdry) verbiage which is substituted for the noble simplicity of the Evangelists, and cannot but recall the anecdote in Boswell, how Dr. Johnson once took up a paraphrase of the Gospels, which expanded those two pathetic words of S. John xi. 35, thus: 'Hereupon the Redeemer of the world burst into a flood of tears.' The Doctor flung the book to the other end of the room, exclaiming 'The coxcomb!' *Mutato nomine*, &c.

The Rev. C. E. Hammond, of Exeter College, Oxford, has done good service by editing for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press a volume of *Antient Liturgies, being a Reprint of the Texts, either original or translated, of the most Representative Liturgies of the Church.* It is distributed under the following heads:—Preface, Introduction, List of the chief Books on Liturgical subjects, Texts, and Glossary of Liturgical Terms. In the Preface, the chief point which calls for particular notice, as being something more than detail as to the scope and arrangement of the volume, is the editor's rejection of Dr. Neale's view, that the Liturgy of S. James is older than the First Epistle to the Corinthians, a theory based on the abrupt and ungrammatical form which a quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9 assumes in the Epistle, whereas it runs smoothly and grammatically in the Liturgy. Mr. Hammond points out that the same passage, in a different connexion, and with a different antecedent, occurs in S. Mark's Liturgy, while it is absent from the Syriac S. James. His judgment, therefore, is that the passage, whencesoever derived by S. Paul, was not inserted in S. James's Liturgy until the Council of Chalcedon. This opinion is worth setting down here, as marking the cautious and critical temper of Mr. Hammond, though it must not be assumed too hastily that his arguments are conclusive of the debate; and a very remarkable paper on 'The Liturgy of S. James and the Epistle to the Hebrews' in the *Union Review* for January 1872, does not ap-

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pear to have attracted his notice, as it brings some strong pleas against the objections originally put forth by the late George Hay Forbes, which Mr. Hammond has repeated. The Introduction, occupying about sixty pages, discusses, first, the families of Liturgies and their characteristics; and Mr. Hammond explains in its opening lines that he includes under the title of 'Ancient Liturgies,' all such as, though living rites, and therefore affected by successive modifications, such as the Roman, Armenian, and Constantinopolitan, are, nevertheless, in their main essentials very early forms, traceable back twelve or even fourteen hundred years. This statement silences a cavil which it is just possible some unfair-minded opponent, averse from early Liturgical doctrines, might bring against the consonance of the title and contents of the volume. The practical utility to the student of being able to compare living rites, having abundant rubrics and an ascertained ritual, with ancient and long-disused forms, where we are largely obliged to conjecture, is also dwelt upon as a further excuse, if any were in truth required. There is an important note, early in the Introduction, drawing attention to one proof of the great antiquity of the Liturgies, in the occasional inexactness of their philosophical statements of doctrine, illustrated by the occurrence of language of oblation of the sacrifice to Christ, rather than to the Father, in several ancient Liturgies. This note is not merely important, but also very opportune, as this inexactness has been seized on by some neologian writers in the present day as proof that there is no sacrifice of Christ Himself taught by the ancient Liturgies, a plea of which it is not too much to say that it is never adduced without serious curtailment of the evidence, which, if fully and fairly set forth, makes superabundantly the other way. A recent instance of this *ex parte* method is cited by Mr. Hammond, from a judiciously anonymous pamphlet by 'Clericus Cantabrigiensis,' which we should conjecture, from the character of its terminology, must issue from the camp of the late assailants of the Athanasian Creed, for the verities it attacks are akin to those then impugned. The second chapter of the Introduction describes the structure of the Liturgies, with a very convenient tabular paradigm of the order of sequence of parts. We desiderate, in the discussion of the word *missa*, some reference to its frequent and early use for other offices than the Holy Eucharist, in additional disproof of its being a sacrificial term. Such wider applications of the term are found in the Rule of S. Cæsarius of Arles († A.D. 542); in that of S. Aurelian († A.D. 555), where we find mentioned 'sex *missas* de Isaia Propheta,' clearly meaning *lessons*; in that of S. Isidore of Seville († A.D. 636); in the Institutes of S. John Cassian (ii. 13); and most notably of all, in the Rule of S. Benedict (c. 17), where it denotes the close of the Little Hours. Again, Mr. Hammond seems scarcely to bring out into sufficient prominence the connexion of the Elevation of the Host with the various heave-offerings of the Jewish Church, and their curious survival in the modern Jewish rite of the Passover, when the master of the feast lifts up the bone of lamb and the egg which lie in the chief dish, while the dish itself is raised from

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the table by others of the guests. Another point worth mentioning, but which Mr. Hammond has overlooked, is the apparent origin of the Little Entrance in the procession of the Roll of the Law, still observed in every Jewish synagogue, with a ritual of extreme antiquity. As regards the Great Entrance, too, there is a Western survival of it at Milan, though shorn of much of its original significance. And he has not mentioned that which is to us the main proof that the Roman Liturgy has lost a prayer of invocation, similar in diction and position to those of the Oriental Liturgies, to wit, the otherwise quite unaccountable language of the post-consecration prayer, *Supra quæ propitio*, intelligible enough, if the actual consecration in the earlier Petrine rite did not occur till the *Per quem hæc omnia*, presumably the opening of the now non-existent invocation. The third chapter of the Introduction is an account, largely bibliographical, of the Liturgies to follow, but we need not dwell on it just now. There are some omissions of importance in the admittedly imperfect list of liturgical books, such as Gabriel Biel, *Expositio Canonis Missæ;* Brett, *Collection of the Principal Liturgies;* Bickell, *Messe und Pascha;* Trollope's *Greek Liturgy of S. James;* the splendid editions of the *Mozarabic Missal* by Abp. Lorenzana and Faustus Arevalus; the *Missa Picta Græcorum*, in vol. vi. of Cardinal Mai's *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum;* Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of Church of England;* Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Eglise;* Hoppe, *Die Epiklesis der Griechischen u. Orientalischen Liturgieen;* Lienhart, *De Antiquis Liturgiis;* and (this a very serious omission) Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis.* Then follow the texts, as under: (1) Fragments of an Ancient Gallican Missal; (2) Clementine; (3) Greek S. James; (4) Syriac S. James; (5) S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; (6) Armenian; (7) Greek S. Mark; (8) Coptic S. Cyril and S. Basil; (9) Ludolf's Ethiopic; (10) Ethiopic Universal Canon; (11) SS. Adaeus and Maris; (12) the Four Western Liturgies, Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic, in parallel columns; (13) Gregorian and Gelasian Canons, also parallel. Here, too, while deeply thankful for what we have got, we desiderate two or three more rites, *e.g.*, Nestorius, or else Theodore the Interpreter; Malabar (from Raulin's edition), and one more leading Syriac example; and hope besides that the eleventh century MS. of the Mozarabic Missal, which the British Museum has just acquired, may be collated for a future edition. Last of all comes a Glossary of Latin and Greek liturgical terms, which needs revision; for, curiously enough, the very first word which should occur, *Ablutions*, is absent, as is also the second, *Accendite.* We give some other omissions under A, not pursuing the subject further: *Agnus Dei, Aliturgical Days, Altar*, &c., *Amen, Ampulla, Amula.* In the Greek we miss ἁγίασμα, ἄζυμος, ἀκρατόφορος, ἀνάδειξις, ἄναμα, ἀντιμίνσιον, ἀντίτυπα, ἀρτοκλασία; and, even if Mr. Hammond meant to give only words actually occurring in texts he prints, the last term but one is in S. Basil's Liturgy. These, however, are but trifling defects in a book which is likely to fulfil its design—that of promoting, by facilitating, liturgical studies, and so helping to raise the level of Eucharistic doctrine, both as to the Presence and the Sacrifice, amongst those who pursue them.

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In the Beginning: Remarks on certain Modern Views of the Creation. Parts I.—IV. By R. H. SANDYS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. (London: Pickering).

THESE highly interesting and original pamphlets possess two features, which mark them off from a considerable portion of the excellent apologetic literature which the scepticism of the times is calling forth. In the first place, their form may attract some readers who would shrink from grappling with a volume of Boyle or of Bampton Lectures; and, secondly, they are the composition of a layman. The latter circumstance is, of course, no new one in the history of Christ's Church. Many of the best apologies on behalf of the primitive Church were written by laymen, as Arnobius, Lactantius, and (most probably) S. Justin Martyr, and in our own age the Church of France cannot easily point to any anti-infidel book superior to the *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme* of M. Nicolas.

Mr. Sandys does not think favourably of the tone of our age. Possibly he hardly takes enough into account the existence of movements which run counter to infidelity. But it must be borne in mind that laymen often enjoy fuller opportunities than do the clergy of gauging the mind of general society. A sense of politeness and decorum often induces men to change the subject of conversation, or to treat it differently, on the entrance of a cleric. This sentiment runs through all classes. Many years ago a clergyman, who occasionally travelled in third-class railway carriages, informed us that he always found the utterances of his companions sensibly affected by his adoption of a black necktie instead of a white one.

Mr. Sandys maintains that the habit of requiring strictly logical proof for all positions ultimately injures the mind, and disables it from receiving the most high and ennobling truths. He proceeds to exhibit with much power the great difficulties involved in the hypothesis of a universe without a creator. But if the idea of a creator be once allowed, perfect goodness becomes as inseparable from it as perfect knowledge and perfect power. And here revelation, which teaches us of a fall on the part of man, comes in to explain the difficulty of the jars and disorder at present visible in creation. Mr. Sandys would, we presume, regard this as the reply to those well-known arguments of the late J. S. Mill, who maintained that the sad, and, apparently, cruel arrangements of many parts of the existing condition of nature proved that its Maker was an imperfect Being. A review of the work of the six periods of creation described in the book of Genesis, and a critique upon what may perhaps be called *ultra*-Darwinism (*i.e.* the Darwinian theory, as taught by Haeckel and others, in an atheistic form) conclude Part I. of these essays.

Part II., to some extent, re-states these questions, but with fuller and richer illustrations. A few quotations, which we shall give presently, will serve as specimens of our author's way of putting his case. Throughout the work the limits of unaided reason in things divine and our need of revelation are forcibly set forth.

In Part III. considerable space is devoted to the speculations o

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Mr. Matthew Arnold, though that gentleman is not actually named. We are inclined to think that this is perhaps the most powerful portion of Mr. Sandys' work; but it is one of which we cannot convey much idea by isolated extracts.

The fourth Part, which has only just appeared, treats *inter alia* of those difficulties, in respect of such cases as those of the offering of Isaac, and the act of Jael, which have so often been handled by scholastic writers and their followers, as, for instance, Suarez. The line of thought pursued by our author differs considerably from that of the late Canon Mozley. We are not prepared to commit ourselves unreservedly to the views propounded by either critic; but it may be safely asserted that a comparison of the two will be found highly interesting and instructive.

We proceed to give our extracts. It is only fair to Mr. Sandys to say, that in this task, we are troubled by a thorough *embarras de richesses*. The following will speak for itself:—

'It is well to bear in mind, not only how much, but also how little we know. We know that there are fluid bodies, and we know that there are solid bodies, but why they are solid and why they are fluid we cannot even approximately learn. We can explain how food becomes part of the living body, but why that body lives, or why it suddenly decomposes, and these processes and affinities stop altogether and at once, at the very instant of death, in other words, what is the difference between a man immediately before and immediately after he is hanged, or what is the principle of life, we cannot by any means learn. It is doubtless hard in many cases to distinguish where, in the chain of beings, life begins; but where there is life, there must be feeling, appetite, choice, will. But if there be will in the lower, so also must there be in the higher forms of life, and, if so, *à fortiori*, in the Highest, the giver and distributor of all that life. That which has not will cannot bestow, that is, cannot create will. All that is created must be in the Creator once and for ever.

'But if that Highest has will, He must have Personality and must be God. He can have no controller, for if He had, the controller would himself be God. There is, therefore, demonstrably, none other than He Himself alone, and His will must be absolute.'—(Part II. pp. 22, 23.)

Here is another position which seems to be set forth in an original manner:—

'Reverence for the saintly character lingers long in those who fall away, though it may turn at last to bitterness and hate. Byron felt this, when in his doubting mood, treating of the question of a future state, he wrote these lines in *Childe Harold*:—

> "And if, as holiest men have deemed, there be
> A land of souls beyond that sable shore,
> To shame the doctrine of the Sadducee,
> And sophist madly vain of dubious lore."

But holiness is the attribute on earth of the earnest worshipper of the true God only, and if there be no true God, there can be no real holiness.'—(*Ibid.* p. 25.)

The general drift of our author's arguments (especially in the fourth Part) seems to be that the Creator intended to form a society of angels and of men, which should be a fitting and reciprocating

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object of His love, but that to all appearance this could not be done without imparting to these creatures the dread choice between good and evil. To have in heaven beings only good by compulsion is not a high ideal. Even an earthly sovereign is hardly thought to have achieved success if his subjects obey from mere dread of punishment.

'*volentes*
Per populos dat jura,'

is the highest form of compliment which the Roman poet can pay to an Augustus.

Now and then we find ourselves questioning some of the *obiter dicta* in these pamphlets. Thus, for example, we like the criticism of Archbishop Trench on the Crusades, given in his new volume of lectures on Mediæval Church History, better than that of Mr. Sandys, and we fancy that Mr. Matthew Arnold might plausibly urge that not only was a head a verifiable thing, but also a headache, inasmuch as a severe blow on the head, even if self-inflicted, would teach most men, in a practical manner, what was meant by the term headache. We name these things to show that we have not read our author's pages carelessly, nor with that absolute self-surrender, which is a temptation in the case of writers with whom we heartily sympathise, and to whom we feel that we owe a debt of gratitude. Our admiration will, we trust, be seen to be all the more sincere from the very fact that it is not wholly indiscriminating. We must not conclude without drawing attention to the beauty of the verses by Mr. J. S. Spencer, quoted in the third and fourth parts of this work.

An Attempt at an Illustration of the Mystery of the Trinity. By a LAYMAN. (W. Hunt and Co.)

WE strongly recommend our readers to buy this little pamphlet, which costs only fourpence, and is a very interesting and valuable contribution towards clearness of thought upon a most momentous subject. Of course we do not mean that the author in twenty pages has reduced the profoundest of mysteries to mathematical demonstration, or even cleared our conception of what must ever remain inconceivable. But he has done what is of no little value in presenting us with a clearly-worked out illustration as an argument from analogy in favour of the possibility of a Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity. He works entirely on Butler's lines, and, giving an example in one sphere of being, affirms the unreasonableness of refusing to admit an analogous fact in another sphere of being. The author has in view those minds which are unable to accept with unquestioning faith the mysteries of revelation, and for such he believes the argument of analogy to be of the greatest value. Thus he asks 'whether we can discover in nature any analogy, however humble and distant, to a Trinity in Unity, which will help us to form a conception of that great mystery.' He finds his answer to this inquiry in the Sun, with its ruling power, its light, and its heat, and starting from the Patristic illustration of the relationship of the Son to the Father by that of light to the sun, he works out his thesis with great simplicity and clearness, his conclusion being as follows :—

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'We have, thus, in the Sun a Trinity in Unity, which is actually perceptible by our bodily senses. We see and feel three separate agents—ruling power, light, heat: each possessing its individuality, and each having its own distinct functions and separate province of action; yet all these being one and the same. And if we have demonstrated to our senses such an union of three in one in the physical and material, how much more may we conceive of it in the immaterial and Divine Essence.'

Looked at theologically, such an illustration must of course appear, as our author suggests, a 'humble and distant' approach to the true conception of the Divine relationships, and in the passage above cited, the words 'each possessing its individuality,' would at least require some explanation, since a too literal pressing of the analogy on this side might lead to a danger of Sabellian confusion of persons.

We imagine one important use of the little pamphlet we are reviewing may be in controversy with Mohammedans, or other monotheistic races, since it is well known that one of their primary difficulties in Christianity is the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which they conceive to be opposed to the highest conceptions they can form of the Deity. For such it is important to show that the revealed doctrine in no way controverts the true monarchic character of God, which indeed it is necessary to insist upon, and which was duly insisted upon in the Bonn Conferences, in all discussions of the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit. We commend the pamphlet before us to the notice of the great Missionary Societies, and believe they may do good service by adopting it for use in those parts of the mission field in which the controversy lies with those of higher education, and concerns the primary truths of the Divine nature. Possibly the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge might consent to print it for such purpose.

A Legacy. Being the Life and Remains of John Martin, Schoolmaster and Poet. By the Author of 'John Halifax.' (Hurst and Blackett. Two vols.)

UNDER this novel-like title, we find a romance indeed, but one of most intensely real life, and a series of totally unvarnished facts, of a nature to lead any thinking mind to some very serious trains of thought. Perhaps it may be better to let readers work these out for themselves, and merely to indicate the lines which lead to them.

John Martin, then, was a poor lad born and brought up (if indeed one can call the process our waifs and strays in these regions undergo, *bringing-up!*) in Wapping; belonging to the very dregs of society, his family the victims of such tragedies of sin and sorrow as are wisely suppressed in this book, which in no way seeks to appeal to our sensational sympathies. Rescued out of the workhouse by one of the devoted Mission Priests who have given their lives to seek and to save: the same friend put him into S. Peter's school, and watched over him through a dark season of which he (the Rev. R. Linklater) writes: 'I am forbidden to tell you of the awful depths of poverty and misery into which he now sank, a pro-

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hibition I regret, since to me this period of his life is the grandest . . . . But his faith in the love of God was unbroken.' Out of this depth, Martin became the first schoolmaster of S. Agatha's Mission School, meanwhile attending lectures at the City of London College, where he took a First in English history and also in English literature. Some three years were of school teaching; the latter part of which were spent at Great Easton, Essex, and the weak, overstrained frame gave way, and returning to London, he died in his old country —Wapping, October 13, 1876, ministered to by the same friend who had, under God, originally rescued him from the hideous world of sin and misery in which his first years were spent.

So far, nothing very remarkable. But the remarkable part is, that this workhouse waif, this lad brought up amid loathsome scenes of drunkenness and profligacy, had all the keenest literary cravings and sympathies—sighed after music, poetry, all that is beautiful in nature and art—and these cravings, with little enough to feed them, but strengthened by sound religious teaching, made him what he was—a good, pure, highly cultivated man, of whom his employers say that 'it is impossible to describe the influence he exercised over his pupils;' and another, 'I scarcely ever met with a man of more uprightness and sterling honesty, combined with humility. For though he knew what his mind was capable of, he never made the least display of this knowledge.'

Martin was introduced some years before his death to Mrs. Craik, the well-known authoress of 'John Halifax,' &c., and she, seeing only his poems, which are distinctly not above the average, wisely, though as it seemed to him, poor fellow, sternly, advised him to study rather than to write; to wait—that hardest counsel to the young literary aspirant. But he took the counsel honestly, and how he studied, the extracts from his diary which Mrs. Craik now publishes will show, as well as the fact that while his poetry was not above par, his prose is singularly vigorous and good, so that, had he made her acquainted with that, she questions not but that his ambition of seeing himself 'in print' might have been gratified, and the dreariness of his life relieved by the sunshine of success. But this was not to be; and indeed the poor man's brief years were spent under an almost continual cloud of heavy crushing sadness. The restriction put on all his family history, makes this cloud sometimes seem morbidly oppressive, but with the supplementary communications made to us privately, we can only marvel that the man had the spirit and courage to persevere in a useful, God-fearing, self-cultivating life, as he did. Sometimes Martin gives indications of his heavy troubles, but always calmly and reticently.

'Into what dreary paths of life my circumstances will lead me, I know not. Sorrow and care spring out upon my way, at the most impossible times and places. To come upon this earth, and find every square foot of land mapped out and occupied, is the lot of many. All they can hope to do, at the best, is to live from hand to mouth, happy if, when the morning comes, they can make sure of the day's food and shelter. What blasts from the "hot forge of hell" wither and scorch

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their hearts up, they themselves alone can tell. . . . It is not the sojourn for a few years among the poor and the unlovely, not the prospect of whole days of famine or sickness, not even those hopes deferred which make the heart sick, that make them sorrowful and stern: no, but the past and future contracting into so small an area that the sky is shut out, that the soul has no breathing room.

'It does us good to hear the kind word, and know the kind heart exists for us. To bear our weight of secret sorrow and care, eating our very heart away, is our lot for years. The sympathising word and the heart-look have only to come and the barriers are thrown down, swept away, leaving us like little babes. *I think there is not enough sentiment in life.*'

There surely is a text on which a layman's sermon might well be preached! These 'masses,' this 'proletariat,' these men and women who fill the pages of the 'Black Book;'—what would not the kind word, the heart-look, the 'sentiment' do for them? what *does* the beautiful and duly adorned Church, its decently and well-ordered services ('the only beautiful things *we* ever see,' as these waifs have often declared), the festivals, the sympathy, the attempt to win them; what do these do for those they reach? Look at John Martin, with his antecedents, studying Dante, Milton, Shakspeare, Homer—every book new and old, he could reach—and see what he, who had every element of the mischievous demagogue in him—became!

Some of the passages illustrating what may be done to help such strugglers, which occur in Martin's papers, are very touching: *e.g.*

'Thanks for the beautiful friends that God sends us in our hour of need. God, who knows the extremes to which necessity and despair lead us, and the little strength we have of ourselves to enable us to live on. Not only living, breathing bodily friends, but the panting, yearning souls of men, dead, or far away, pressed in between the leaves of books, as flowers are pressed in, exhaling a delicious odour to all time. O it is good to feel that our difficulties have been felt and mastered by the highest and noblest natures; that along this road, treading on the same briars with bleeding feet, resting wearily on the same milestones, the high-souled long before us have come.'

Space fails, or we should like to quote John Martin on Reform—(i. 141); his incisive and terribly true description of the weariness and harass of a teacher's life; his 'Race for Gold,' and many bits of word-painting and true criticism which are unspeakably pathetic, reading them as we now do by the light of a knowledge of the man's antecedents. Ah! well—John Martin has passed from it all, and a judgment, far other than ours, has recorded the wonderful trials, the hairbreadth escape from being such as those around him. But let him do his work, now that being dead he speaks—and let all who have it in their power, strive might and main, with their own presentment at that Judgment in view, to help other John Martins out of the gulf, into which, God help us, thousands are sinking daily. And if John Martin's life, and the vivid pictures it brings to light of what multitudes of our brethren are struggling through, help to save some such, verily both he and his kindly friends and biographers will have their reward.

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